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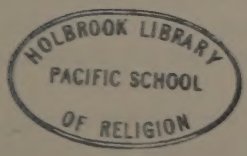

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THE KINGSHIP OF GOD IN THE PROPHETS AND PSALMS

BY

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Aberdeen.

The recurrence of the conception of the Reign of Jahweh in the Psalms and in prophecy both before and after the Exile, in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic, and in the Gospel of our Lord is sufficient justification for the present study. The theophany of Jahweh as King was the inspiration of the mission of Isaiah of Jerusalem (Isaiah vi); the proclamation to Jerusalem 'Thy God reigneth' was the gospel of the great prophet of the restoration from the Exile (Isaiah lii 7); it was the basis of the faith of the Jews in the Seleucid persecution (Daniel vii) and of the Christians in the sub-apostolic age, (Revelation iv, v), and was the theme of our Lord's proclamation at the outset of his mission (Mark i 15; Matthew iv 17) and the subject of many of his parables [1]).

The significance of this central theme of Scripture becomes apparent when we consider the complex of ideas traditionally associated with the acknowledgement that God was King. From a study of the material in the Psalms and Prophets, and particularly Apocalyptic, a definite pattern emerges. In such a vital organism as the faith of Israel, of course, we must expect the rigidity of such a pattern to be transcended occasionally, and if, as we maintain, the kingship of God was an idea not native to Israel, we must be prepared to find it considerably modified by conceptions which were the fruit of the distinctive religious and historical experience of Israel, such as the deliverance from Egypt and the Covenant. When all this is said, however, passages which deal with the conception of the kingship of God reveal an astonishing agreement, often mentioning explicitly all the main elements of the complex of ideas, namely conflict against the powers of evil or disorder, victory, God's manifestation as King,

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[1]) The real eschatological significance of these is emphasized by C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, 1948, and by J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (ET), 1954.

and His signalization of the triumph of Cosmos over Chaos in judgement or formally consigning them to their proper place. Again one or more of these motifs may be explicitly mentioned and others implied. In view of the influence of the ideology of the Kingship of God in Hebrew and Christian faith it is obviously of the utmost importance to understand it fully in all its implications, and to make a serious attempt to solve the many problems with which it bristles, such as that of origin, date, and the question whether the ideology in what we believe to be its ultimate origin outside Israel really functioned as an element in the faith of Israel or served her psalmists and prophets simply as imagery. We believe that these are no mere academic questions, since the recovery and appraisal of the original pattern of the ideology of the Kingship of God enables us to discern the essential features of the Hebrew and Christian adaptation of the conception and to give them their proper emphasis in our interpretation of relevant passages in the Old and New Testaments which are vital to our faith.

Turning now to a more detailed examination of the ideology of the Kingship of God in the Psalms and Prophets, we naturally begin with Pss. xlvii, xciii, xcvi, xcvii, xcviii, xcix, and probably xcv, which mention specifically the fact that Jahweh is King, or rather that He has assumed His kingship, that

God has gone up with acclaim [1]),
Even Jahweh with the sound of the trumpet (Ps. xlvii, 6).

In citing this list of what are, in our opinion, appropriately termed 'Enthronement Psalms' we do not imply that this list exhausts this category of Psalms, as criticism of MOWINCKEL's work so often apparently assumes. We consider that it is sufficient data for a reconstruction of the ideology of the Kingship of God, which may then be detected in other sources, the date of which is less in question than in these 'timeless' liturgies. On these minimal data we find that, though the theme is the Lord triumphant rather than the Lord militant, conflict and opposition are implied. If Jahweh emerges as

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[1]) This variant to the formula יהוה מָלָךְ militates against EISSFELDT's contention that מָלָךְ is a stative perfect, "Jahwe als König", *ZAW* xlvi, 1928, pp. 81 ff. The analogy of the use of the perfect of the same verb in the acclamation of Absalom (2 Sam. xv, 10), Adonijah (1 Kings i, 11, 18), and Jehu (2 Kings ix, 13) supports the view of MOWINCKEL that the reference is to a cultic act signifying the assumption of royal power or the epiphany of Jahweh as King, *Offersang og Sangoffer*, 1951, pp. 523-526.

King he has proved Himself so against the forces of chaos in nature, the arrogant waters (Ps xciii, 3-4), which must then acclaim his triumph (Ps xcviii, 7-8); or he subdues all peoples, the political enemies of Israel (Pss xlvii, 3, 8, xcvi, 10, xcix, 2), and has consequently proved himself more effective than their gods (xcv, 3, xcvi, 4, xcvii, 7-9). Jahweh is King over all the earth Pss (xlvii, 2, 7, xcvi, 1, xcvii, 9), he has established order in nature, 'the world is established that it cannot be moved' (Pss. xciii, 1, xcvi, 10), and he created the heavens (Ps. xcvi, 5), and even the sea, which particularly typifies the forces of chaos (e.g. Revelation xxi, 1), is his creation (Ps xcv, 5). He has secured the moral order too; he who chose Israel as his people and revealed his nature and will to her fathers is true to his own revelation and the principles of that revelation ('judgement') shall be established in Jacob (Ps. xcix, 4); 'his testimonies are sure' (Ps. xciii, 5). He shall maintain the order which he established by judgement of all the earth and its peoples and rulers (Pss xcvi, 13, xcviii, 9) and specifically of his people Israel (Pss xcvi, 10, 13, xcviii, 9). Here it is well to remember the evidence of the Ras Shamra texts that the verb שפט means' to rule' as well as 'to judge', a fact which is of great moment in extending the category of enthronement psalms and relevant passages in the Prophets to much nearer the proportions for which MOWINCKEL contends. This further evidence will be considered in amplification of the information which the limited list of 'Enthronement Psalms' supplies, by which we may state that the essential elements in the ideology of the Kingship of God were conflict with the forces of chaos in nature, history, and the moral order, the triumph of God signalized by his assumption of Kingship 'in the beginning' but sacramentally experienced in the cult, the establishment of order in nature, history, and the moral order, which was in effect his judgement, which also was 'in the beginning' but experienced ever afresh in the cult.

The same essential features of the pattern appear with the same, almost stereotyped, language and imagery in other psalms besides those just cited. To confine our survey to psalms which explicitly mention the Kingship of God, we note it as the theme of Hymns of Praise such as Pss. xxiv, xxix, xlvi, civ, and cxlvi, with which we should include probably ciii, 19 ff. [1]), which may well have been the liturgies appropriate to the epiphany of Jahweh as King at the New

[1]) Here we follow P. HUMBERT, "La relation de Genèse 1 et du Psaume 104 avec la liturgie du Nouvel-An Israélite", *RHPhR* 1935, pp. 23 ff.

Year festival, and it is the basis of faith in the Plaint of the Sufferer, community or individual, e.g. Pss. ix, xi, lxxiv, lxxxix. Among these Ps. civ with ciii, 19-22 alone exhibit all essential elements of the pattern explicitly. There is a reminiscence of the opposition of the powers of chaos in the reference to the flood,

The waters stood above the mountains (civ, 6),

though, to be sure, this is combined with the Mesopotamian Flood-motif appropriated by the Hebrews in the J source of the Pentateuch as early as at least the 9th century B.C. The Lord prevailed:

At thy rebuke they fled
At the voice of thy thunder they hasted away (Ps. civ, 9).

He is King universal:

The Lord hath prepared his throne in the heavens
And his kingdom ruleth over all (Ps. civ, 9).

Cosmos is established:

He laid the foundations of the earth
That it should not be removed for ever (Ps v.5);

and his judgement is passed on the menacing waters:

Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over (v. 9).

In the rest of the psalms cited not all these characteristics of the ideology of the Kingship of God are explicitly expressed, but such as are wanting are generally quite definitely implied. In Ps. xxix, for instance, the establishment of God's throne upon the flood (v. 10) explicitly asserts his Kingship and, in view of the rôle played by the waters as typifying the forces of chaos in such psalms, implies his victory after conflict. With God's victory Cosmos is established, it being confidently stated that

He will bless his people with peace (v. 11),

which in turn implies his judgement. So in Ps. xlvi the conflict with chaos is presented in the convulsions in nature (vv. 2-3) and history (v.6); Cosmos is established (vv. 4-5) with an era of peace (vv. 8-9), which implies God's judgement on the forces of disorder. In this context the state ment

I will be exalted among the heathen,
I will be exalted in the earth

can only refer to God's assumption of his kingship.

In the geographic situation of Palestine it was practically impossible for the cosmic theme of the Kingship of God with its elements of conflict, establishment of order, and judgement not to be applied to

the contemporary political situation, as, for instance, in Ps. xlvi, and this is true to a much greater degree in the Prophets with their intense involvement in current politics. Whereas, however, the Psalms refer generally to the triumph of Jahweh in conflict with 'the peoples' and his judgement on them in such a way as to preclude precise dating, the Prophets are much more specific. Nahum, (ii, 1) for instance, in language which is re-echoed in the proclamation of the Kingship of God in Deutero-Isaiah (lii, 7), announces the great annual festival at Jerusalem, the New Year festival, the chief feature of which was the epiphany of Jahweh as King, and proceeds to particularize Jahweh's victory over the powers of chaos in the downfall of Nineveh. Zephaniah in his announcement of the "day of Jahweh", who shall be established as King in Zion (iii, 20) particularizes on the subjects of the Divine judgement, both foreign peoples such as the Philistines and Moab and specific classes of Israelite apostates. So too Obadiah animadverts upon the judgement of God upon Edom at the end of the Monarchy, and Isaiah (xxx, 7) and Ezekiel (xxix, 3, xxxii, 2 ff.) identify Egypt, the disturbing force in contemporary Hebrew politics, with Rahab and Tannin, known from other references and, in the case of the latter from the Ras Shamra texts, as the forces of chaos suppressed by Baal when he became King.

The presence of so much mythological matter in the presentation of the ideology of the Kingship of God raises the question of the origin of that ideology and here a closer scrutiny of relevant passages is demanded, which we propose to confine to the Psalms and Prophets.

In the restricted list of Psalms admitted as Enthronement Psalms there is reference to the waters in conflict with God (Pss. xciii, 3-4, xcviii, 7-8), a theme familiar elsewhere in association with the Kingship of God (Pss xlvi, 2-3, lxxiv, 12-15, lxxxix, 8-10, civ, 6-7, and implied in Pss. xxiv, 2 and xxix, 3). Occasionally God's triumph over the waters refers to the incident in the Exodus of the miraculous crossing of the sea or the Jordan as in Ps. lxxiv, 15 and in Isaiah li, 9-11, where God's triumph over the monsters of the primeval deep, Tannin and Rahab, is explicitly associated with this incident, and in Isaiah xliii, 16-17, where God is extolled as King and Creator of Israel,

> Who maketh a way in the sea,
> And a path in the mighty waters;
> Who bringeth forth the chariot and the horse,
> The army and the power together
> They shall lie down; they shall not rise up . . . ,

a passage which recalls the psalm elaborating the Song of Miriam (Exodus xv). Often, however, the conflict between God and the waters or the monsters of the deep, Rahab, Tannin, and Leviathan, is quite independent of the Exodus tradition, as is the figure of the turbulent waters depicting the adversity of the sufferer in the Plaint of the Sufferer in Pss. xlii, 7, lxix, 1-2, lxxxviii, 17, and the psalms of thanksgiving for relief from suffering in Ps. cxxiv, 4-5 and Jonah ii, 3 ff. The emergence of God as King after his conflict with the menacing waters is, of course, the theme of the Babylonian myth *enuma elish*, which related to the Spring New Year festival of Marduk, and it is generally assumed that the Hebrews knew and used this matter, borrowing it from Mesopotamia either directly, as in the case of late passages in Deutero-Isaiah or in Job, or indirectly through Canaanite channels, as in earlier passages in the pre-Exilic Prophets [1]). Since the discovery of the Ras Shamra texts, however, which mention among the primeval adversaries of Baal, the King-god and preserver of Order in Nature, *Tannin* and

Lotan the primeval serpent,
The crooked serpent,
The foul-fanged with seven heads,

which is echoed almost verbatim in the late apocalypse in Isaiah xxvii, 1 and in Job xxvi, 12-13, the immediate source of most of this imagery of the King-ideology in the Old Testament is indicated [2]). We maintain that the influence of Canaan in this particular extended beyond the mere imagery.

A notable feature in the Enthronement Psalms is the assertion of the preeminence of Jahweh among the other gods (Pss. xcvi, 4,

[1]) e.g. G. Hölscher (*NTT* 1923), A. von Gall (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ, 1926), H. Gunkel (*Einleitung in die Psalmen*, 1928), and S. Mowinckel (*Psalmenstudien, II*; *Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie*, 1922), where it is assumed that the Mesopotamian influence was felt with the advance of Assyria in the late monarchic period in Israel and Judah. We do not doubt the influence of this Mesopotamian matter, and the inclusion of the Mesopotamian Flood-tradition in the J source of the Hexateuch indicates that it must be reckoned with as early as at least the 9th century. There are certain features of the ideology of the Kingship of God in the Old Testament which are more clearly attested in Mesopotamia than in Canaan, most notably the idea of creation as the manifestation of the power and judgement of God, which is not explicitly mentioned in the Ras Shamra texts relating to the Kingship of Baal.

[2]) The first to relate this new material systematically to the problem of the Kingship of God in the Old Testament was the Norwegian scholar A. S. Kapelrud, with whose thesis ("Jahves tronstigningfest og funnene i Ras Sjamra", *NTT* 1940, pp. 38-58) we are in substantial agreement.

xcvii, 7). To be sure, these gods of the heathen are said to be but idols (Pss. xcvi, 5, xcvii, 7), but they are still thought to be active agencies capable of fearing Jahweh (Ps. xcvi, 4) and even of bowing down to him (xcvii, 7). Such passages suggest the thought of Deutero-Isaiah, who depicts God as King, creator, and controller of history, challenging the power and wisdom of the other gods in a divine controversy at law, a conception which in turn finds expression in Ps. lxxxii, 2-5. There

> God stands in the divine convocation
> Judging amidst the gods,

and convicts them of impotence or unwillingness to establish order in Nature (v. 5) or in society (vv. 2-4). Those references might conceivably be to the supremacy of Jahweh over the gods of other nations as the natural consequence of his control over these nations, but in the context of other motifs derived from the Canaanite ideology of the Kingship of God, Jahweh's supremacy in the divine assembly seems the adaptation of the theme of the Ugaritic text [1]) where Baal is the only effective god in the divine assembly in face of the menace of the turbulent sea. This in turn is the local variant of the Mesopotamian tradition of Marduk, like Baal the god of storm and winter rain, as the champion of the divine assembly, who also are helpless to resist the chaotic waters.

Though these features of Canaanite mythology are undeniable in those passages from the Psalms and Prophets which we have cited, it must fairly be stated that in passages dealing with the Kingship of God they are occasionally not unmixed with the native Israelite motifs of the Exodus, the Covenant and the revelation of the Law, and the Conquest of Canaan, the subject, in fact, of the *Heilsgeschichte* in the J source of the Hexateuch. While certain psalms dealing with the Kingship of God are apparently quite independent of this native tradition (e.g. Pss. xxix, xlvi, lxxiv, xcvi, xcviii), others again reflect both the native Israelite and the Canaanite tradition. Ps. lxviii, which refers to the experience of the Kingship of God in the cult (v. 24), opens with the invocation which accompanied the carrying forth of the ark, to the sacramental celebration of which it probably refers:

> Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered;
> Let them that hate him flee before him (v.1).

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[1]) C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, 137.

Reference is made to the theophany at Sinai:

O God, when thou wentest forth before thy people,
When thou didst march through the wilderness,
The earth shook, the heavens also dropped at thy presence,
At thy presence, O thou of[1]) Sinai (vv. 8-9).

There are, however, traces of syncretism between Jahweh as King and Baal as King in v. 10 (MT), where Jahweh sends the heavy winter rains, which were the province of Baal, and in v. 5 (MT), where Jahweh is acclaimed as

He who mounteth the clouds (*rokhebh ba'arabhoth*), which, with negligible variation, is actually the stock epithet of Baal in the Ras Shamra texts (*rkb 'rpt*). Ps. xciii is occupied mainly, as we have seen, with God's conflict with the unruly waters, the theme of the Canaanite Baal-myth, but in the description of Cosmos which results from the victory and enthronement of God it is stated that his

.. testimonies are very sure (v.5).

This obviously refers to a more personal revelation or guarantee than anything mentioned in the myths of the Canaanite fertility-cult, and surely refers to Jahweh's self-revelation and promise to his covenanted people Israel in the experience at Sinai[2]). In Ps. xcv the supremacy of Jahweh 'above all gods' (v. 3) and his control of the sea (v. 5) conceivably reflects the Canaanite mythology, but the bulk of the psalm relates to the election of Israel and the experience in the desert:

For he is our God
And we are the people of his pasture (v. 7)...
Harden not your heart as at Meribah
And as on the day of Massa in the wilderness (v. 8),

and so to the end of the psalm (vv. 9-11). In this psalm, indeed, which we have just quoted, which obviously reflects the experience of the Covenant,

I will be your God and you shall be my people

is followed by a rubric 'Today if ye will hear his voice', which almost

[1]) Taking זֶה as a relative particle, a local variant of the Ugaritic and Aramaic ḏ. Another possibility is to read זָעַ סִינַי, 'Sinai quaked'.

[2]) It is possible that there is an allusion here to the "fixing of destinies" for the forthcoming year in the Babylonian New Year festival. The recovery of the 'tablets of destiny' by Marduk was a feature of his conflict with the monsters of Chaos.

certainly refers to the sacramental experience of the Covenant as an element of the cultic experience of the epiphany of God as King. The Exodus tradition is preserved in Ps. xcix, which refers to the theophany of God to Moses and Aaron in the pillar of cloud (v. 7), and the theophany in Ps. xcvii, 2-5, though the clouds and darkness (v. 2) and lightning (v. 4) might reflect the theophany of Baal, is in other respects that of Sinai (vv. 3-4). In Ps. lxxvii, a public thanksgiving after relief from distress, which reflects the experience of the Kingship of God, though not actually mentioning the title, there is a similar mixture of Canaanite and native tradition. God's victory over the waters and his control of rain, thunder, and lightning, all the province of Baal, are mentioned:

> The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee;
> They were afraid; the depths also were troubled.
> The clouds poured out water; the skies sent out a sound;
> Thine arrows also went abroad.
> The voice of thy thunder was in the heavens,
> The lightnings lightened the world (vv. 16-18);

but the Exodus tradition is also expressed:

> Thou hast with thine arm redeemed thy people,
> The sons of Jacob and Joseph (v. 15);
> Thy way is in the sea and thy path in the great waters;
> Thou leddest thy people like a flock
> By the hand of Moses and Aaron (v. 20).

In the Hymn of Praise which precedes the royal plaint in Ps. lxxxix the supremacy of God among the gods (vv. 6-7), and his victory over the waters, and over the monster of the deep, Rahab (vv. 9-10), are combined with the motif of God's covenant with David (vv. 3, 4, 19 ff.). Here, however, there is no reference to the Exodus, the Sinai theophany, the Covenant, and the Conquest of Canaan.

There are on the other hand certain psalms dealing with the Kingship of God which draw solely on the tradition of the Exodus, Covenant and Conquest to the exclusion of the imagery of the Baal-myth. These are notably few in number. To say nothing of the Psalms of Lamentation x and xxii, where the absence of any imagery at all indicates a later date and somewhat sophisticated attitude, there are but three psalms left which associate the Kingship of God only with the theme of the *Heilsgeschichte*. Ps. xlvii, in celebrating God's favour in subduing Israel's enemies and in choosing Jacob's inherit-

ance (vv. 3-4), seems, like Ps. xcv, to relate to the sacramental experience of Exodus, Covenant, and Conquest at the festival at which God was manifest as King. The reference to the God of Abraham seems also to relate to the subject of the *Heilsgeschichte*, where the promise to Abraham is the prelude to the saga, originally, no doubt, the cult-legend, of Exodus, Covenant, and Conquest. The last phase of the *Heilsgeschichte*, the Conquest, is associated with the Kingship of God in Ps. xliv, which is a liturgy for a public fast on the occasion of a national disaster. Here again there may be a reference to the recitation of the cult-legend in the statement:

> We have heard with our ears, O Lord,
> Our fathers have told us
> What work thou didst in their days... (v.1.)

Ps. xcix associates the Kingship of God with the revelation of Jahweh in the desert and specifically with his revelation to Moses at Sinai. The judgement consequent upon God's assumption of his Kingship is not so much the universal judgement generally associated with the royal-Divine ideology, but is 'judgement and righteousness in Jacob'. Here there may be a reference to the principles of the Law, which was an important element in the New Year festival, as is indicated in Ps. lxxxi, which, though it does not mention the Kingship of God, almost certainly relates to the New Year festival (בַּכֶּסֶה לְיוֹם חַגֵּנוּ, v. 4, MT). This psalm like Ps. lxxviii, goes on to recapitulate incidents in the Exodus story from Egypt to Meribah (vv. 6-8, MT), and continues with a reference to the Law (vv. 9-11, MT), including a verbal citation of the introduction to the Decalogue,

> I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt.

We may, then, recapitulate the results of our investigation of the Psalms which explicitly deal with the Kingship of God. Some of these (xxix, lxxiv, lxxvi, xcviii, ciii, 19-civ) associate the divine Kingship exclusively with God's cosmic struggle with, and victory over, the primeval forces of chaos, recalling the motifs and imagery and often the actual language of the Canaanite myth celebrating the Kingship of Baal. Rather more (especially xlvi, lxviii, lxxvii, lxxxix, xciii, xcv, xcvii, and cxlvi) associate with this matter elements from Israel's *Heilsgeschichte* from the Exodus to the Conquest. Only three, however, to which we may add the psalm in Exodus xv, associate the Kingship of God with the *Heilsgeschichte* to the exclusion of the Canaanite myth.

This suggests to us the conclusion that the origin of the conception of the Kingship of God was not in Israel, but in Canaan and the settled lands of the ancient Near East. The Kingship of God, we opine, was sacramentally experienced at the most critical phase of the peasants' year in Palestine, the autumnal equinox, and was adopted by the Hebrew settlers and eventually adapted by them and influenced by their own experience of God in history. The native Israelite tradition of the salvation from Egypt, the Covenant and Divine self-revelation in the Law in the desert, and the Conquest of Canaan was early the theme of cult-legend at various local shrines, such as Gilgal, Shiloh, and at Shechem, where there was a general tribal assembly every seven years with a formal recitation and homologation of the main principles of the Law (Deuteronomy xxvii, 4 ff., xxxi, 10), of which Joshua xxiv is doubtless a reflection [1]). This assembly according to Deuteronomy xxxi, 10 took place at the Feast of Tabernacles. Whether this signified the Feast of Tabernacles as a harvest festival at the autumnal New Year (Deuteronomy xvi, 13) or an independent tribal assembly in tents [2]), as Hosea xii, 9 suggests, is uncertain, though the fact that such an amphictyonic occasion is recorded in Deuteronomy, where the Feast of Tabernacles has already the significance of a harvest festival (Deuteronomy xvi, 13-15), indicates the intention of the Deuteronomist that the gathering at Shechem should be understood to take place at the autumnal New Year. Thus when the ark was installed in Jerusalem as a new amphictyonic shrine in the time of David there was a natural transference of the cult-legends associated with this symbol of Jahweh militant, which formed to such a large extent the subject of the *Heilsgeschichte* so soon to be expressed in the J source of the Hexateuch. It was inevitable that the revelation of the Law, so central to the *Heilsgeschichte* and so well established in cultic practice in the amphictyonic centres in the days of the judges, should have a prominent place in the cult at Jerusalem. The association of the tradition of Exodus, Covenant, Law, and Conquest with the celebration of the Kingship of God at the New Year festival, which MOWINCKEL has consistently empha-

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[1]) M. NOTH, *Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels*, 1930, pp. 143 ff.

[2]) G. VON RAD thinks of such a festival in the assembly of a six-tribe amphictyony at Hebron, *Studies in Deuteronomy* (ET), 1953, p. 43. H. J. KRAUS suggests that this occasion may have been celebrated between Beersheba and Qadesh, *Gottesdienst in Israel: Studien zur Geschichte des Laubhüttenfestes* (*Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie* 19), 1954, p. 34. If KRAUS is right this was probably the occasion of the Israelite pilgrimage to Beersheba mentioned in Amos v, 5.

sized since 1923 [1]), however, does not necessarily signify any essential connection between the ideology of the Kingship of God and the Israelite *Heilsgeschichte*. So much, we claim, our survey of the Psalms suggests.

This conclusion is supported by the evidence of the *Heilsgeschichte* in the earlier sources of the Hexateuch. Of the characteristic features of the ideology of the Kingship of God as these appear in the Psalms and the Prophets there is no evidence of the conflict of God with the cosmic powers of chaos, and the earliest compilation of these traditions, J, never mentions the Kingship of God. The only certain reference is in a single passage in E (Exodus xv, 18). The judgement element, to be sure, is quite prominent, but that is not on the cosmic scale with which we are familiar in the Psalms and the Prophets. There is no doubt that the supreme authority in the tribal amphictyony of early Israel was their God Jahweh, but we cannot conclude that God was ever consciously thought of as King, as is suggested by Judges viii, 23 and in I Samuel viii, 7, both of which reflect the developed theology and political standpoint of the D revisor, a fact apparently ignored by BUBER in his study on the Kingship of God [2]). A possible reference to the Kingship of God in a genuine old source is Deuteronomy xxxiii, 5 in the Blessing of Moses, but here the obvious reference in the blessing of Benjamin to Jerusalem as a cult-centre (v. 12) dates the general introduction after David's occupation of Jerusalem, and possibly even after the foundation of the Temple in the time of Solomon, when the celebration of the Kingship of God and the Covenant had already been associated in the autumnal New Year festival. The same may be said of the Song of Moses in Exodus xv, 18 (E), which is, in fact, a psalm on the theme of the Song of Miriam:

> Sing unto the Lord for he hath triumphed gloriously,
> The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea (Exodus xv, 21, cf. v. 1).

This psalm, like Pss. xlvii, xcv, and xcix, associates the Kingship of God exclusively with the traditions of the Exodus and Conquest, but as the obvious development of the simple couplet we have cited, it is later and belongs to the liturgy of the Temple in Jerusalem (v. 17), so that it cannot be admitted as evidence of the content of the *Heilsgeschichte* before its combination with the ideology of the Kingship

[1]) S. MOWINCKEL, *Psalmenstudien III*, 1923, p. 38.
[2]) M. BUBER, *Königtum Gottes*, 1932.

of God in the New Year festival in Jerusalem. The evidence of the Blessing of Balaam in Numbers xxiii, 21-24 (E):

The Lord is with him, and the shout of a king is among them (v. 21) is of doubtful value, probably reflecting the combination of traditions in the early monarchy, perhaps in the time of David, whose campaigns are apparently referred to in the oracle in Numbers xxiv, 15-19. There is no ground, then, for supposing that the conception of the Kingship of God was an element in the Israelite *Heilsgeschichte*.

In his introduction to the Psalms in *Das Alte Testament Deutsch* WEISER claims that the conception of judgement which is one of the main characteristics of the ideology of the Divine King in the Prophets and Psalms, has its real source in the *Heilsgeschichte* in the giving of the Law[1]). In the Pentateuch, however, judgement is something different from the cosmic judgement with which we are familiar in the ideology of the Kingship of God in the Psalms and Prophets. The place-names Massa, Meribah, and Ain Mishpat by Qadesh suggest no more than *ad hoc* oracles in tribal ordeals. The proclamation of the principles of the Law with the sanction of blessings and curses in the amphictyonic gathering at Shechem in Deuteronomy xxvii are certainly more general in significance than these oracles, but they are still of local significance and are limited to Israel and are designed to separate the true adherents from apostates, which is the purpose of the "test-clauses" in Pss. xv, xxiv, 3-4, and 1. This is all very far short of the great "show-down" when the Divine King confronts his adversaries.

When we turn to the conception of the Kingship of God in the Prophets we find that, though the general pattern of God's conflict with the powers of chaos, his victory, assumption of Kingship, and judgement on a universal scale is well attested, the emphasis is different from that in the Psalms. There the ideology appears in its Canaanite form barely disguised, or is combined with the theme of the *Heilsgeschichte* in such a way as to leave it in no doubt that two different traditions are here combined; in the Prophets, however, the emphasis falls quite definitely on the motifs of the *Heilsgeschichte*. The value of this evidence over against that of the Psalms lies in the possibility of dating. To be sure, the earliest of such passages, those in Isaiah of Jerusalem, date from over two centuries after Jerusalem became an Israelite cult-centre and the combination of the Canaanite tradition of the Divine King and the Israelite *Heilgeschichte* was effected.

[1]) A. WEISER, *Das Alte Testament Deutsch*, 1950, p. 16.

Relatively late as the Prophets are, they are valuable evidence for the early date of the ideology of the Kingship of God vis-à-vis those who would date that ideology late, making the Enthronement Psalms, for instance, dependent on Deutero-Isaiah instead of Deutero-Isaiah on the Psalms. Let us, then, turn to a chronological survey of the conception of the Kingship of God in the Prophets.

Here the theophany which inspired the mission of Isaiah of Jerusalem is notable. This took place in the Temple in Jerusalem 'in the year that King Uzziah died' (Isaiah vi, 1), that is in 738 B.C., and reflects, no doubt, the personal experience of the prophet in the New Year festival, of which the epiphany of the Divine King was an important element. Jahweh is King (v. 6), his presence being symbolized by the ark with its cherubim (v. 2). Here, however, there is no mention of a cosmic conflict with the powers of chaos. Judgement is involved (vv. 7 ff.), but that is not a universal judgement, but a personal purging of the prophet, who is in turn to be God's agent of a similar judgement for his people. This judgement is to be rather the elimination of all those morally unworthy to be the people of Jahweh, as in the renewal of the Covenant at Shechem (Deuteronomy xxvii) and in the ceremony implied in Pss. xv, xxiv, 3-4, and 1. In the description of Isaiah's call there is no trace of the mythology of Baal as King.

This is also the conception of judgement in Isaiah xxxiii, 13-24, where the Lord in judgement is a consuming fire but

> He that walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly,
> He that despiseth the gain of oppression,
> That shaketh his hand from grasping bribes,
> That stoppeth his ears from the hearing of blood,
> That shutteth his eyes from seeing evil,
> He shall dwell on high....
> Thine eyes shall see the King in his beauty (v. 15-17, MT).

The undated oracle on the 'day of Jahweh' in Isaiah ii, 10-22, which may still be from Isaiah of Jerusalem, associates judgement, here on a larger scale than in the passages just cited, with the theophany of the Divine King. Here again there is no mythological imagery, not, for that matter, is there anything which specifically indicates the Law as the norm of judgement, though the earthquake attending the theophany (v. 19) may indicate the Sinai episode in the *Heilsgeschichte*.

In the famous oracle concerning the Lord's house, to which all

nations shall resort, and the universal peace which shall be the result of the judgement of the Divine King, the attribution of this to Isaiah of Jerusalem (ii, 2-4) and to his younger contemporary Micah (Micah iv, 1-3) probably indicates its genuine currency in the 8th century B.C., and it may well stem from a liturgical source on which both prophets felt at liberty to draw. Here 'the end of days' should not oblige us to conclude that the oracle has a purely eschatological reference. In a cultic context it might simply signify the last phase of the ritual and what that symbolized, and might even refer to the consummation of the seven days observance of the Feast of Tabernacles. Here there might be an implication of the conflict against the forces of disorder with which the exaltation of God on his throne and the reign of peace is contrasted. At any rate this is implied in God's rebuke and judgement of many nations (v. 4, MT). Here again, apart from the general pattern, there is no use of Canaanite motifs. On the contrary, the motif of the Law, to which both Israel and the Gentiles shall subscribe, is emphasized.

The North-Israelite prophet Hosea never associates the Kingship of God with Canaanite motifs. He says, in fact, little about the Kingship of God except in one passage (xiii, 9-14), where God as King and saviour of his people is contrasted with the ineffectiveness of the kings of the nation. This suggests a particularist conception of the Kingship of God reflecting the North Israelite tradition that the kings, like their predecessors the judges, were raised to office *ad hoc*, as 'saviours' in particular crises. This statement, to be sure, follows, though not quite immediately, after a reference to the Exodus, with the implication of the Covenant. The prophet re-echoes the prelude to the Decalogue:

> 'I am the Lord thy God from the land of Egypt,
> And thou shalt know no other god but me, for there is no saviour beside me (v. 4).

Thus it is possible that Hosea understood the conception of the Kingship of God to go back to nomadic times, though this is not certain. Actually Hosea does not state that God had revealed himself as King in the desert; he refers to the Kingship of God over Israel in the future. Nor is the reign of God universal in scope; but is apparently limited to Israel and is contrasted with the reign of her kings. Nor is the judgement of God in c. iv the universal judgement consequent upon God's victory over the powers of Chaos. It is a particular judgement confined to Israel. It is termed ריב, 'contention

at law' (v.1) and is on the basis of the ethical principles of the Law:

> ...because there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land,
> By swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and adultery they break out,
> And blood toucheth blood.

In a passage which is re-echoed in Zephaniah i, 3 Hosea states:

> Therefore shall the land wilt
> And everyone that dwelleth therein shall languish,
> With the beasts of the field and with the fowls of heaven,
> Yea the fishes of the sea also shall be taken away (iv, 3).

This, however, in contrast to a similar expression of the scope of God's judgement in Zephnaiah i, 3, does not refer to a universal judgement. It describes the consequences of the incurring of the curse by those who violate the principles of the Law (cf. Isaiah xxiv, 5-6) and significantly reflects the procedure at the tribal amphictyony for the renewal of the Covenant and the exposition of the Law at Shechem which is described in Deuteronomy xxvii. In Israel as distinct from Jerusalem the celebration of the Kingship of God had not been effectively combined with the sacrament of the Exodus, Covenant, Law, and Conquest. The latter maintained itself independently at such shrines as Gilgal; the former was later associated with Dan and Bethel, shrines which had never had any sacral associations with the events of the *Heilsgeschichte*. The data which we have just cited from Hosea, are, in fact, one more piece of evidence for the foreign origin of the conception of the Kingship of God with its characteristic implications, though, to be sure, this is *argumentum e silentio*.

In Nahum, however, probably with Joel the classic example of a cultic prophet in Jerusalem, we have a reversion to the Canaanite theme and imagery of the Kingship of God. In the depiction of God as having

> His way in the whirlwind and in the storm,
> The clouds being the dust of his feet (i, 3)

it is possible to see a reference to Jahweh in the Sinai theophany, but it is more natural to see the imagery of the theophany of Baal, the Canaanite storm-god, who in one of the Ras Shamra texts describing his conflict with Mot, Death or Sterility, is bidden:

Thou, take thy clouds,
Thy wind, thy rain-cloud, thy rain.... [1])

In the following verse in Nahum Jahweh

...rebuketh the sea and maketh it dry,
And drieth up all rivers (i, 4).

In view of the reference in the following verse to earthquake and drought this may be a reference to the crossing of the sea at the Exodus and to the crossing of the Jordan in the *Heilsgeschichte*, but it could quite as well refer to the conflict of Baal with Sea, even River. The *Sitz im Leben* of Nahum is in little doubt, thanks to the reference in i, 15:

Behold, upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings,
That publisheth peace:
O Judah, keep thy solemn feasts.... (חָגֵי...חַגֶּיךָ).

The reference, as the verb suggests, is to the observation of the New Year festival (הֶחָג), an element in which was the epiphany of Jahweh as King. The words of Nahum are verbally re-echoed in Isaiah lii, 7:

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings,
That publisheth peace,
That bringeth good tidings of good, that saith to Jerusalem: "Thy God reigneth".

The final phrase here in conjunction with the passage in Nahum is most significant as a further indication of the cultic *Sitz im Leben* of the ideology of the Kingship of God. In the light of Nahum's "Hymn of Hate" as a liturgy to the New Year festival in the year of the fall of Nineveh (612 B.C. [2]) the LXX reading of the obscure passage in Nahum i. 12 κατάρχων ὑδάτων πολλῶν, suggesting probably the reading הַמֹּשְׁלִים מַיִם רַבִּים, is most feasible.

In Zephaniah, if we could accept beyond doubt the unity of the book, the problem of the association of the "day of Jahweh" with his manifestation as King, for which MOWINCKEL has so long contended, would be settled. The final passage, Zephaniah iii, 14-20, might of itself be sufficient evidence, with its reference to the epiphany of

[1]) C. H. GORDON, *op. cit.* 67, V, 6-7.
[2]) P. HUMBERT, „Le problème du livre de Nahoum", *RHPhR* 1932, pp. 1-15.

God as King in Jerusalem, his consequent judgement involving the vindication of Israel and the punishment of her enemies, and the dating of those events to 'in that day' (v. 16) and 'at that time' (vv. 19-20). Significantly associate with those ideas in this passage is the phrase בְּשׁוּבִי אֶת שְׁבוּתְכֶם, 'when I rehabilitate you', which is a *terminus technicus* belonging properly to the rehabilitation of nature in the New Year festival, with only a secondary reference to the restoration of Israel from Exile [1]) (e.g. Ps. cxxvi, with its clear reference to the harvest festival and its anticipation of the early rains. Even if one rejected this evidence for the nature of the "day of Jahweh" as the day of his royal epiphany, there would still be sufficient evidence for this in c.i. If there is no specific use of the title 'King' there, there are still the essential elements of what the foregoing evidence compels us to regard as the pattern of the ideology of the Kingship of God. The "day" for Zephaniah, as it had been for Amos, was one of catastrophic judgement:

I will consume [2]) man and beast,
I will consume the fowls of the heavens and the fishes of the sea,
And I will cause the wicked to stumble [3]),
And I will cut off man from the land (i, 3).

The judgement of God extends to his manifest enemies, the foreign peoples (c. ii), who are so often in such a context identified with the forces of chaos, but apostates in Israel too may be identified with these forces, and so the judgement comprehends them too (i, 4 ff). The imagery of this passage is interesting. The זֶבַח of Jahweh, which signifies primarily 'slaughter' rather than sacrifice, to which the victims are lured as guests, suggests the gruesome scene in the Baal-mythology in connection with the revival of Baal as a dying and rising vegetation-deity where his sister Anat lures her victims to a feast and annihilates them in an orgy of slaughter. Or again the prototype of the זֶבַח יהוה may be the prodigious 'house-warming' to which the gods are invited on the completion of the 'house' of Baal in the Ras Shamra texts, which involves slaughter of animals on a

[1]) The proper sense of this phrase as a *terminus technicus* with no reference to restoration from exile (שְׁבִית) is attested in Job xlii, 10, where the Lord 'restored the fortunes' of Job.

[2]) Lit 'make to end', from the verb סוּף.

[3]) Reading וְהִכְשַׁלְתִּי for MT וְהַמַּכְשֵׁלוֹת.

vast scale. There is thus, we claim, sufficient in Zephaniah's description of the "day of Jahweh" to suggest, as in the Psalms, associations with the Kingship of Baal. But, as in certain of the Psalms, these motifs are combined with motifs from the Israelite *Heilsgeschichte*. The "day of Jahweh" as a day of darkness and gloom suggests, as VON RAD has recently pointed out, the preternatural darkness of the morning when the Israelites attacked the Amorites at Gibeon (Joshua x, 12-13a) [1]). The reference to the dispossession of the apostates (v. 13) also suggests the account of the occupation of Palestine in the *Heilsgeschichte*. In our opinion VON RAD has done a definite service in pointing out such associations in the conception of the "day of Jahweh". We consider that he errs, however, by overemphasis, and does not admit that such imagery may be combined with, and perhaps even secondary to, that of the Canaanite ideology of the Kingship of God.

In the passage at the end of Joel (iii, 2 ff.), which is difficult to date and may have no connection with the fast liturgy on the occasion of a locust-plague, which is the subject of the bulk of the Book of Joel (cc. i-ii), there are certain elements associated with the judgement of God which suggest the pattern of the ideology of the Kingship of God. The judgement is a universal one, though it is located at Jerusalem, this probably indicating that it was en element in the cult rather than a strictly historical prospect. The theophany recalls that in Amos:

> Jahweh shall roar out of Zion,
> And utter his voice from Jerusalem (v. 16).

The manifestation of God in thunder suggests Baal-Hadad ('the Thunderer') rather than Jahweh, though we admit that the reference to earthquake which follows is rather in the tradition of the Sinai theophany. The sequel may or may not be an independent oracle:

> And it shall come to pass on that day
> That the mountains shall drop down new wine
> And the hills shall flow with milk... (v. 18 cf. Amos ix, 13).

This passage re-echoes the description of fertility consequent upon the revival of Baal in the Ras Shamra texts, though the statement in the same verse:

> A fountain shall come forth from the house of Jahweh
> And shall water the Valley of the Acacias,

[1]) G. VON RAD, "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of Yahweh", *JSS* IV, 1959, pp. 97 ff.

which finds expression in Ps. xlvi, Ezekiel xlvii, and Zechariah xiv, 8, represents a local tradition of Jerusalem associated with the cult, no doubt, from pre-Israelite times. It is noteworthy that Joel has no animadversions upon the sins of the people. He is almost certainly a cultic prophet, and his pre-occupation with elements in the ideology of the Reign of God which are features of the Canaanite Baal-myth rather than of the *Heilsgeschichte* is reminiscent of certain of the Psalms on the same subject.

In Jeremiah we note an emphasis on the *Heilsgeschichte* rather than on the King-ideology associated with the cult in the Temple in Jerusalem (e.g. ii, 1 ff., xi, xxxi, 31-34, xxxii, 18 ff.). Here and in his imagery of the marital relationship between Jahweh and Israel (ii, 1 ff.) Jeremiah has strong affinities with Hosea, and, though his home was at Anathoth some four miles from Jerusalem and in the kingdom of Judah after the disruption of the Kingdom of Solomon, it is possible that with his Northern affinities he is more conscious than the other prophets of Judah of the native Israelite tradition. As a descendant, moreover, of the priesthood rusticated by Solomon he seems to react from the Temple cult with its syncretism of Baal-ideology and *Heilsgeschichte*. Even Jeremiah, however, if c.x be from him, uses the imagery of the Canaanite Baal myth in the only passage where he specifically uses the title 'King' of Jahweh. In an assertion of the sovereignty of Jahweh over all nations and their gods, which are mere material objects, in language strongly reminiscent of Deutero-Isaiah it is stated:

> When he uttereth his voice there is a multitude of waters in the heavens,
> And causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth,
> He maketh lightnings with rain
> And bringeth forth the wind out of his treasuries (x, 13).

Ezekiel in his visions of God (cc. i, x, xliii) implies beyond doubt the divine Kingship, but it is obvious that he is inspired by the native Israelite tradition which regards the ark as the throne of God, and in his vision of the restored sanctuary and community he harks back to the Covenant tradition with the words

> I will be their God and they shall be my people (v. 29).

Significantly enough Ezekiel's conception of Divine judgement is not that of a universal 'showdown' with the forces of disorder, such as characterizes the ideology of the Kingship of God, but rather a separating

of the unworthy in Israel from those worthy to stand in the Lord's presence, in the tradition of Deuteronomy xxvii and Pss. xv, xxiv, 3-4, and 1. Ezekiel, that is to say, emphasizes the element of Law in the native *Heilsgeschichte* in the Jerusalem cult. His one use of the imagery of the Canaanite myth of the Divine King is his reference to Egypt (xxix, 3, xxxii, 2) as the dragon (תַּנִּין), which is mentioned in the Ras Shamra texts as one of the monsters of chaos overcome by Baal [1]). Apparently as long as there was a prospect of rallying Israel and even of reoccuping Jerusalem Ezekiel looked forward to rebuilding on the native tradition of the Covenant.

This is the standpoint of Deutero-Isaiah also. Jahweh, though his universal sovereignty is asserted in no uncompromising terms in creation and in history, is 'the King of Jacob' (Isaiah xli, 21) and 'the King of Israel' (xliv, 6-8). As King he establishes order by creation, but he is specifically 'the creator of Israel' (xliii, 15, li, 11) and immediately there follows a citation of the *Heilsgeschichte* referring to the crossing of the sea at the Exodus (xlii, 16; li, 16). The former of these passages re-echoes the psalm in Exodus xv, and the latter the formula of the Covenant 'Thou art my people', and there is, moreover, a reference to the Law in the same verse, 'I have put my words in thy mouth'. The keynote of Deutero-Isaiah is struck in the famous passage:

> How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings,
> That publisheth peace,
> That bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation,
> That saith to Zion "Thy God reigneth" (lii, 7).

The affinity between this passage and the Enthronement Psalms has often been noted, but there is no reason to conclude with DELITZSCH[2]) and recently H. J. KRAUS [3]) that the thought of Isaiah influenced the psalms in question. In the difficulty of dating the psalms it would not be possible to demonstrate the priority of the psalms to Deutero-Isaiah. We hope, however, that our chronological survey of the conception of the Kingship of God in the Prophets has made it clear that nothing substantially new is said by Deutero-Isaiah here. In fact the passage we cited from Nahum (ii, 1, MT) not only suggests that Deutero-Isaiah was drawing on an earlier source, but it indicates

[1]) C. H. GORDON, *op. cit.*, 'nt III, 37.

[2]) DELITZSCH referred to these psalms as „deuterojesaianische Psalmen".

[3]) H. J. KRAUS, *Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im Alten Testament Beiträge zur historischen Theologie*), 1951, pp. 106 ff.

the nature of that source, the liturgy of the pre-Exilic New Year festival, which was re-established in its essentials after the Exile, as is indicated explicitly in Zechariah xiv, 16. Deutero-Isaiah, though he was obviously familiar with the conception of the Kingship of God in all its implications, both native and Canaanite, with the Mesopotamian variant of the Kingship of Marduk expressed in the Spring New Year festival at Babylon, emphasizes the historical aspect which had long come to dominate Hebrew thought on the subject, and he, like the great majority of the Prophets, lays stress on the Israelite *Heilsgeschichte*, which was combined with the seasonal celebration of the Kingship of God in the cult at Jerusalem. As in Ezekiel it is significant that there is but one specific reference in Deutero-Isaiah to Canaanite mythology in connection with the Kingship of God:

> Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of Jahweh,
> Awake as in the ancient days,
> In the generations of old.
> Art thou not it that smote [1]) Rahab,
> That wounded Tannin (li, 9).

After this statement there is an immediate reversion, perhaps through the imagery of the myth of Baal or Marduk and the unruly waters, to the motif of the Exodus:

> Art thou not it which dried up the sea,
> The waters of the great deep;
> Which made the depths of sea
> A way for the redeemed to passed over (v. 10).

Isaiah xxiv-xxvii is dated probably half a millennium after Isaiah of Jerusalem and marks the stage of transition from prophetic oracles to apocalyptic vision of the final consummation. In apocalyptic the history of Israel, significant as that was in the Divine economy, was nevertheless felt to be but an act in the cosmic drama of the conflict of God and the powers of chaos culminating in the victory of the sovereign God and in his final judgement. All the elements of the pattern of the ideology of the Kingship of God are represented, but there the motifs of the *Heilsgeschichte* are less prominent. Partly as an expression of the universal nature of the events anticipated, which reflects Israel's political experience as one small element in the great world-empires, and partly as an expression of the ineffable might and

[1]) Reading הַמִּחְצֶבֶת for MT הַמַּחְצֶבֶת, ('which cleft'), after the Vulgate, cf. Job xxvi, 12. The verb *mḥṣ* is regularly found in the Ras Shamra texts.

majesty of God transcendent, the apocalyptists resort to the imagery of Babylon and Canaan in their descriptions of the conflict of God with the forces of chaos. In the various undated oracles in Isaiah xxiv-xxvii which preserve the nature of prophecy, though pointing the way to apocalyptic, the reign of God is still localized on Zion (xxiv, 23); his judgement is particularized on Moab[1]) (xxv, 10-12), and on those Jews who violated the principles of the Law (xxiv, 4 ff.), the land being stricken with barrenness, which was the consequence of the curse as the sanction of the Law (Deuteronomy xxvii, cf. Hosea iv, 4). Nevertheless in this section of Scripture there is a more extensive use of matter from the mythology of Baal as King than in any other part of Scripture here studied except the Psalms. In Isaiah xxv, 6-8, for instance, God's 'feast' on Zion recalls the 'housewarming' for Baal when, risen from the dead, he is King triumphant. On that occasion, says the prophet in the same passage, 'Death shall be swallowed up in Victory', perhaps a reflection of the discomfiture of Baal's adversary Mot in the Ras Shamra texts. Again, 'on that day', that is to say, the day of Jahweh's epiphany as King:

> Jahweh with his sore and great and strong sword
> Will punish Leviathan, the primeval serpent,
> Even Leviathan that crooked serpent,
> And he shall slay the Tannin which is in the sea. (xxvii, 1).

Leviathan, of course, is *Ltn* of the Baal-myth of Ras Shamra, with *tnn* a monster slain by Baal in his conflict with the powers of chaos as a prelude to the assumption of his Kingship. The actual adjectives qualifying Leviathan are precisely the epithets of *ltn* in the Ras Shamra texts, a striking instance of Canaanite influence on Hebrew thought and religion.

Finally the last chapter of Zechariah, with its various pronouncements on 'the day of the Lord', like Isaiah xxiv-xxvii combines lurid and somewhat visionary apocalyptic hopes with sober topical references characteristic of prophecy. Here there is no indubitable use of the motifs of the Canaanite ideology of the Kingship of God, nor, indeed, those of the native Israelite *Heilsgeschichte*. The data, however, do support the contention of Volz and Mowinckel that "the day of Jahweh" was the day of his manifestation as King, and, most notably, that the Feast of Tabernacles at the Autumnal New

[1]) cf. Obadiah, 21, where the judgement of Jahweh enthroned as King on Zion is upon Edom.

Year was the occasion of this manifestation (vv. 16-17). Moreover, the significance of this as a seasonal ritual in the peasants' year is clear and explicit from v. 17, as indeed, it is from the Mishnah. The date of this passage is, of course, uncertain, but it is undoubtedly late. Nevertheless tradition persists and since the allusions in this chapter to the Lord's "showdown" and his triumph against the nations 'from Zion' refer to a similar tradition found in the pre-Exilic prophets it is most likely that the reference to the cult of Jahweh as King at the Feast of Tabernacles also represents a continuance of tradition from pre-Exilic days, as indeed Nahum ii, 1 taken in conjunction with Isaiah lii, 7 suggests.

Now that we have surveyed the evidence in the Prophets and Psalms, what are our conclusions?

The ideology and imagery of the Canaanite and Babylonian myths of the Kingship of God in the bulk of the Psalms on this subject, coupled with the fact that this tradition appears in certain of these quite independent of the motifs of the *Heilsgeschichte*, which in turn appears independent of the Canaanite tradition in notably fewer psalms, suggests that the conception was borrowed by the Hebrews from Canaan, and to a certain extent from Mesopotamia. The borrowing from Canaan was the natural result of the adoption of the settled way of life of the peasant, who observes the crises of the seasons with great punctilio. The conflict between God and the forces of chaos expressed in ritual and in myth reflected and relieved the emotional tension of the peasants, and such observances were as vital to the parvenu Israelites as the new techniques of agriculture. The Ras Shamra texts do not, indeed, give any indication of the seasonal *Sitz im Leben* of the myth of Baal and the waters, which is the one on which the Psalms and Prophets chiefly drew. The passages in the Old Testament which use this imagery, however, suggest the Autumnal New Year, when the year's harvest ended with the olive crop and the grain and other crops were gathered in from the communal threshing-floor to the village stores. This occasion also anticipated the coming of the "former rains", so vital to the local farmer, of which there are many echoes in the passages we have studied and others in the Psalms. The unity of the Canaanite myth of Baal and the waters with the bulk of the Baal-mythology in the Ras Shamra texts, which concerns his vicissitudes in his conflict with the power of Death and Sterility (Mot), is not certain, though it may well belong to the same seasonal festival, the myth of Baal and the waters relating

to the beginning of things, and the fragments dealing with the conflict of Baal and Mot to the hazards of the peasants' year. However this may be, there is a clear reference in the latter mythological complex to Baal's victory in the struggle with Mot for *kingship*, and the consequent building of a 'house' to him on the eve of the winter storms. In anticipation of the building of this 'house' it is said:

> Moreover Baal will send abundance of his rain,
> Abundance of moisture with snow,
> And he will utter his voice in the clouds,
> He will send his flashing to the ground with lightning [1]).

When the 'house' is completed Baal duly thunders and sends the rain. The establishment of the 'house' and throne of God is also a motif of the passages in the Psalms and Prophets which we have cited. When, in fact, in Ps. xlviii, 3 Jerusalem, 'the city of the great King', is described as 'the extremities of Saphon' (יַרְכְּתֵי צָפוֹן) the Hebrew borrowing from Canaanite mythology is beyond all doubt, since Saphon was the mountain on the northern horizon of Ras Shamra which is celebrated in the Baal-myth as the seat of the throne of Baal. Moreover, the dedication of the Temple by Solomon in the seventh month, Ethanim ('Regular rains'), when the Feast of Tabernacles was held, is a further indication of the adoption of the Canaanite seasonal festival and the ideology of the Kingship of God. That the Temple should be dedicated at the very season when the Kingship of Baal was consummated by the building of his 'house' certainly seems more than a striking coincidence [2]).

The assimilation by the Hebrews of the Canaanite New Year festival, with which they had grown familiar since their settlement in Palestine, is further suggested by the fact that on the disruption of the kingdom Jeroboam instituted a similar festival at Dan and Bethel in the same season [3]), that is to say on the eve of the "former

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[1]) For philological notes in support of this translation see J. GRAY, *The Legacy of Canaan*, 1957, p. 41.

[2]) A. S. KAPELRUD in his excellent presentation of the case for the early influence of the Canaanite ideology of the Kingship of God in Israel (*op. cit.*) seems to overemphasize the influence of Jeroboam's cult at Dan (*op. cit.*, pp. 54-57), and to ignore the significance of the Canaanite element in the New Year festival in the Temple in Jerusalem.

[3]) Actually in the eighth month, so apparently in the month following the New Year festival in Jerusalem. This may imply a somewhat later season in the North, a different calendar, or a deliberate variation from Judean custom. The main point was that this was a harvest festival on the eve of the "former rains".

rains" (I Kings xii, 32). Dan, of course, had no sacral significance for all Israel until the time of Jeroboam, and Bethel was apparently only for a short time the seat of the ark in the time of the judges (Judges xx, 26) before Gilgal became the amphictyonic centre of Israel, a significance which Gilgal retained certainly till the time of Saul (I Samuel x, 8; xi, 14-15; xiii, 4 ff.; xv, 33). Both Dan and Bethel were already Canaanite settlements, and the use of bull-images in the cult, though they may have been, as ALBRIGHT suggests, simply pedestals or symbols of the invisible presence of God, suggests Canaanite influence, the bull being the cult-animal of Baal. Jeroboam, however, rose with the active support, and even at the instigation, of prophetic circles headed by Ahijah of Shiloh, which had been the cult-centre of Jahweh militant, so that he would surely not have ventured to institute a seasonal festival which was essentially a feature of the Canaanite fertility-cult unless it were already well-established among the Israelites. That this cult at Dan and Bethel was something other than the sacramental experience of the *Heilsgeschichte* of Israel, in spite of Jeroboam's claim 'Behold thy God, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt', is indicated by the fact that places associated with the *Heilsgeschichte* from patriarchal times to the conquest of Canaan, such as Beersheba [1]) and Gilgal were not superseded by Dan or Bethel, but maintained their significance as objectives of pilgrimage for North Israel until the time of Amos (v, 5). These would be the shrines particularly associated with the *Heilsgeschichte* for North Israel, which would be for the most part based on their cultlegends [2]), while the traditions of the Law, which also belonged to this native tradition were preserved and adapted at Shechem, the significance of which in connection with the proclamation of the Law and the renewal of the Covenant is apparent from Deuteronomy xxvii and Joshua xxiv and also, we might infer, from the fact that it was here that 'all Israel' assembled to meet Rehoboam the son of Solomon 'to make him king' (I Kings xii, 1). The continued significance of those places throughout the history of the Northern kingdom meant that the native tradition of the *Heilsgeschichte* flourished independent of the ideology of the Kingship of

[1]) We regard Beersheba as 'the high places of Isaac' on which Amos animadverts (vii, 9).

[2]) This, of course, is not to deny the factual basis of the Exodus, the Covenant, nd the Conquest.

God [1]), a situation which we have noticed as being reflected in the Book of Hosea, the sole Northern prophet in the canon of the Old Testament, and also in the message of Jeremiah, a man of Benjamin.

Jeroboam's institution of the nature-cult at Bethel and Dan, or rather his adoption of its principles, indicates its significance for the Israelites of his day and earlier, who were not only a spiritual elect, a covenanted people, but were also practical farmers conforming to local conditions, hence punctiliously observing, like all primitives, what the anthropologist VAN GENNEP terms '*rites de passage*'. The ideology of the power of Providence in nature as the Divine King was more to the Hebrews than mere imagery; it was a matter of practical religion. Partly for the same reason the chief festival of the Canaanite nature-cult was adopted by Solomon and perhaps by David in Jerusalem, where the ark and the cult-legend of the Exodus, Covenant, Law, and Conquest were now located. The constitutional innovation of the monarchy in Israel, modelled to a large extent on the Canaanite pattern, was no doubt a further reason for the emphasis on the cult of the Divine King, as EICHRODT suggests [2]).

If, however, the Hebrews borrowed the ideology of the Kingship of God from the Canaanites, we should note with emphasis in conclusion how selectively they borrowed and how practically they adapted what they did borrow. In certain externals and in imagery they made use of the Canaanite ideology of the seasonal conflict between Baal as the spirit of vegetation and Mot the Power of death and sterility, but Jahweh was never a dying and rising deity. On the other hand the part of the Baal-ideology which the Hebrews really did appropriate was that of the primeval conflict of Cosmos and Chaos, the triumph of God, his assumption of his Kingship and his judgement, the formal consigning of the defeated forces to their proper

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[1]) As long as these shrines continued to be objectives of pilgrimage the syncretism between Jahweh and Baal, for which KAPELRUD contends (*op. cit.*) could never be quite complete.

[2]) W. EICHRODT, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* I, 1957, pp. 123 ff. EICHRODT supposes that the conception of the Kingship of God, associated with the Canaanite New Year festival, was emphasized for propagandist reasons. As the affair mainly of court and court officials it was the object of polemic by the prophets, hence did not survive the end of the monarchy. On the contrary, we maintain that the Kingship of God, even where the title is not used, is still an article of the prophetic faith. The prophets did not combat this ideology, but they emphasized its historical and moral aspect. It was well grounded in popular religion and certainly survived the monarchy e.g. Isaiah lii, 7; Isaiah xxiv-xxvii, Zechariah xiv, 16. It was the inspiration of Apocalyptic and a lively hope in early Christian times.

fate. That was the Canaanite declaration of faith in Providence. But the Canaanites had confined their vision to the field of nature. The Hebrews, whose religious experience was that of a God who acts in history and in the moral relationships of men, the God of Redemption and the God of Law, set the distinctive stamp of their faith on the Canaanite ideology which they adopted. In the many crises of history which their geographical situation obliged them to experience they derived courage from their faith sustained in their sacramental experience of the Kingship of God in history renewed every New Year festival, and with the rise and fall of empires they saw the judgements of the Divine King abroad in the earth. The real debt of Israel to Canaan was that the conception of the Kingship of God in cosmic conflict with the powers of Chaos raised the particularist faith in a militant God of a tribal confederacy to the plane of the universal, so that when Israel was politically submerged as an inconsiderable subject people in great world-Empires she maintained faith in her God as the Lord of history and so preserved her identity.

The Psalms, which by their very nature are bound closely to the cult, are more objective and less topical and personal, and so preserve more traces of the ancient sacred origins of the conception of the Kingship of God, reflecting the thought and imagery of the myth of the Canaanite seasonal festival. The Prophets, on the other hand, though reflecting in their use of this matter their experience of the cult and its liturgy, have more freedom to adapt it to the current situation. Their concern is with history, and so it is with the *Heilsgeschichte*, which had originally no essential connection with the ideology of the Kingship of God but was associated with this only after David's introduction of the ark to Jerusalem, that they are mainly concerned when they speak of the Kingship of God. When God's economy in Israel and his covenantal relationship with the people and with the House of David are threatened by the aggression of one nation or another the prophets interpret the ideology of the Kingship of God historically. The enemies are the powers of Chaos, but God is victorious; he in consequence will manifestly assume his royal estate and will establish order; he will judge, reducing the nations to order or annihilation. This is the "day of Jahweh", often, indeed, expressed in the imagery of the *Heilsgeschichte*, as we should expect it to be by the prophets, but none the less the day of Jahweh's epiphany as King with all that that implied. The Hebrew genius went even further in the adaptation of the ideology of the Kingship of God,

informed by the experience of the Law in history and in sacrament, and applied the conception of the "day of Jahweh" to Israel and delinquent Israelites, as Amos was, perhaps, the first to do [1]). With the presentation of the fact of the Kingship of God not only as a hope but as a challenge to those who hold it as an article of the faith the Hebrew prophets demonstrate in no uncertain manner the respect in which Israel was distinctive among the peoples of the earth.

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[1]) For the shifting emphasis on the elements of salvation and catastrophe for Israel in earlier and later Hebrew prophecy see S. MOWINCKEL, "Jahves Dag", *NTT* 59, 1958, pp. 1-56, 209-229, where it is contended that with Amos and Isaiah of Jerusalem and those under their influence the "day" is primarily one of catastrophe for Israel, whereas later prophets tend to regard Israel's sufferings as preliminary to her final rehabilitation. Though they regard the rehabilitation as in the future they associate the Exile with the "day".

PARWAÏM
DES CHRONIQUES A L'APOCRYPHE DE LA GENÈSE

PAR

P. GRELOT
Paris

On sait en quel état nous sont parvenus les restes de la colonne II du *Genesis Apocryphon* [1]) livré par la grotte I de Qumrân: seule subsiste la partie droite des 26 premières lignes; et encore, l'encre a partiellement rongé le cuir. Il faut plus d'une fois deviner les lettres. Dans l'ensemble, la tâche de déchiffrement a été menée à bien par les éditeurs, mais il subsiste plusieurs incertitudes des détail, que les parallélismes du livre d'Hénoch (ch. cvi-cvii) [2]) ne suffisent pas à dissiper. C'est le cas notamment pour la ligne 23. A partir de la ligne 21, il est question du voyage qu'entreprend Metushelah pour consulter Hénoch sur l'étrange naissance de Noé: „21 . . . Quand Metushelah apprit [ces choses] . . . 22 . . . vers Hénoch son père pour savoir de lui le tout avec vérité . . ." A la suite de cela, les éditeurs ont lu: *rʿwth wʾzl lʾrkmt lprwyn wtmn ʾškḥh* . . . Le premier mot se rattache sûrement à la phrase qui précède; dans l'état actuel du manuscrit, il a perdu son contexte. La principale difficulté porte sur le groupe *lʾrkmt*, donné par les éditeurs comme une tentative de lecture qui reste douteuse, tant le texte est détérioré en cet endroit. On note d'ailleurs une anomalie qui fait tout de suite douter du déchiffrement: le *k* a une forme finale, bien qu'il se trouve au milieu d'un mot. Dans la traduction anglaise, les éditeurs ont laissé le passage en blanc: „And he went to . . . and found him there . . ." Dans la traduction hébraïque, on a: *whlk lʾrk mt* (?) *lprwyn* (?) *wšm mṣʾw* . . . Cela laisse le problème intact. Jetons un coup d'oeil sur quelques traductions.

H. Michaud [3]): „Il partit pour Erèkmat, pour Parwaïn et là il

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[1]) N. Avigad et Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, Jérusalem, 1956.

[2]) Voir les traductions de Charles (*The Book of Enoch*, Oxford, 1912, p. 264-269) et de Martin (*Le livre d'Hénoch*, Paris, 1906, p. 278-283). Le texte est reproduit par Avigad et Yadin, *op. cit.*, p. 17, et par A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte*, Paris, 1957, p. 294-296.

[3]) Dans *Positions luthériennes*, Avril 1957, p. 91-104 (*Un livre apocryphe de la Genèse en araméen*).

le trouva" [1]). Erèkmat et Parwaïn seraient deux désignations du lieu où réside Hénoch; *Erèkmat*, coupé en *Erèk mat*, voudrait dire: „le pays d'Erèk", désignation biblique de la ville d'Uruk; *mat* serait l'akkadien *mātu*, „pays" [2]). On peut faire valoir là contre que non seulement *mat* suit le nom de la ville, mais que le mot est indéterminé, contrairement à l'usage araméen qui voudrait ici un emploi de l'état emphatique. En outre, le parallélisme du livre d'Hénoch n'oriente nullement le voyage de Metushelah vers la Mésopotamie. Nous y reviendrons plus loin à propos du Parwaïn.

H. Del Medico [3]): „Il s'en alla donc au pays de la mort, aux parvis, et là il se rencontra avec . . ." En note: „Notre texte, bien que difficilement lisible, permet de reconnaître que Mathusalem se rendit "aux parvis du pays de la mort" (*l'rṣ mt lprwyn*, pluriel de *prn* ou *prwn*)." Cette explication ne satisfera que ceux qui ne connaissent, de l'araméen, ni la phonétique, ni l'orthographe, ni la morphologie, ni la syntaxe. La phonétique, parce que *'rṣ* est une forme hébraïque, tandis que la forme araméenne est *'rʿ*, bien connu de notre Apocryphe [4]); en outre, la lecture d'un *ṣ* en cet endroit est sûrement erronnée, car le *ṣ* a une queue recourbée et infléchie finalement vers la gauche, ce qui n'est ici le cas. L'orthographe, car le mot „mort" (*mwt*) ne pourrait être écrit sans son *-w-*: *mawt/mōt*. La morphologie, car on se demande comment *prwyn* peut être le pluriel de *prn/prwn* (= *pārān/pārōn*); ajoutons que ce mot rare, qui figure dans la Mishna (traité *Taharoth*, vi 9), est de signification discutée et ne veut probablement pas dire: „parvis" [5]). La syntaxe enfin: le „pays de la mort" et les „parvis" (juxtaposés dans l'original, mais curieusement liés entre eux dans la note de D.M.), étant bien déterminés, seraient sûrement à l'état emphatique. Ces remarques peuvent suffire pour écarter la lecture et l'interprétation proposées par M. Del Medico.

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[1]) *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[2]) *Ibid.*, p. 103-104. Notons que l'akkadien *māt(u)* a effectivement passé en araméen juif (M. Jastrow, *Dictionary* . . ., 859 A).

[3]) *L'énigme des manuscrits de la mer Morte*, Paris, 1957, p. 515.

[4]) On l'y rencontrerait environ 24 fois d'après la concordance de H. Lignée, citée à la note 2 de la page suivante.

[5]) Cf. M. Jastrow, *op. cit.*, 1230 B. — P. Blackmann, *Mishnayoth*, VI, 511. — H. Danby, *The Mishnah*, p. 725. Les traductions proposées varient: a forum, a building with two opposite entrances, a basilica with doors in opposite walls, a building with a gateway from street to street. Rien de tout cela ne ressemble à un „parvis". A. Dupont-Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 420, apprécie avec sévérité l'ouvrage de M. del Medico. L'exemple cité ici ne peut que lui donner raison.

M. BURROWS [1]): „And he went to Parwaim to Erechmat, and there he found . . ." Le renversement des deux noms propres est évidemment un lapsus. La traduction reprend celle de H. MICHAUD, sans rien éclairer. Au fait, ne serait-ce pas la lecture du texte qu'il faudrait d'abord assurer?

Dans sa concordance de l'Apocryphe de la Genèse [2]), H. LIGNÉE a proposé en Octobre 1958, sur mes indications orales, une autre lecture: *w'zl lh qdmt lprwyn*. M. DUPONT-SOMMER parvenait parallélement à un résultat semblable, qu'il mentionne dans son ouvrage sur *Les écrits esséniens*, ce qui lui permet de traduire: „Et il alla à l'Est (?) de Parwaïm, et il le trouva là-bas" [3]). Je crois utile de développer mes arguments en faveur de cette lecture. La lettre qui suit *l-* n'a pas l'allure d'un aleph (comparer celui de *'zl*); le haut de la lettre s'incline de droite à gauche vers le bas, ce qui correspond bien à un *h*, quoique l'extrémité inférieure de droite ne soit pas visible; par ailleurs, l'emploi du datif *commodi* après *'ᵃzal* est de bon araméen (cf. XXI, 5: *w'zl wyth lh*). Le *-t* de la fin est certain. Ce qui était donné comme un *-k-* à forme finale manque pour cela d'un léger crochet, très caractéristique, qui en incurve généralement la queue vers la gauche (voir aux lignes 4, 9, 14 bis, 15, 17, 26); la même raison écarte le *p* final, le *n* (lignes 7, 11, 17, 23), le *ṣ* (ligne 8). Il ne reste que le *q* qui puisse ainsi dépasser au-dessous de la ligne; les *q* de cette page sont généralement moins longs (lignes 8, 10, 14), mais cet obstacle n'est pas absolu. La lettre qui précède *-t* est bien un *m*, comme l'ont vu les éditeurs, et il reste la place d'une lettre entre *q-* et *-mt*. Sans s'imposer, le *-d-* est plausible d'après les traces qui en restent; la lecture *qdmt* est ainsi la meilleure des hypothèses. Il reste à lui trouver un sens.

La proposition de M. DUPONT-SOMMER („et il alla à l'Est (?) de Parvaïm") me semble exclue par le *l-* qui précède le nom du lieu malgré *qadmat* à l'état construit; d'ailleurs l'hypothèse ne satisfait visiblement pas son propre auteur. La construction de la phrase fait de *lprwyn* un complément de lieu de *'zl lh*: „Et il s'en alla . . . au Parvaïn". Entre les deux mots, on n'imagine guère qu'un adverbe. Avec la racine *qdm*, l'adverbe de lieu „à l'Orient" donnerait *lqdmyn* ou *mn lqdmyn*, si l'on en croit la phraséologie des Targums (T. Onqelos, Genèse iii 24). Il vaut mieux chercher du côté des adverbes de temps.

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[1]) M. BURROWS, *More light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Londres, 1958, p. 387.

[2]) H. LIGNÉE, „Concordance de 1 Q Genesis Apocryphon", *Revue de Qumran*, I, 2, Octobre 1958, p. 163-186.

[3]) *Op. cit.*, p. 298.

Effectivement, *qdmt* (*qadmat*) est attesté en araméen biblique dans une locution prépositive: *min qadmat dᵉnāh* (Esdr. v 11; Dan. vi 11). C'est l'état construit du substantif *qadmāh*, le „temps passé", le „temps ancien", le „temps précédent"; d'où: „avant (cela)" [1]). Les textes d'Eléphantine connaissent le même usage: Cowley, *A.P.*, Pap. 30, 17 (*qdmt znh*), Ahiqar, 1. 2 (*qdmt mlwhy*) [2]); de même le judéo-araméen [3]). Faudrait-il supposer un emploi du même mot à l'état construit sans *nomen rectum* qui le suive? Il y a au moins un cas de ce genre, pour lequel l'araméen biblique se rencontre avec l'araméen juif plus tardif; c'est l'adverbe *tinyānut*, „pour la seconde fois" (Dan. ii 7; Lev. xiii 58, Targ. Onqelos et Yerushalmi). On ne peut donc pas écarter la possibilité d'un substantif *qadmat* à l'état construit pris adverbialement. Il se pourrait même que l'araméen d'Eléphantine en offre un exemple; malheureusement, le contexte défectueux empêche toute certitude. La lettre *A.P.*, 38 [4]), ligne 10, écrit: *hw ʾmr ly šlḥ ʾgrt qdmt* [. . .]*w ḥsrn*, etc. Soit, suivant Cowley: „He said to me: Send a letter first (?). If there is anything wanting, etc." Et Cowley commente: *qdmt* semble la seule lecture possible, mais la forme est obscure; [*hn ʿl*]*w* est purement conjectural" [5]). A supposer que la lecture et la construction soient bonnes, le sens de *qadmat* en ce contexte paraît être: „tout de suite", ou „aussitôt", ou quelque chose de ce genre, autant adverbe de manière qu'adverbe de temps. Précisément, l'emploi de l'état construit sans *nomen rectum* se retrouve en plusieurs adverbes de manière, notamment à Eléphantine: *ʾrmyt* („en araméen", cf. Dan. ii 4), *gnbyt* („malhonnêtement"). Le mot *qdmt* pourrait se trouver dans la même situation. L'objection de la différence de forme (*tinyānūt*, *ʾaramīt* et *gannābīt* étant des abstraits en *-ū* ou *-ī*) n'est pas une difficulté puisque l'on trouve aussi un adverbe en *-at*: *A.P.*, 9, 7, *rḥmt*, „gratuitement" [6]).

Plus difficile est le sens qu'aurait un adverbe *qadmat* en pareil

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[1]) H. Bauer-P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, p. 256 v. et 262 s.

[2]) Les papyrus d'Eléphantine sont cités ici d'après A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century*, Oxford, 1923. Autres références suivies d'un suffixe: AP, 71, 3; Ahiqar, 101; Behistoun, 54 (toujours au sens de „devant"). — P. Leander, *Laut- und Formlehre des Ägyptisch-Aramäischen*, Göteborg, 1928, p. 119 i. et 124 s.

[3]) G. Dalman, *Grammatik des Jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 2ème éd., p. 214.

[4]) A. Cowley, *op. cit.*, p. 135 ss.

[5]) *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[6]) A. Cowley, *op. cit.*, p. 28. — P. Leander, *op. cit.*, p. 119 i.

contexte. Il faut écarter „précédemment"; „tout d'abord" ne convient guère; „pour la première fois", ferait supposer que ce voyage chez Hénoch n'est que le premier d'une série: est-ce admissible? Si l'on s'en rapporte au livre d'Hénoch, deux voyages du même genre sont en effet rapportés. Le premier est celui de Metushélah à la naissance de Noé (cvi 8: „il vint à moi aux extrémités de la terre"); le second est celui de Noé à l'approche du Déluge (lxv 2: „il s'en alla de là et vint aux extrémités de la terre"). L'hypothèse ne peut donc pas être écartée absolument; mais le contexte ne la favorise pourtant guère. Un sens supposé „tout de suite", „aussitôt", serait évidemment meilleur. Chose curieuse, en judéo-araméen, les trois mots féminins *qadmᵉtā*, *qadmūtā* et *qadmaytā* (= *qadmētā*) sont fréquemment employés avec un sens identique dans des locutions adverbiales [1]); parmi celles-ci, on peut signaler *bᵉqadmūtā* ou *bᵉqadmᵉtā*, au sens de „de bon matin" (*Baba Metsia*, 30) [2]): serait-ci ici le sens? La même locution signifie ailleurs „autrefois, „au début", „tout d'abord"; on voit donc que son sens précis dépend, en fait, du contexte. Pour le voyage de Metushelah, je proposerais de retenir un adverbe *qadmat* employé au sens de „tout de suite", avec naturellement un certain coefficient d'incertitude.

Il est intéressant de voir appeler *Parvaïn* le lieu où réside Hénoch. Il s'agit, à n'en pas douter, du *Parvaïm* [3]) cité une fois dans 1 Chroniques, iii 6, à propos de la décoration du temple de Jérusalem: „et l'or était de l'or de Parvaïm". Le passage est sans parallèle dans le livre des Rois. La Septante s'est contentée de transcrire le mot hébreu Φαρουαιμ. Le syriaque et la Vulgate latine l'omettent. Les commentateurs se sont toujours montrés embarrassés. E. L. Curtiss [4]) cite deux opinions: celle de Sprenger, qui trouve un lieu-dit *farwa* en Arabie du sud chez un géographe du Xème siècle; celle de Glaser et Guthe, qui songent à *el-farwain*, au nord-est de la péninsule arabique [5]). Ces essais de localisation sont guidés par ce présupposé

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[1]) G. Dalman, *Grammatik* . . ., p. 210, 211, 214.

[2]) M. Jastrow, *Dictionary* . . ., 1317 A et B. Le départ "de bon matin" (*ba-boqèr*) est fréquemment noté dans la Bible, par exemple Gen. xix 27; xxii 3, etc. Dans notre contexte, ce sens donnerait la traduction suivante: „Et il s'en alla de bon matin vers le Parvaïn, et là il le trouva."

[3]) Le passage de la mimation à la nunation ne fait aucunement difficulté: on le retrouve pour *miṣraīm* devenu *miṣraïn*.

[4]) E. L. Curtiss, *Chronicles*, *ICC*, p. 325.

[5]) Notons que cette explication rend compte de la forme du mot, autrement inexpliquée.

que l'Arabie est le „pays de l'or"; mais voici qu'on le conteste, et l'or du pays de Hawila (Gen. ii 11-12) est en passe de devenir . . . une sorte d'aromate [1]). W. Rudolph [2]), de son côté, cite une étude de Yahuda [3]) qui cherche pour le mot difficile une origine égyptienne: ce serait le duel de l'égyptien *pr*, „maison"; d'où en Egyptien *prwy nb*, „double maison du trésor pour l'or", *prwy ḥḍ*, „double maison du trésor pour l'argent"; ainsi l'hébreu *zhb prwyn* désignerait l'„or des trésors", autrement dit l'„or de bonne qualité". Ces divergences montrent que la question demeure non résolue. La Septante paraît avoir songé à un lieu, sans doute inconnu de son traducteur; les autres versions anciennes ont renoncé à rendre le terme incompris.

Quoi qu'il en soit d'ailleurs du mot lui-même, de son origine et de sa signification primitive, il est pris pour un nom de lieu dans l'Apocryphe de la Genèse. Plus précisément, il appartient là à une géographie mythique sur laquelle le livre d'Hénoch nous renseigne avec une précision suffisante. Ayant eu l'occasion de l'étudier ailleurs [4]) je ne m'arrête pas sur ses détails et je me contente de noter ici l'essentiel: le „jardin des justes" où Hénoch a été enlevé est situé dans une île, hors de la terre proprement dite, et on l'atteint par une route qui part en direction du nord-ouest (Hénoch xviii et xxiv-xxv; cf. lxx) [5]). C'est ce jardin, situé sur une montagne, qui est identifié ici avec le Parvaïm. Il se peut que l'identification soit tardive, fondée sur la réputation légendaire de l'„or du Parvaïm" avec lequel on avait décoré le temple. D'après le livre d'Hénoch, le lieu du jardin des justes, à proximité de la résidence divine, a pour cadre sept montagnes de pierres précieuses (xviii 6-9; xxiv 2-3): cette description serait-elle en rapport avec la légende primitive? Ou bien, aurait-on après coup identifié avec le lieu mythique du Paradis ce Parvaïm dont on ne se rappelait plus la localisation réelle? Il est difficile de répondre.

Peut-être est-il permis de suggérer un rapprochement avec la mythologie grecque. On lit dans Hérodote (III, 116): „C'est dans le nord de l'Europe, du côté de l'Ourse, qu'il paraît y avoir les plus

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[1]) Cf. R. de Langhe, „L'autel d'or du temple de Jérusalem", *Biblica*, 1959, p. 476-494 (voir aux pages 491-494).

[2]) W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, *HAT*, p. 203.

[3]) Dans *JBL*, 1947, p. 87.

[4]) „La géographie mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources orientales", *RB*, 1958, p. 33-69.

[5]) *Ibid.*, p. 34-47.

grands gisements d'or; mais cet or, d'où vient-il? Là encore, je ne puis apporter une réponse précise. On dit que les Arimaspes, peuples qui n'ont qu'un oeil, l'arrachent aux griffons" [1]). Cette légende des griffons, qui gardent l'or d'Apollon [2]) contre les entreprises des Arimaspes, est reprise en IV, 13, où l'on voit que l'or en question se situe à proximité du pays des Hyperboréens. En étudiant la géographie mythique du livre d'Hénoch, j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de faire remarquer que la légende des Hyperboréens utilisait un schème de géographie mythique tout à fait semblable [3]): l'île des Hyperboréens, d'après Hécatée d'Abdère, se trouve vers le Nord, face à la Celtique (donc au nord-ouest); c'est un séjour édénique où l'on pratique le culte d'Apollon et où le dieu vient lui-même résider tous les dix-neuf ans. La Grèce nous présente donc un schème qui lie ensemble l'île paradisiaque du nord-ouest, le séjour d'un dieu, et la présence d'un or fabuleux gardé contre les entreprises des mortels; le livre d'Hénoch connaît un paradis semblable situé au même endroit; l'Apocryphe de la Genèse le nomme *Parvaïm*, lieu dont le nom évoque un or fameux. Un tel parallélisme ne vaut-il pas la peine d'être relevé? Il ne suppose d'ailleurs pas un contact bien profond de l'auteur de l'Apocryphe avec les mythologies païennes [4]): il n'a eu qu'à compléter les données traditionnelles recueillies dans le livre d'Hénoch à l'aide d'un détail emprunté au livre des Chroniques et passé dans le folk-lore — un folk-lore parallèle au folk-lore grec de basse époque. Quelle civilisation n'a pas ses légendes sur le fabuleux pays de l'or? Judaïsme et hellénisme auraient donc puisé les leurs dans le même fond commun, qui explique pas ailleurs la parenté étroite de deux géographies mythiques: celle d'Hénoch et celle, plus évoluée et plus diluée, de la légende grecque [5]).

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[1]) Je reproduis la traduction de H. Berguin, *L'enquête de Hérodote d'Halicarnasse*, t. I, p. 263.

[2]) Cf. P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine*, 169 B.

[3]) *RB*, 1958, p. 51 s.

[4]) Telle semble être la pensée de H. Del Medico: „Si notre lecture du texte est exacte („... aux parvis du pays de la mort ..."), nous aurions ici une image prise aux mythologies païennes, ce qui pourrait permettre de tirer quelques conclusions sur le milieu dans lequel notre texte peut avoir été écrit." (*op. cit.*, p. 515). Mais, outre que le „pays de la mort" est à rayer de la carte géographique de notre apocryphe, il suffit de se reporter au livre d'Hénoch pour retrouver deux voyages du même type. Le problème des contacts avec la mythologie païenne se pose donc au niveau de ce livre, et non de l'apocryphe de Qumran.

[5]) En étudiant la géographie mythique d'Hénoch, j'ai cru devoir écarter l'idée d'une dépendance par rapport à celle de la tradition pythagoricienne malgré

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'hypothèse que je formule n'a qu'un but: expliquer comment le nom de *Parvaïm* est attribué ici au séjour d'Hénoch parmi les Anges. Encore le mot reste-t-il lui-même sans explication certaine, du point de vue étymologique et sémantique. Quant à la traduction du passage difficile, je retiendrais jusqu'à plus ample informé: „Quand Metushelah eut appris [ces choses, . . . 22 il alla] vers Hénoch son père pour savoir de lui le tout avec vérité [. . .]23 sa volonté. Et il s'en alla tout de suite au Parvaïn, et là il le trouva".

POST-SCRIPTUM

Cette note était rédigée quand la *Revue Biblique* d'Octobre 1959 est venue confirmer de façon inattendue l'identification du Parvaïm avec le Paradis des justes [1]). J. T. Milik y reproduit le texte d'un curieux apocryphe où sont énumérés les trésors du temple de Jérusalem enfouis, disait la légende, avant la catastrophe de 586. Or en trois passages, il y est question de l'or de Parvaïm (cf. 2 Chr. iii 6) et de l'or du Jardin d'Eden, évidemment identiques l'un à l'autre. Au paragraphe 5: „Soixante-dix-sept tables d'or, et leur or (était de l'or provenant) des recès [2]) du Jardin d'Eden qui fut révélé [3]) à Salomon" (*wzhbm mqyrwt šl gn ʿdn šntglh lšlmh*). Suit l'éloge de cet or extraordinaire, dont on dit par la suite qu'il couvrait le sanctuaire à l'extérieur et à l'intérieur (cf. 2 Chr. iii 4-7; les tables d'or sont mentionnées plus loin en iv 19-22). Au paragraphe 7: „Et des arbres d'or de Parwaïm qui produisaient des fruits pour six cent soixante-six myriades de talents d'or fin, qui était [4]) sous l'arbre de vie dans le saint Jardin" (*wʾylnwt šl zhb prwwyym šhyw ʿwśyn pyrwt šš mʾwt wššym wšš rbwʾ kkry zhb ṭwb šhyh mtḥt ʿṣ hhym bgn hqwdš*). Enfin au paragraphe 10: „. . . les tables d'or fin de sous l'arbre de vie qui se dresse dans le saint Jardin,

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des parallélismes de détail. Toutes deux me semble développées de façon indépendante à partir d'un prototype mésopotamien (*RB*, 1958, p. 54 et 68). J'en dirais autant de l'or d'Apollon gardé par les Arimaspes et de l'or de Parvaïm (si toutefois le rapprochement des deux thèmes s'impose).

[1]) Voir J. T. Milik, Notes d'épigraphie et de topographie palestinienne, RB, 1959, p. 550-575 (le texte dont nous parlons est aux p. 568 ss.).

[2]) Milik traduit: „des mines", ce qui est peut-être trop préces car *qir* évoque en premier lieu une „chambre".

[3]) Milik: „des mines du Paradis *qui furent révélées* à Salomon". Mais l'accord veut que l'antécédent de *š-*, sujet de *ntglh*, soit un singulier: ou bien l'or, ou bien le Jardin d'Eden.

[4]) Milik: „Ils se trouvaient". Ici encore, l'accord conduit à penser que l'or se trouve sous l'arbre de vie, et non les fruits ou les arbres d'or.

au nombre de 70" (*wšlḥnwt šl zhb ṭwb mṭḥt h'ṣ hḥyym h'wmd hgn hqwdš* 70). Ainsi la tradition reproduite dans ce texte connaît l'identification formelle du *Gan Eden* (le Jardin des justes d'Hénoch) et du Parvaïm. Et l'identification se fait précisément en raison de l'or fabuleux du temple, or de Parvaïm selon 2 Chr. iii 6, qui est considéré comme d'origine paradisiaque. Le rapprochement avec la légende des griffons est confirmé. Le livre d'Hénoch connaît aussi cet Arbre de Vie situé dans le Paradis (xxiv 4-5; xxv 4-5); mais il n'est question ni de ses fruits d'or, ni de l'or que l'on trouve au dessous. Malgré cela, le parallélisme des deux légendes s'impose à l'esprit.

DER KALENDER DES JUBILÄENBUCHES UND DAS ALTE UND DAS NEUE TESTAMENT

VON

ERNST KUTSCH

Mainz

Die Funde vom Toten Meer haben u. a. auch über den Kalender Aufschluss gegeben, den die Gemeinschaft von Qumran, mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit Essener, ihrer Zeitrechnung zugrunde gelegt haben. Es ist der rein solare Kalender, wie er bereits aus dem „astronomischen Buch" äthHen 72-82 und aus dem Jubiläenbuch bekannt war. Das Jahr ist dabei — unabhängig vom Mondumlauf — in 12 Monate zu je 30 Tagen eingeteilt. Der 3. Monat eines jeden Vierteljahres, d.h. der 3., 6., 9. und 12. Monat, ist um einen 31. Tag verlängert [1]). Jedes Vierteljahr enthält also 91 Tage oder genau 13 Wochen, das ganze Jahr 364 Tage [2]) oder 52 Wochen [3]). Der grosse Vorteil dieses Kalenders liegt darin, dass jeder Kalendertag und damit vor allem auch die Feste in jedem Jahr auf denselben Wochentag fallen. Dem steht der Nachteil gegenüber, dass dieses Jahr von 364 Tagen gegenüber den 365,2422 Tagen des Sonnenjahres um rund $1\frac{1}{4}$ Tage zu kurz ist. Diese Differenz hätte in 4 Jahren 5 Tage, in 24 Jahren bereits 30 Tage, in 100 Jahren 125 Tage betragen. Eine solche Vorverlegung konnte man nicht in Kauf nehmen, zumal ja — wenigstens nach der Theorie [4]) — die ersten Tage der Vierteljahre mit den Solstitien zusammenfallen sollten. Wenn auch die bisher veröffentlichten Texte keine Angaben über eine Interkalation enthalten, ist angesichts der drohenden Verschiebungen doch mit Sicherheit irgendeine Schaltpraxis anzunehmen. Die Einschaltung einzelner Tage oder eines ganzen Monats ist ausgeschlossen, da hierdurch entweder die Relation der einzelnen Tage des Jahres zu den Wochentagen aufgehoben oder aber die fortlaufende Wochenordnung unterbrochen worden wäre. Es bleibt nur die Möglichkeit,

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[1]) Vgl. besonders äthHen 72, 13-15. 19-21. 25-27. 31f.

[2]) äthHen 72, 12; Jub 6, 32.

[3]) Vgl. zu dem in Qumran verwendeten Kalender besonders E. Vogt, „Antiquum Kalendarium sacerdotale", *Bibl* 36, 1955, pp. 403-408, und E. Kutsch, „Das Herbstfest in Israel" (*Theol. Diss. Mainz*), 1955, pp. 48ff (Maschinenschrift); *RGG*³ I, 1957, Sp. 1812ff.

[4]) Vgl. äthHen 72.

dass man jeweils eine ganze Woche interkaliert hat; nur bei einer solchen Massnahme blieb das gegebene Wochenschema erhalten [1]). Dabei wird man jeweils innerhalb von 28 Jahren fünfmal eine Woche eingeschaltet haben [2]), und zwar wohl immer am Ende eines Jahres.

Wenn man weiss, dass bei diesem Kalender die einzelnen Monatstage in jedem Jahr auf denselben Wochentag fallen, erhebt sich weiter die Frage, an welchem Wochentag das Jahr begonnen hat. Als erster vermutete R. P. Barthélemy den Mittwoch, den 4. Wochentag, als Tag des Jahresbeginns (1.I.) [3]). Diese Auffassung hat A. Jaubert in ihrem Aufsatz „Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumrân. Ses origines bibliques" [4]) aufgenommen und eingehend gestützt. Ihre Bestätigung fand diese These durch in Höhle 4 von Qumran gefundene und im Aug. 1956 erstmals bekannt gemachte Kalenderfragmente [5]). Hier sind die Feste mit den Wochentagen angegeben, an denen sie begangen wurden; dabei sind die einzelnen Wochen durch die aus 1 Chron. xxiv 7-18 bekannten Priesterklassen bezeichnet. Wenn z.B. das Passa = 14. I. [6]) auf den 3. Wochentag (Dienstag), das Wochenfest = 15. III. [7]) auf den 1. Wochentag datiert ist, dann liegt der 1. I. auf dem 4. Wochentag (Mittwoch). Das veranschaulicht die folgende, von Jaubert aufgestellte Tabelle [8]).

I. (= IV.VII.X.)	II. (= V.VIII.XI.)	III.(= VI.IX.XII.)	
1 8 15 22 29	6 13 20 27	4 11 18 25	: Mittwoch
2 9 16 23 30	7 14 21 28	5 12 19 26	: Donnerstag
3 10 17 24	1 8 15 22 29	6 13 20 27	: Freitag
4 11 18 25	2 9 16 23 30	7 14 21 28	: Sabbat
5 12 19 26	3 10 17 24	1 8 15 22 29	: Sonntag
6 13 20 27	4 11 18 25	2 9 16 23 30	: Montag
7 14 21 28	5 12 19 26	3 10 17 24 31	: Dienstag

[1]) So (unabhängig von einander) Vogt a.a.O. p. 407; Kutsch a.a.O. pp. 61f.

[2]) Vogt a.a.O. p. 407.

[3]) *RB* 59, 1952, pp. 200f.

[4]) *VT* 3, 1953, pp. 250-264. — Vgl. weiter ihren Aufsatz: „Le calendrier des Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine", *VT* 7, 1957, pp. 35-61. Jaubert wendet sich hier auch mit Recht gegen die These von J. Morgenstern, „The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees, its Origin and its Character", *VT* 5, 1955, pp. 34-76, p. 60, dieses Jahr habe an einem Dienstag begonnen.

[5]) M. Milik, *VT Suppl.* 4, 1957, pp. 24f. Vgl. E. Vogt, „Kalenderfragmente aus Qumran", *Bibl* 39, 1958, pp. 72-77.

[6]) Jub 49,1.

[7]) Jub 44,4; 29,7; 28,15; vgl. 14,10; 16,13: „in der Mitte des (3.) Monats".

[8]) *VT* 3, p. 253; 7, p. 35. — Da die Vierteljahre genau 13 Wochen umfassen, also jeweils mit einem Mittwoch beginnen, genügt die Aufstellung für ein Vierteljahr, dem dann die anderen Vierteljahre entsprechen.

Ein Vergleich aller Daten des Jubiläenbuches mit dieser Tabelle ergibt, dass in Jub keine Handlung, kein Ereignis auf einen Sabbat fällt [1]). Das tritt besonders deutlich Jub 29, 5-7 zu Tage. Danach erreicht Laban den Jakob am 13. III. Der Bundesschluss zwischen beiden (vgl. Gen. xxxi 43 ff.) erfolgt aber erst am 15. III., d.h. am Wochenfest. Warum datiert das Jubiläenbuch das Zusammentreffen auf den 2. Tag vor dem Versöhnungsakt? V. 6b „und Laban redete mit Jakob" soll sicher nicht besagen, dass es erst einer Aussprache von einem Tag bedurft hätte. Ein Blick auf die Tabelle lehrt, dass nach dem Kalender des Jubiläenbuches der 14. III. ein Sabbat war. Eine Reise am Sabbat wäre eine Entweihung dieses Tages gewesen; deshalb musste ihre Beendigung auf den 13. III. vorgelegt werden.

Nun enthalten die vollständigen Daten im Jubiläenbuch die Angabe des Jahres (nach Jobelperiode und Jahrwoche), des Monats und des Tages. Diese Datierungsweise entspricht — formal gesehen — der im Alten Testament seit Ezechiel und der Priesterschrift, d.h. also seit dem Beginn des Exils, üblichen Art des Datierens, wo ebenfalls Jahr, Monat und Tag aufgeführt sind. Diese Übereinstimmung ist für Jaubert Anlass gewesen, hinter diesen Datierungen in der Priesterschrift, im Ezechielbuch, im chronistischen Werk (abgesehen von den Daten mit den später üblichen Monatsnamen in Esra/Nehemia) und bei Haggai denselben solaren Kalender zu vermuten, den das Jubiläenbuch verwendet. Jaubert retrojiziert also den solaren Kalender des Jubiläenbuches in das Alte Testament. Als beachtliches Argument für ihre These kann sie die Beobachtung anführen, dass von dieser Voraussetzung aus nicht eines der mit Tag und Monat angegebenen Daten des Alten Testaments auf einen Sabbat fällt [2]). Wichtig ist ausserdem, dass dann in exilischen und nachexilischen Schriften des Alten Testaments — ebenso wie im Jubiläenbuch — der 1., 4. und 6. Wochentag, d.h. der Sonntag, Mittwoch und Freitag, als liturgische Tage hervortreten, dieselben Tage, die später auch im Urchristentum eine besondere Rolle spielen [3]).

Indes erheben sich gegen die Behauptung, der solare Kalender des Jubiläenbuches finde sich bereits im Alten Testament, starke Bedenken. Es ist doch von vorneherein unwahrscheinlich, dass die Juden zu Beginn des Exils, also zu einem Zeitpunkt, als gerade der Tempel zerstört, der Kult unmöglich geworden war, sich auch darin

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[1]) Jaubert, *VT* 3, pp. 252ff.
[2]) *VT* 3, pp. 258ff.
[3]) *VT* 3, pp. 258ff; 7, pp. 44ff.

von ihrer Vergangenheit abgewandt hätten, dass sie eine andere Zeitrechnung begonnen hätten. Viel eher ist zu erwarten, dass sie wie etwa am Sabbat und an der Beschneidung, so auch am überlieferten Kalender festgehalten haben, besonders im Rahmen des Kultes. — Sodann wird die oben erwähnte Beobachtung hinsichtlich des Sabbats dadurch abgewertet, dass in den von JAUBERT herangezogenen Teilen des Alten Testaments, setzt man den Jubiläenkalender voraus, auch kein Ereignis auf den 2. Wochentag, den Montag, fällt [1]).

Gewichtiger aber sind einige konkrete Argumente.

1) Die Priesterschrift hat den Verlauf der Sintflut folgendermassen zeitlich fixiert: Die Sintflut beginnt am 17. II. des 600. Lebensjahres Noahs (Gen. vii 11). Das Wasser steigt 150 Tage lang, dann fällt es wieder (vii 24; viii 3), und am 17. VII. landet die Arche auf dem Berg Ararat (viii 4). Am 1. X. werden die Bergspitzen sichtbar (viii 5), am 1. I. in Noahs 601. Lebensjahr sind die Wasser versiegt, und am 27. II. ist die Erde wieder trocken (viii 14) — die Sintflut ist beendet. Dass mit der zeitlichen Begrenzung 17. II. 600 - 27. II. 601 die Dauer eines Jahres angegeben ist, wird wohl allgemein anerkannt. In äthHen 1061,5 wird für die Sintflut ausdrücklich „ein Jahr" angesetzt. Auch die LXX rechnete mit der Dauer eines Jahres. Da aber der Übersetzer den ursprünglichen Text nicht richtig verstand, änderte er das Anfangsdatum in den 27. II. [2]). Dadurch wurde rein datumsmässig das volle Jahr hergestellt; genau genommen ist die Frist sogar um einen Tag zu lang. Der Verfasser des Jubiläenbuches wollte ebenfalls deutlich machen, dass die Sintflut genau ein Jahr gedauert hat. Er liess als Beginn den 17. II. [3]) stehen (Jub 52, 3 f.), setzte dafür aber das Ende auf den 16. II. des folgenden Jahres an (5, 31) [4]).

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[1]) Im ganzen Alten Testament bildet eine Ausnahme lediglich die Beorderung der königlichen Schreiber am 13.I. bzw. 23.III. nach Est iii 12; viii 9. Diese beiden Tage wären Montage gewesen. Aber gerade die Daten des Esterbuches schliesst JAUBERT ausdrücklich vom Jubiläenkalender aus, da in Est ix 15 der Monatsname Adar gebraucht ist, hier also deutlich Mondmonate vorausgesetzt sind (*LT* 7, p. 49 n. 1).

[2]) Parallel dazu stellte er in Gen viii 4 auch den 27. VII. her.

[3]) So mit R. H. CHARLES, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* in English, II, 1913, p. 21. E. LITTMANN bietet in seiner Übersetzung in: E. KAUTZSCH, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, II, 1900, p. 49 in Jub 5, 23 den „27."; da aber nach demselben Vers Noach und seine Begleitung vom 1.-16.II. in die Arche einzogen, kann für das darauf folgende Verschliessen der Arche nur der 17.II. gemeint sein.

[4]) Die Landung der Arche ist in Jub 5, 28 zwar erwähnt, aber — anders als in Gen viii 4 — nicht datiert. Dafür ist der Beginn des Zurückgehens des Wassers

Wie aber erklären sich die Daten von P? Ihnen liegt zunächst das Jahr von 12 Mondmonaten zu je rund 29½ Tagen, d.h. von 354 Tagen zugrunde. Dieses Jahr von 354 Tagen zählt also vom 17. II. 600 bis zum 16. II. 601. Hinzu kommen die Tage vom 17.-27. II. 601, das sind 11 Tage (und nicht 10 [1]). P rechnet hier also mit einem Jahr von 354 + 11 = 365 Tagen. Das heisst: nach der Auffassung von P hat die Sintflut genau ein Sonnenjahr gedauert. Wäre nun bei P der Kalender des Jubiläenbuches vorausgesetzt, dann betrüge die Dauer der Sintflut 1 Jahr = 364 Tage zuzüglich der 11 Tage vom 17.-27. II. 601, d.h. 375 Tage. Es ist aber kein Grund zu sehen, warum P gerade diese Zahl beabsichtigt haben sollte. Dagegen ergibt die Rechnung 354 + 11 = 365 Tage = 1 Sonnenjahr einen klaren Sinn.

Aus dieser Berechnung ergibt sich zweierlei: 1. Für P sind die mit Ziffern bezeichneten Monate — anders als im Jubiläenbuch — Mondmonate. 2. Indem P zu den 354 Tagen der 12 Mondmonate 11 (nicht 10) Tage hinzurechnet, zielt er auf eine Jahreslänge von 365 Tagen, nicht von 364 Tagen. Er setzt also auch hierin die Kenntnis des Jubiläenkalenders nicht voraus.

2) Nach 2 Chron. xv 8-15 versammelten sich auf Befehl des Königs Asa „ganz Juda und Benjamin und diejenigen aus Ephraim und Manasse und Simeon, die als Schutzbürger bei ihnen weilten," in Jerusalem, „und sie gingen einen Bund ein, Jahwe, den Gott ihrer Väter, von ganzem Herzen und von ganzer Seele zu suchen" (V. 12). Als Datum für diesen „Bundesschluss" ist angegeben: „im 3. Monat . . . an jenem Tage" (V. 10 f.). Das Targum denkt bei dieser Datierung an das Wochenfest [2]) und hat damit das Richtige überliefert [3]). Das Wochenfest ist durch die Zeitspanne von 7 Wochen bzw., wenn man den als Ausgangspunkt geltenden Tag mitzählt, von 50 Tagen mit dem Mazzotfest verbunden (Dtn. xvi 9; Lev. xxiii 15 f.). Diese Frist erstreckt sich über zwei Monatswechsel. Je nach dem nun die beiden in dieser Zeit zu Ende gehenden (Mond-)

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auf den 1.VII. festgelegt. Da man nun nicht mehr von 150 Tagen Steigen des Wassers (Gen vii 24) reden kann, wurde die Erzählung auch hier geändert: das Wasser „stand" 150 Tage auf der Erdoberfläche. Nach Jub 5, 30 wie nach Gen viii 5 wurden die Bergspitzen am 1.X. sichtbar.

[1]) So z.B. R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis*, 1902, pp. 56f zu Jub 6, 32; J. B. Segal, *VT* 7, 1957, pp. 270. 291.

[2]) W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (HAT 21), 1955, p. 245 bei n. 3.

[3]) K. Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia* (ATD 12), 1954, p. 115; G. Kretschmar, „Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten", *ZKG* 65, 1955, pp. 209-253, pp. 226f; Kutsch, *Herbstfest*, pp. 152ff.

Monate 29 oder 30 Tage zählten [1]), schwankte der Termin des Wochenfestes, wenn man wie später die Pharisäer am 16. I. zu zählen begann, zwischen dem 5. und 7. III. Da man also für das Wochenfest keinen festen Termin angeben konnte, begnügte man sich mit der Formulierung „im 3. Monat an diesem Tage". Von hier aus erklärt sich auch das gleichlautende Datum in Ex. xix 1. Hier ist nicht, wie meist angenommen, eine genaue Tagesangabe ausgefallen; vielmehr ist auch hier das Wochenfest bzw. wegen V. 16 für die Ankunft der Israeliten am Berg Sinai der zweite Tag vor dem Fest gemeint. Der Bundesschluss selbst ist damit auf das Wochenfest datiert [2]). Berücksichtigt man nun, dass nach dem Jubiläenkalender das Wochenfest auf den 15. III. fällt [3]), dann wird wiederum sichtbar, dass weder P noch die Chronik den solaren Kalender des Jubiläenbuches verwendet haben, sondern wie seit alters üblich mit Mondmonaten rechnen. Eine weitere Beobachtung verdeutlicht das noch. Nach Jub 1,1 (vgl. Ex. xxiv 12) stieg Mose am 16. III. auf den Sinai, um die zwei Steintafeln mit dem Gesetz in Empfang zu nehmen. Dies geschah aber nach Ex. xxiv 4aβ am Tage *nach* der Gesetzesmitteilung von Ex. xix ff.; d.h. nach dem Jubiläenbuch hat diese am 15. III., dem Wochenfest, stattgefunden. Da P, wie wir sahen, bereits (wohl als erster) diese Datierung vorgenommen hat, hätte er, wenn er dem Jubiläenkalender gefolgt wäre, für die Ankunft der Israeliten am Sinai den 13. III. genannt.

3) Im Alten Testament werden die mit Ziffern bezeichneten Monate einerseits mit den alten kanaanäischen Monaten Ziw (= 2. Monat; 1 Kön. vi 1), Etanim (= 7. Monat; 1 Kön. viii 2) und Bul (= 8. Monat; 1 Kön. vi 38) [4]) gleichgesetzt, andererseits später mit den aus den babylonischen Monatsnamen abgeleiteten Bezeichnungen benannt: 11. Monat = Schebat (Sach. i 7), 9. Monat = Kislew (Sach. vii 1) usw. Bei den Monaten, die die alten Namen tragen, wird meist der ältere Begriff für „Monat", יָרֵחַ, gebraucht (1 Kön. vi 37 f.;

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[1]) Der Neumond als der erste Monatstag wurde durch Beobachtung des Neulichtes des Mondes festgestellt.

[2]) Kutsch, *Herbstfest*, pp. 154ff; *ZThK* 55, 1958, p. 21 n. 3.

[3]) Da in diesem Kalender der 1.1. ein Mittwoch ist, beginnt das Mazzotfest (15.-21.1.) ebenfalls an einem Mittwoch. Geht man nun zur Berechnung des Termins für das Wochenfest von dem auf das Mazzotfest folgenden „Tag nach Sabbat" (Lev. xxiii 15!), dem 26.1., aus, kommt man für das Wochenfest auf den 15.III. (Barthélemy, *RB* 59, pp. 199-203).

[4]) Der Monat Abib entspricht dem 1. Monat, vgl. Dtn. xvi 1 mit Lev. xxiii 4.

viii 2), der, von יָרֵחַ „Mond" abgeleitet, deutlich den Mondmonat bezeichnet. Da weiter die babylonischen Monate, auf die die späteren jüdischen Monatsnamen zurückgehen, Mondmonate waren, wird man dies auch von den Monaten, auf die diese Namen übertragen wurden, anzunehmen haben. Also werden die mit diesen beiden Grössen gleichgesetzten mit Ziffern bezeichneten Monate ebenfalls Mondmonate gewesen sein. Innerhalb etwa des chronistischen Werkes zweierlei Kalender zu postulieren, gibt der Text selbst nicht den geringsten Anhalt.

Damit ist für P und für das chronistische Werk, auf die JAUBERT besonderes Gewicht gelegt hat [1]), die Rechnung mit Mondmonaten nachgewiesen. Für diese Teile des Alten Testaments ist also der Jubiläenkalender ausgeschlossen. Aber auch für die übrigen in Frage kommenden Texte des Alten Testaments ist der lunisolare Kalender vorauszusetzen, wie er in Israel vor dem Exil und dann im orthodoxen Judentum immer allein der Zeitrechnung zugrunde lag [2]).

Dieses Resultat hat auch Folgerungen für die neutestamentliche Exegese. Einzelne frühchristliche Zeugnisse datieren Jesu Abendmahl auf den Abend des 3. Wochentages, also des Dienstags [3]). Nach JAUBERT entspricht diese Tradition dem historischen Ablauf der Ereignisse der Karwoche. Jesus wäre also, indem er das Passamahl am Dienstagabend feierte, dem „*alten* priesterlichen Kalender" [4]) gefolgt, d.h. dem solaren Kalender des Jubiläenbuches, der bereits den Daten der Priesterschrift zugrunde gelegen und der neben dem offiziellen (lunisolaren) Kalender eine liturgische Bedeutung auch im orthodoxen Judentum behalten habe. Von hier aus erkläre sich die Überlieferung bei den Synoptikern, Jesu letztes Mahl vor seiner Gefangennahme sei ein Passamahl gewesen (Mk xiv 12 ff. par.). Jesus sei dann am Mittwoch gefangen genommen und erst am Freitag gekreuzigt worden. Dieser Freitag sei nun im *offiziellen* jüdischen

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[1]) *VT* 3, pp. 258ff.

[2]) Die Untersuchungen von J. MORGENSTERN, besonders die Aufsätze: „The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel", *HUCA* 1, 1924, pp. 13-78; „Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel", *HUCA* 10, 1935, pp. 1-148; „The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees, its Origin and its Character," *VT* 5, 1955, pp. 34-76, wurden hier mit Absicht nicht berücksichtigt, da sie eine eigene, weitläufige Auseinandersetzung erfordern würden.

[3]) A. JAUBERT, „La date de le dernière Cène", *RHR* 146, 1954, pp. 140-173, pp. 141 ff.; *La date de la Cène*, 1957, pp. 79ff.

[4]) *RHR* 146, p. 157; *La date de la Cène*, 1957, p. 107.

Kalender der 14. Nisan gewesen, an dem auch tatsächlich die Passalämmer geschlachtet wurden. Den Tod Jesu am „Rüsttag des Passa" habe demnach das Johannesevangelium (xix 14) richtig überliefert. Im Todesjahr Jesu hätte also das Passa des Jubiläenkalenders drei Tage vor dem „offiziellen Passa" gelegen.

Die Möglichkeit, dass die beiden Kalender hinsichtlich des Passa um drei Tage differieren, so dass die orthodoxe Feier auf den Freitag fiel, ist natürlich gegeben. VOGT hat sie in dem oben p. 40 n. 5 genannten Beitrag auf andere Weise demonstriert. Die Aufzählung der Feste ist in jenem Kalenderfragment überschrieben: „das 1. Jahr, seine Feste"; dabei ist nicht ersichtlich, worauf sich diese Jahreszählung bezieht. Aus dem für dieses Jahr bezeugten Synchronismus „Freitag des Ezechiel, 29. Schebat, 22. XI. (des solaren Kalenders)" ergibt sich, dass in diesem Jahr — vorausgesetzt, dass die Mondmonate auch in der Praxix dieses Jahres abwechselnd 29 und 30 Tage hatten — der 1. Nisan (des orthodoxen Kalenders) einen Tag später als der 1. I. liegt. In diesem Jahr folgt auch das orthodoxe Passa dem „sektiererischen" um einen Tag. Vergleicht man nun die beiden Kalender durch die folgenden Jahre, dann hätten — nach VOGT — die Jahre 1-3 im Jubiläenkalender $3 \times 364 = 1092$ Tage. Im lunisolaren Kalender dagegen käme zu den $3 \times 354 - 30$ (Schaltmonat) $= 1092$ Tagen ein weiterer Tag hinzu, da das synodische Mondjahr um rund 1/3 Tag länger ist als 354 Tage [1]), d.h. ein Monat im Verlauf von drei Jahren müsste statt 29 Tagen 30 Tage haben [2]). In jedem 3. Jahr, also im 4., 7. usw. [3]), würde demnach das Passa um einen Tag weiterrücken, so dass es, von dem genannten Jahr 1 aus, im 7. Jahr auf den 3. Tag nach dem Jubiläen-Passa, d.h. auf den Freitag fiele. Das wäre der von JAUBERT vorausgesetzte Fall. Aber mehr als eine *Möglichkeit* ist mit dieser Ableitung nicht dargestellt. Zudem ist die Ableitung selbst so schematisch, dass auch sie nur eine nicht sehr hohe Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat. Denn wir haben ja keinerlei Anhalt darüber, ob nicht in die sechs Jahre von Passa des Jahres 1 bis zum Passa des Jahres 7 (nach dem Jubiläenkalender) innerhalb des lunisolaren Kalenders drei statt der vorausgesetzten zwei Schaltmonate gefallen sind, etwa im 1., 3. und 6. Jahr, oder ob nicht auf der anderen Seite innerhalb der sechs Jahre

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[1]) Genauer: 354 Tage 8 Stunden 48 Minuten 36 Sekunden.

[2]) VOGT, *Bibl* 39, pp. 76f.

[3]) Die beiden dazwischen liegenden Jahre können hier ausser Betracht bleiben, da sie für diesen Zusammenhang nichts ergeben.

des Jubiläenkalenders einmal eine Woche interkaliert wurde. In beiden Fällen wären die Berechnungen von VOGT hinfällig. So ist von den Kalenderfragmenten von 4Q aus kein Argument zugunsten der These von JAUBERT zu gewinnen.

Für die von JAUBERT vorgeschlagene Lösung des Problems, wieso die Synoptiker einerseits und das Johannesevangelium andererseits den Tod Jesu unterschiedlich datieren, ist eine wesentliche Voraussetzung, dass der solare Kalender des Jubiläenbuches bereits in P verwendet ist und dass von hier aus die mit diesem Kalender verbundenen liturgischen Traditionen auch noch zur Zeit Jesu in Priesterkreisen des orthodoxen Judentums bekannt waren und beachtet wurden [1]). Diese Voraussetzung trifft aber, wie wir sahen, nicht zu. In den alttestamentlichen Schriften ist der Gebrauch des Jubiläenkalenders nicht nur nicht nachzuweisen, sondern zumeist ausgeschlossen. Damit ist auch vom Alten Testament her kein Argument dafür gegeben, dass dieser Kalender am Jerusalemer Tempel zur Zeit Jesu irgend eine Rolle gespielt hätte. Jesus hätte sein letztes Mahl vor der Gefangennahme nur dann am Dienstag als Passamahl feiern können, wenn er der Zeitrechnung der Sekte von Qumran gefolgt wäre — eine Annahme, die kaum Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat und der die Meinung der Synoptiker, Jesus habe mit seinen Jüngern zur selben Zeit wie die anderen Juden das Passa gefeiert (vgl. Mk. xiv 1 f. 12 ff.; Mt. xxvi 1 ff. 17 ff.; Lk xxii 1 ff. 7 ff.), jedenfalls widerspricht [2]).

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[1]) Die Bedeutung dieser Abhängigkeit betont z.B. auch M. ZERWICK in seiner Besprechung der genannten Monographie von JAUBERT, *Bibl* 39, 1958, p. 508.

[2]) Zum neutestamentlichen Aspekt der These von A. JAUBERT vgl. die Sammelbesprechung über die Frage des Verhältnisses der Qumran-Texte zum Neuen Testament, die H. BRAUN für die *Theologische Rundschau* vorbereitet.

THE TEXTUAL PROBLEMS OF PSALM XVII

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This psalm is a *cri de coeur*. It belongs to the prayers of exculpation and vindication, where the suppliant, conscious of his innocence, appeals to God to help him against his enemies. Many of them attain a poignancy of expression and an emotional intensity which make them unique in literature.

Psalm xvii contains one famous *crux* in verse 14. In the following study I put forward a new reading, which at least does no violence to the consonantal text. The list of textual obscurities is by no means exhausted with this difficult verse. There are many others which require elucidation, as the wealth of emendations assembled in the critical apparatus in KITTEL-KAHLE (a large number of which could however be jettisoned with advantage) bears witness. There are, indeed, few verses which are free from some textual corruption or other. I have found no less than eighteen places where the text needs to be revised or reconsidered. I propose to deal with the textual problems of this psalm on the lines of my study of Psalm x, which I published in the *JTS* XLV (1944), pp. 16-21.

Verse 1. צֶדֶק | יְהוָה While צִדְקִי (supported by LXX) is required by the text, the substitution of אֵל for יְהוָה proposed by editors, is unnecessary. In common with LXX they have missed the point that צִדְקִי does not refer to God ("O God of my righteousness"), but to the psalmist's plea for justice and vindication, the other meaning of צֶדֶק. צִדְקִי thus parallels רִנָּתִי and תְּפִלָּתִי in the same verse. The rendering would therefore be, "Hear, O Lord, my plea for justice".

2. עֵינֶיךָ Here, too, the LXX comes to our aid. Its translation corresponds to the reading of עֵינַי, which is distinctly superior. It is the suppliant who wants to see justice done.

3. בַּל־תִּמְצָא זַמֹּתִי GUNKEL recognised that a verbal form was unsuitable here, and therefore proposed, following the versions,

זִמֹּתַי. What is reasonably clear is that the psalmist intended to say that God could find no evil designs or purposes *in* him. This requires בַּל־תִּמְצָא זִמֹּת בִּי and postulates the omission of the preposition בְּ, GUNKEL's emendation fails to convey the particular shade of meaning required, which COVERDALE instinctively sensed several centuries before by his rendering, "& hast founde no wickednes in me" [1]). When the major versions were made, the text would appear to have become already corrupt at this place.

בַּל־יַעֲבָר־פִּי Admittedly difficult, if only that it is not with the mouth, but with the heart that the sinner transgresses. He would be too wily to give utterance to his godless thoughts. I would therefore propose בַּל־יַעֲבָר־לִבִּי, "my heart has not transgressed", thus continuing the thought expressed earlier in the verse that God had searched the suppliant's heart. The confusion of the labials ב with פ is a frequent occurrence in MT [2]). The ל of לִבִּי may therefore have strayed from its context and attached itself to the next word, to form the puzzling לִפְעֻלוֹת, that begins v. 4.

4. לִפְעֻלוֹת אָדָם Another stumbling block to commentators. What we need is a verbal form to balance שָׁמַרְתִּי in the second hemistich. Removing the embarrassing ל, which we have tried to account for above, we secure, with slight modification of the text, פָּעַלְתִּי.

אָדָם is equally enigmatic. I would suggest אֲדֹנָי, the מ (or ם) and נ (or ן) being so similar in the ancient script as to lead to frequent errors in the text of MT. A somewhat similar confusion, this time of אֲדֹנִי with אָדָם occurs in I Sam. xvii. 32, where לֵב־אָדָם should read לֵב־אֲדֹנִי, following. Cf. also the almost certain תִּשְׁמְרֵנוּ for MT תִּשְׁמְרֵם in Ps. xii. 8. We now obtain the reading פָּעַלְתִּי אֲדֹנָי, for the inexplicable לִפְעֻלוֹת אָדָם.

כִּדְבַר שְׂפָתֶיךָ בִּדְבַר שְׂפָתֶיךָ would make better sense: "I have acted, O Lord, according to the word of thy lips". The confusion of כ with ב, already noticed by the early Hebrew grammarians [3]), has long been recognised as a frequent cause of error.

אֲנִי שָׁמַרְתִּי אָרְחוֹת פָּרִיץ פָּרִיץ cannot be right, for the suppliant

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[1]) Ps. xvi in COVERDALE (1535).
[2]) *See e.g.* GRAETZ, pp. 121-2.
[3]) *See e.g.* GRAETZ, p. 130.

could scarcely confess that he had kept to the paths of the tyrant. To obviate this difficulty editors have emended שָׁמַרְתִּי to נִשְׁמַרְתִּי, "I have kept away from the paths of the tyrant". But KITTEL-KAHLE, in recording this emendation, failed to note that נִשְׁמַרְתִּי would require to be followed by מֵאָרְחוֹת. GRAETZ (p. 203) similarly pleaded for שָׁמַרְתִּי מֵאָרְחוֹת פָּרִיץ, basing his emendation on the *Pĕshiṭṭā*, which translates (converting the Syriac into Hebrew characters): אלא נטרתני מן אורחתא בישתא. He also did not realize that a reflexive form of שָׁמַר was required here, like נִשְׁמַרְתִּי or הִשְׁתַּמַּרְתִּי.

My own preference is to retain שָׁמַרְתִּי but to alter פָּרִיץ to צַדִּיק, which gives us the rendering, "I have kept to the paths of the righteous". The emendation may seen somewhat drastic, but we have the classic example of this kind of mental polarity exhibited in reverse in Is. xlix. 24, where צַדִּיק is rightly corrected by the three major versions (LXX, Vulgate and *Pĕshiṭṭā*) to עָרִיץ (similar in form and meaning to פָּרִיץ). We may have here another case of saying the opposite of what was intended. It would be more appropriate, too, that the psalmist should express himself positively rather than negatively by asserting that he had followed the righteous, rather than saying that he had avoided the ways of the violent. (The possibility of פָּרִיץ being a textual corruption of צַדִּיק should also not be overlooked).

5. תָּמֹךְ אֲשֻׁרַי While the absolute infinitive form can be grammatically justified, we notice, on the other hand, as so often happens in the Psalms, a correspondence between the verbal forms in the two or more parts of the same verse. As we have נָמוֹטוּ in the second hemistich, we should expect a similar verbal form in the first. תִּמְכוּ is therefore indicated [1]).

7. הַפְלֵה חֲסָדֶיךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ חוֹסִים The concrete form represented by חֲסִידֶיךָ rather than the abstract חֲסָדֶיךָ seems more suitable here. Cf. Ps. iv. 4: ודעו כי־הפלה יהוה חסיד לו. The plural is necessary rather than the singular חֲסִידְךָ, to which GUNKEL is partial, to balance the plural of חוֹסִים in the next hemistich. As for חוסים, the LXX in its rendering of τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ σέ = חוֹסֶיךָ (or חוֹסֵי־בָךְ, if we

[1]) *See* KITTEL-KAHLE[3].

assume that the preposition בְּ has dropped out), once again restores the *Urtext*. (In this psalm alone the LXX provides, in my opinion, superior readings in no less than three places.) GUNKEL needlessly emends to חוֹסֶה־בָּךְ [1]), apparently unaware that participles do not require the addition of the preposition when other verbal forms demand it. Thus we have חֲפֵצֵי צִדְקִי (not בְּצִדְקִי) in Ps. xxxv 27, חֲפֵצֵי רָעָתִי in Ps. xl 15, and כָּל־בָּאֶיהָ in Prov. ii 19. חוֹסֶיךָ would thus have the force of חוֹסֵי־בָךְ [2]).

8. בָּבַת־עָיִן בַּת־עָיִן (GUNKEL) is possibly an improvement. The omission of one ב would thus be due to haplography.

9. שַׁדּוּנִי G. R. DRIVER [3]) proposes שַׁדְּדוּנִי in the sense of 'they assaulted me', quoting Prov. xix 26 in his support. The objection to this emendation is that the question of personal assault upon the suppliant does not arise at this stage: to introduce the notion of violence at this point is therefore unwarranted. In point of fact, the psalmist's enemies are in the end apparently baulked of their prey, and do not come to grips with their victim. I would suggest שָׁרוּנִי, 'They eye me balefully'. The idea of the suppliant being ceaselessly and relentlessly watched by his predatory enemies is implicit in the psalm.

10. חֶלְבָּמוֹ The emendation to חֵלֶב לִבָּמוֹ, which has a long *isnād* behind it [4]), is both ingenious and convincing. The emendation thus represents a conflation of two words telescoped into one, with two consonants in close juxtaposition omitted by reason of *homoeoteleuton*.

11. אַשְׁרֵינוּ HERKENNE's emendation, which has the support of G. R. DRIVER (*op. cit.*, p. 152), of אִשְׁרוּנִי, 'they are hard on my heels', in which the Arabic تأثّر is brought in as support, happily disposes of the *crux*.

12 דְּמִינוֹ As it stands, the word is hard to explain. In the first place, the singular pronominal suffix would be inappropriate when hitherto the enemies have been referred to in the plural. One suspects, too, that a verbal form is concealed in the word, as in אַשְׁרֵינוּ in the

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[1]) In spite of the plural form preserved by LXX, GUNKEL was lead to adopt the singular form because of his emendation חֲסִידְךָ in the first hemistich.

[2]) *See* GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH[1] § 116 i.

[3]) *JTS* XLIII, p. 152.

[4]) *See* GUNKEL, p. 58.

verse before. G. R. DRIVER (*op. cit.*, p. 152) suggests דַּמּוּנִי, 'They watch me', on the analogy of the Syriac ܕܡܐ 'spectavit, observavit', quoting from BROCKELMANN. It may however, be objected that the word does not occur either in Biblical or Rabbinic Hebrew in this sense, although that does not rule out such a suggestion entirely. From the tenor of the verse it seems reasonably clear that some verb with the meaning of 'to watch' is required, as DRIVER perceived. I would suggest רָאוּ־בִי 'they glare at me'. The addition of the בְּ with רָאָה would give the verb a hostile sense. Cf. Ps. xxii 18: המה יביטו יראו־בי, in a similar context. Although as a general rule in textual criticism the substitution of an easier word for a more difficult one may be too facile a solution, it is perhaps justified in this context. The ר is often confused with the ד in MT for obvious reasons, and there are many examples of confusion of the א with the מ, as well as of the ב with the נ [1]).

14. מִמְּתִים יָדְךָ יְהוָה מִמְּתִים מֵחֶלֶד חֶלְקָם בַּחַיִּים Emendations of this baffling verse, some of them involving drastic alterations, have been offered in bewildering profusion [2]). Good sense can be obtained by the simple method of introducing vocalic changes and by the transposition of consonants. I would read: תְּמִימִם יָדָךְ . יְהוָה תְּמִימִם מֵחֶלֶד חֶלְקָם בַּחַיִּים, which I would render: 'They that are perfect [sc. "in thy ways"] will praise thee, O Lord. As for the perfect of the world, their portion is in this life". It may be noted that the defective form תְּמִימִם, which I have adopted in order to keep close to MT, is found far more frequently than the *plene*.

A true understanding of this intractable verse has been bedevilled by the belief, held by so many editors and commentators, including some Rabbinic exegetes, that the first half of the verse refers to the רשעים, or, according to some Jewish traditions, to the mighty pagan conquerors of old, instead of the צדיקים. Proceeding from this conviction, the interpretation of the text has been forced to yield a diametrically opposite meaning. On the other hand, the emendations proposed above not only resolve the difficulties of MT (the versions are equally at sea), but link up smoothly with the second half of the

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[1]) *See e.g.* GRAETZ, pp. 129-131.

[2]) The reader will find in the critical apparatus in KITTEL-KAHLE[3] a goodly sample of synthetic emendations of this verse.

verse, upon whose interpretation so much ingenuity has been wasted [1]) וְצָפִינְךָ . . . לְעוֹלְלֵיהֶם Following GRAETZ [2]), I would read the first word, about which the Massoretes were not quite sure, as וְצָפוּנֶיךָ, adopting with some slight modification, the *Qᵉrē*, instead of the *Kᵉthībh*, and would translate 'and as for thy saints'. For this meaning of the word, cf. Ps. lxxxiii 4, וְיִתְיַעֲצוּ עַל־צְפוּנֶיךָ [3]).

In the same verse, לְעוֹלְלֵיהֶם should be taken as a poetical variant of בָּנִים, rather than in the strictly literal sense of 'sucklings'.

15. The keynote to the psalm is צֶדֶק with which the psalmist begins and ends, to express his conviction in the justice of his cause, and his ultimate vindication.

Emended Text of Psalm xvii

תפלה לדוד

1	שמעה יהוה | צִדְקִי	הקשיבה רנתי האזינה תפלתי
	בלא שפתי מרמה:	
2	מלפניך משפטי יצא	עֵינַי תחזינה מישרים):
3	בחנת לבי | פקדת לילה	צרפתני בל־תִּמְצָא זִמֹּת בִּי
	בל־יעבר לִבִּי:	
4	פְּעָלָתִי אֲדֹנָי כִּדְבַר שפתיך	אני שמרתי ארחות צַדִּיק:
5	תָּמְכוּ אשרי במעגלותיך	בל־נמוטו פעמי:
6	אני־קראתיך כי־תענני אל	הט־אזנך לי שמע אמרתי:
7	הפלה חֲסִידֶיךָ מושיע חוֹסֶיךָ	ממתקוממים בימינך:
8	שמרני כאישון בָּבַת־עין	בצל כנפיך תסתירני:
9	מפני רשעים זו שָׁדוּנִי	איבי בנפש יקיפו עלי:
10	חֵלֶב לִבָּמוֹ סגרו	פימו דברו בגאות:
11	אֲשֻׁרוּנִי עתה סבבוני	עיניהם ישיתו לנטות בארץ:
12	רָאוּ־בִי כאריה יכסוף לטרוף	וككפיר ישב במסתרים:
13	קומה יהוה קדמה פניו הכריעהו	פלטה נפשי מרשע חרבך:
	תְּמִימִם יִדְךָ | יהוה	תְּמִימִם מחלד חלקם בחיים:
14	וְצָפוּנֶיךָ תמלא בטנם	ישבעו בנים והניחו יתרם לעולליהם:
15	אני בצדק אחזה פניך	אשבעה בהקיץ תמונתך:

[1]) As *e.g.* by GUNKEL, p. 59, who fights so hard to champion a weak case. In contrast to so many other commentators, RASHĪ, following *Midhrash Tᵉhillīm*, realises that the second half of the verse must refer to the צדיקים.

[2]) *L.c.* p. 205.

[3]) GRAETZ, *ibid.*, by a slip refers to 'Ps. 84.4.'

Translation [1])

1. Hear, O Lord, my plea for justice,
   Attend to my cry;
   Listen to my prayer, *said* with no deceitful lips.
2. Let my judgement came forth from thy presence;
   That mine eyes may look upon the right.
3. Thou hast tested my heart;
   In the night didst thou visit me.
   Thou hast tried me, but couldst find no evil designs in me;
   My heart has not transgressed.
4. I have done, O my Lord, according to the word of thy lips:
   I have kept to the ways of the righteous.
5. My steps have held fast to thy paths,
   My feet have not slipped.
6. I have called upon thee; thou wilt surely answer me, O God:
   Turn thy ear towards me, *and* hear my speech.
7. Set apart thy saints, O thou that savest
   Those who put their trust in thee by thy right hand
   From those that rise up *against them.*
8. Keep me as the apple of the eye,
   In the shadow of thy wings shalt thou hide me,
9. From the wicked that eye me balefully,
   My deadly enemies that encompass me.
10. They have closed up their heart with fat:
    With their mouth they speak arrogantly.
11. They are hard on my tracks, now do they surround me:
    They train their eyes to range over the earth.
12. They glare at me like a lion frantic for prey;
    Or like a lion's whelp lurking in secret places.
13. Arise, O Lord,
    Confront him, cast him down:
    With thy sword deliver my soul from the wicked.
14. They that are perfect *in thy ways* will praise thee, O Lord:
    As for the perfect of this world, their portion is in this life;
    And for thy saints, thou wilt fill their belly,
    They will be satisfied with children,
    And shall leave their substance to their offspring.
15. As for me, I shall look upon thy face in righteousness;
    I shall be content when I awake with thy likeness.

[1]) The translation is based on *RV* except where the text has been emended or reinterpreted.

THE SUSA TABLETS, THE BIBLE AND THE ARAMAIC PAPYRI

BY

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† 10.1.1960

The Susa Tablets [1]) reveal a number of remarkable parallels to the Bible and to the Aramaic papyri. I do not profess to know what precisely the significance of these parallels is. The primary task, however, is to recognize them. In the process some new interpretations will emerge and, perhaps, some widely held notions will have to be modified.

1. *The Susa Tablets and The Bible*

a. *Formula of Oath*

In several of the Susa tablets the formula of the oath reads: (*ilu*) *Šušinak lu-da-ru*, which is rendered by SCHEIL as "Vive Šušinak" [2]). This, as has been noticed by SCHEIL [3]), is similar to the form of the oath which occurs a number of times in the Bible. He cites 2 Sam. xii 5; 2 Kings ii 2 and several other Biblical texts.

b. *Threat of Banishment*

In a number of the Susa documents, mainly such as represent gifts, there occurs a clause in which those who would contest the validity of the gift are threatened with dire consequences. The following, in SCHEIL's translation, is an example:

> "(Si quelqu'un), 'Riḥûa n'est pas fils, (tel bien)
> ne lui a pas été donné', disait: à l'eau il se rendra,
> dans l'eau du tourbillon que le dieu Šazi fracasse
> sa tête, que le courroux du dieu et du roi soit sur sa
> tête, par l'ordre du dieu et du roi qu'il disparaisse!" [4]).

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[1]) These tablets were published by V. SCHEIL, under the title *Actes Juridiques Susiens*, in Mémoires de la délégation en Perse, volumes XXII-XXIV, and will be cited here, by volume and number, as *AJS*.

[2]) See, e.g., *AJS* XXIII 318.5, 16; 319.4.

[3]) See V. SCHEIL, „La formule du serment à Suse", *Revue d'assyriologie*, 27 (1930), 99.

[4]) *AJS* XXII, 1.

The phrase which is rendered by Scheil as „par l'ordre du dieu et du roi qu'il disparaisse" reads in the original *i-na a-wa-at i-li u šar-ri li-i-zi*. SCHEIL's translation is endorsed by CUQ [1]), but it is disputed by KOSCHAKER who interprets the phrase as importing outlawry (*friedlosigkeit*). To quote from his article: "...wörtlich 'aus dem Befehl (Worte) des Gottes und des Königs möge er herausgehen' im Sinne von: er möge fürderhin des Schutzes des Gottes und des Königs entbehren, friedlos sein" [2]).

In the light of a Biblical parallel which I shall presently discuss, KOSCHAKER's interpretation seems to be correct in substance, though not in detail. SCHEIL should have rendered the phrase into French as *par l'ordre du dieu et du roi qu'il soit banni*. The Accadian *waṣu* (= Hebrew יָצָא) meaning *to go out* is used in the technical sense of *to be banished*. A similar usage of the Hebrew יצא occurs once in the Bible, in Gen. iv 16, in the story of Cain and Abel.

A famous Biblical case of banishment and outlawry is that of Cain who was banished for the murder of his brother Abel. In Gen. iv 11-16 we read:

> "And now cursed art thou from the ground, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand. When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a wanderer shalt thou be in the earth. And Cain said unto the Lord: 'My punishment is greater than I can bear. Behold, Thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the land; and from Thy face shall I be hid; and I shall be a fugitive and a wanderer in the earth; and it will come to pass, that whosoever findeth me will slay me'. And the Lord said unto him: 'Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold'. And the Lord set a sign for Cain, lest any finding him should smite him. And Cain went out (ויצא קין) from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod on the east of Eden" [3]).

In the light of the Susa parallel, the last verse assumes new and forceful significance: Cain was banished from the presence of the Lord and he dwelt in the land of Nod (Wandering). The phrase

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[1]) See E. CUQ, „Le droit élamite d'après les actes juridiques de Susa", *Revue d'assyriologie* 29 (1932), 152.

[2]) P. KOSCHAKER, „Göttliches und weltliches Recht nach den Urkunden aus Susa". *Orientalia* N.S. 4, 44.

[3]) All the quotations from the Bible in English are from the version of the Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1945.

ומפניך אסתר ("and from Thy face shall I be hid") is probably to be interpreted as meaning *I shall be deprived of Thy protection*, and hence "I shall be a fugitive and a wanderer in the earth", that is *an outlaw*, with the result "that whosoever findeth me will slay me".

Further support for the above interpretation of *waṣu* as meaning *to be banished* may be seen in § 154 of the Code of Hammurabi, where the *šafel* of this verb is used in the sense of *to banish*. This section, in DRIVER-MILES' English translation, reads as follows: "If a man (carnally) knows his daughter, they shall banish that man from the city" [1]). In their legal commentary on this section, they say: "By § 154 if a man 'has known' (Bab. *iltamad*) his own daughter 'they shall make him go forth from the city' (Bab. *alâm ušeṣṣûšu*)" [2]).

[1]) DRIVER-MILES, *The Babylonian Laws*, II, p. 61.

[2]) *Ibid.*, I, p. 318. It seems that the formula *ḫa-at-tu ša i-li u šar-ri i-na qa-aq-qa-di-šu l*] *i-iš-ša-ki-in* in AJS XXII 1.17-19, which is rendered by *Scheil* as „que le courroux du dieu et du roi soit sur sa tête", also has some parallels in the Bible, as will appear from the following discussion.

A Neo-Babylonian contract of suretyship dated in the 14th year of Nabonidus reads, in DOUGHERTY's translation (R. P. DOUGHERTY, "The Babylonian Principle of Suretyship as Administered by Temple Law", *American Journal of Semitic Languages* 46 [1930], 91), as follows: "The responsibility for Kalbi, the son of Nûrêa, Nûrêa, the son of Aḫulap-Ishtar, his father, and Balaṭu, the son of Nabû-ushallim, son of Sin-liq-unnînni, until the tenth day of Elul to Ilani-rimanni, the chief officer of the king, the chief guardian of Eanna, bear. On the day when he lifts up his head, they shall bring (him) and shall give (him). If they do not bring (him) and do not give (him), they will be guilty of a sin against the king (*ḫi-tu ša šarri i-šad-da-du*). This is so obviously and strikingly similar to the formula of suretyship in Gen. xliii 9 that the similarity will be fully apparent even from a translation. The Biblical formula reads: "I will be surety for him; of my hand shalt thou require him; if I bring him not unto thee and set him before thee, then I shall be a sinner against you (וחטאתי לך) all the days". SAN NICOLÒ in a document dated 531/30 B.C., published by him in transliteration and translation (M. SAN NICOLO, „Materialien zur Viehwirtschaft in den neubabylonischen Tempeln II", *Orientalia* N.S. 18 1949, 295ff.) renders the phrase *ḫi-tu ša šarri i-šad-da-du* (1.18) as „werden sie die Strafe des Königs sich zuziehen". In a note to *ḫi-tu ša-šarri* he writes: „Parallel hierzu finden wir im neuassyrischen Verwaltungsrecht das *arnu ša šarri*, während wiederum in den Immunitäts-und Schenkungsurkunden von Susa aus altbabylonischer Zeit die Strafe (*ḫattu*) Gottes, des Sukkal-maḫ und des Königs den Anfechtenden treffen soll...". In the light of the Biblical parallel quoted above, it seems that *ḫiṭu* in the Neo-Babylonian documents and *ḫattu* in the documents from Susa are to be rendered rather as "sin". Accordingly, the formula which is rendered by SCHEIL as „que le courroux du dieu et du roi soit sur sa tête" should be rendered instead as „qu'un péché contre le dieu et contre le roi soit sur sa tête". A still closer parallel to this formula occurs in Nu. xxxii 23, where those who would break an agreement are threatened with a sin against the Lord, which, it may be presumed, entails punishment by Him ("But if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned against the Lord"). On the formula in Gen. xliii 9 and on the phrase which SCHEIL renders as „sur sa tête", see my notes in *V.T.* VII (1957), 398f. and *V.T.* IX (1959), 209f.

At this point I beg to be permitted a digression in order to trace, in broad outline, some ramifications of the institution of banishment, as it is reflected in the Biblical story and in the Susa documents, into the law of Nuzi and into post-Biblical Jewish law.

The word נוד, which is a cognate of נדה and of the Accadian *nadû* (to throw, throw out) provides a key to the understanding of a certain obscure legal practice which is referred to in some documents from Nuzi. KOSCHAKER came pretty close to a correct interpretation thereof, but because he was unaware of a parallel practice in Jewish law he missed the main point. The practice, as KOSCHAKER inferred, was applicable to a contumacious or a recalcitrant party. I shall quote some parts of his discussion in his own words:

> „In Nuzi IV 369,42 wird der kontumazierte Beklagte *uštu bitišuma* 'aus seinem Hause' verurteilt. Dieselbe Klausel begegnet im Nuzi IV 344,40; 355,23,34; 390,39. In allen Fällen handelt es sich um Ungehorsam gegen richterliche Anordnungen".

He then goes on to say that in 390 the defendant is threatened with being adjudged (*nadû*) *out of his house* if he fails to appear in court by a certain date; in another document a litigant offers to the court to produce his witnesses by a certain date and if he fails to do so, the court may adjudge (*nadû*) him *out of his house*; in still another document a litigant objects to the court's attempt to adjudge (*nadû*) him *out of his house* on the ground that he is a palace slave. KOSCHAKER continues:

> „Vielleicht bringt uns eine Prüfung der Terminologie weiter. *Nadû* ‚verurteilen' heisst wörtlich ‚werfen'... Der verurteilte wird... ‚aus seinem Hause' hinausgeworfen, d.h. er verliert als Ungehorsamsfolge sein Haus".

I believe that KOSCHAKER is quite right in his inference that the procedure of "being cast out of his house" was applicable to a contumacious party. He is, however, wrong when he says that it means loss of the party's house. It does not mean that; it means *banishment*, *excommunication*. Following is a quotation from GESENIUS-BUHL [2]), s.v נדה „...nh (neuhebräisch) Pi. austossen, exkomuni-

[1]) P. KOSCHAKER, „Randnotizen zu neuen keilschriftlichen Rechtsurkunden, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 43 (1936), 206-207.

[2]) *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das alte Testament* (17th ed.), 487a. See also M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 878b. I venture to suggest that the verb *nadû* also has the meaning of *to banish*, *excommunicate* in the troublesome § 127 of the

zieren...ass. *nadû* werfen, auswerfen". To complete the chain of evidence it is only necessary to point to the consequences of contumacy under Talmudic law. A party who failed to appear in court when summoned was declared מנודה —excommunicated—after the lapse of three court days from the day appointed for his appearance [1]).

The meaning of *banishment*, *excommunication* for *nadû* will explain why a party who was a slave of the palace claimed immunity from this kind of punishment. To excommunicate a servant of the king would cause serious impairment to the interests of the king who would be deprived of the services of his servant.

c. *Nazâzu* = קום

The deeds of conveyance from Susa regularly contain a warranty clause in which it is stated that in case a claim is asserted by a third party against the property conveyed, the seller will stand up (*izzaz*) [2]). The term *izzaz* has been generally misunderstood by legal historians. SCHEIL renders it *se tiendra responsable* [3]) or *en répondra* [4]). San-Nicolò interprets it as meaning *wird einstehen* [5]). As I have shown elsewhere [6]), the true meaning of this term is *will stand up* (*in court*), that is the

Code of Hammurabi which has been the subject of much discussion among scholars. This section, in DRIVER-MILES (*The Babylonian Laws* II, p. 51) translation, reads:

"If a man has caused a finger to be pointed at a high priestess or a married lady and has then not proved (what he has said), they shall flog the man before the judges and shave half his head".

The word which they render as flog is *nadû* (see *ibid.*, p. 212), and it should rather be rendered as *banish*. The apodosis in this section should accordingly read: "they shall banish that man before the judges and shave half his head". The offender is to be excommunicated in the presence of the judges and a further punishment in the form of a humiliating sign of his excommunication is to be inflicted on him. Referring to the shaving of half of the offender's head, DRIVER-MILES (*ibid.*, I, 278) write:

"The shaving is described by saying that 'they shall shave his half' (Bab. *muttassu ugallabu*, as the phrase may be literally translated), in the same terms as it is prescribed also in *ana ittišu* for a son who has denied his mother; but there after its infliction he is driven round the city and expelled from his home".

The procedure described in *ana ittišu* sounds very much like excommunication and the shaving there like a sign of excommunication. There is perhaps an allusion to the sign of excommunication in Cain's sign (Gen. IV 15).

[1]) See *Babylonian Talmud*, *Baba Kama* 113a.

[2]) See *AJS* XXII 42.14, 43.14 *et passim*.

[3]) See *AJS* XXII 44.

[4]) See *AJS* XXII 43.

[5]) See M. SAN-NICOLÒ, *Die Schlussklauseln der altbabylonischen Kauf- und Tauschverträge*, 142, 149. See also P. KOSCHAKER, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht*, 174, n.l.

[6]) See *Biblica* 35 (1954), 201, n. 3; my *Jewish Law*, 142ff.

seller will stand up in court and clear the property. Sometimes SCHEIL renders *izzaz* by *fera face* or *fera front* [1]), which approaches the true meaning of the term.

Occasionally, there is an additional provision that in case the property is reclaimed by the third party, another piece of property belonging to the seller *izzaz*. In AJSXXIII, no. 205. 14-19, for example, it is stated:

a-na ba-aq-ri-im u ru-gi-ma-an-ni
Puzur(ilu) Ma-am-mi-i u (ilu) Šušinak ilu
a-na (ilu) Sin im-gur-an-ni iz-zi-iz-zu
eqlum an-nu-um i-ba-qa-a-ar-ma
kîrum 240 (qa) zîr-šu ša šu-pa-lu-lu
ša Puzur (ilu) Ma-am-mi-i *i-za-az*.

This is rendered by SCHEIL as follows:

„Contre revendication et contestation Puzur Mammi et Susinak ilu, au lieu de Sin imguranni, feront face. Si le champ est réclamé (par un ayant droit),—un verger de 240 *qa* d'ensemencement, dit *Šupalulu*, appartenant a Puzur Mammi, en répond".

In a note SCHEIL says:

„Outre la responsabilité des *deux* vendeurs engagée, en cas de revendication, on désigne en espèce un verger appartenant a l'un des vendeurs, et qui sert de gage éventuel, en cas d'éviction".

However, upon analysis this explanation is anything but convincing. The field is not intended as a *gage* in case of eventual eviction of the buyer, but as a *substitute* for the property from which he was evicted. In other words, in case of eviction the buyer is to become the owner of the other designated property, instead of the one he has bought. This is clearly spelled out in AJSXXIV no. 364. 14-19, where it is stated:

bîtu an-nu-u ib-ba-qar-[ma
bîtum i-zum u ma-du...
šu-pa-az-zu ša Warad Sin
ita Sin šar-rum
ki-ma bîti an-ni-i
iz-za-az

[1]) See, e.g., *AJS* XXIII 205, 206, 208.

This is rendered by SCHEIL as follows:

> „Cette maison est-elle revendiquée? Une (autre) maison, petite ou grande, qui est la demeure de Warad Sin, sise à côté de Sin šarrum, en place de cette maison-là, répondra (est garante)".

This translation is somewhat inaccurate. SCHEIL apparently interprets the clause as meaning the other house, instead of this one, is guarantor. The truth of the matter, however, is that neither *this one* nor *that one* is guarantor. What is obviously meant here is that in case of eviction from *this house*, the *other house*, instead of *this one*, shall become the property of the buyer. That this is the legal significance of the clause in question there can hardly be any doubt [1]). There still remains the question of how the term *nazâzu*, philologically, fits into this legal meaning of the clause. The answer to this question is found in a special nuance of the word קום (= *nazâzu*) occurring twice in chapter xxiii of Genesis. Gen. xxiii 16-20 reads:

> "And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron; and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the hearing of the children of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant. So the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field and the cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the border thereof round about, were made sure (ויקם) unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city. And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre—the same is Hebron—in the land of Canaan. And the field, and the cave that is therein, were made sure (ויקם) unto Abraham for a possession of a burying- place by the children of Heth".

Just as ויקם in this Biblical passage means *was made sure*, so *izzaz* in the clause from the Susa tablets under discussion means *shall be made sure* or *stand fast* as one's property.

d. *Conveyance in Perpetuity.*

The deeds of sale from Susa regularly contain a clause in which it is stated that the conveyance is made to the buyer and to his *posterity*, *forever*. The following is an example:

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[1]) See below.

10. a-na du-ur u pa-la
    a-na še-ir-še-ir-ri
    .....
18. ki-ma a-bu a-na ma-ri i-ša-mu
    (ilu) Nin šubur a-bi
    .....
21. a-na da-ra-ti i-ša-am

This is translated by SCHEIL as follows:

„Pour toujours et jamais, pour la postérité;
...Comme un père pour un fils achète, ainsi
Nin šubur abi...pour jamais a acheté" [1]).

A formula which is similar to this clause in the Susa deeds, not only in substance but also in some of the details, occurs a number of times in the Bible and in the Aramaic papyri. Gen. xiii : 15 reads:

כי את כל הארץ אשר אתה ראה לך אתננה ולזרעך עד עולם

("for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever"). This, it will readily be seen, is the terminology of a conveyance in perpetuity—a conveyance in fee simple, to use the language of the common law of England and the United States. Again, in Gen. xvii 7-8 we read:

"And I will establish My covenant between Me and thee and thy seed after thee throughout their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee and to thy seed after thee. And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land of thy sojournings, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God".

Note particularly the similarity between *ana darati* and לדרתם and between *šeršerri* and לזרעך. With respect to *šeršerri*, Scheil says: „Nous tirons le sens de ce dernier mot de *šerru*, enfant, composition analogue a *marmaru* 'fils du fils' [2]). Interestingly enough, Scheil's interpretation of this compound word finds support in Ps. ciii 17: "But the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear Him, and His righteousness unto children's children".

A clause similar to the verses just quoted from the Bible and to the clause in the Susa deeds also occurs in the Aramaic papyri. The following is an example:

אנתי שליטה בה מן יומא זנה ועד עלם ובניכי
אחריכי למן זי רחמתי תתנן

[1]) *AJS* XXII 45.
[2]) *AJS* XXII, p. 51.

("You have full rights over it from this day forever, and your children after you. To whom you wish you may give it") [1]).

As I have shown elsewhere [2]), למן זי רחמתי תנתנן (to whomsoever you wish you may give it) has a close parallel in *ašar tarâmu itâddîn* (to whomsoever she wishes she may give it), occurring in some of the Susa documents. The rest of the clause spells out, in language similar to that of the verses just quoted from the Bible, a conveyance in perpetuity.

2. *The Susa Tablets and The Aramaic Papyri.*

a. *Maḥâru* = קבל

AJSXXIV330 is classed by Scheil among the partition (partage) documents. More precisely it should be characterized as a settlement of claims with respect to an inheritance. The document reads in part as follows:

1. I-bi (ilu) Nin šubur
   a-na makkur Tan(an) U-li
   u ap-lu-ti-šu
   a-na mār Puzur Ma-za-at
   it-bi-šu-nu-si im-ma
   . . . . . .
14. I-bi (ilu) Nin šubur
   ap-lu-u ša Puzur Ma-za-at
   li-ba-šu u-te-bu
   ap-lu-zu-nu
   zi-za-at ga-am-ra-at
   I-bi(ilu) Nin šubur
   u ap-lu-šu
   e-li ap-li
   sa Puzur Ma-za-at
   di-nam u a-wa-tam
   u-ul i-šu-u.

SCHEIL's translation of this part of the document reads as follows:

„Ibi Nin šubur, au sujet de l'avoir de Tan Uli et de son propre droit d'héritage,— contre le (resp.les) fils de Puzur Mazat s'est

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[1]) A. COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, no. 8. 9f. (p. 22). See also nos. 13.7, 25.8f.

[2]) *Biblica* 36 (1955), 74ff.

levé...Les fils de Puzur Mazat contentèrent le coeur de Ibi Nin šubur. Leur (commun) héritage est partagé, réglé. Ibi Nin šubur ou ses fils héritiers, contre les fils de Puzur Mazat, n'intentera ni procès ni affaire".

The gist of the above-quoted portion of the document is: Ibi Nin sûbur sued the sons of Puzur Mazat with respect to an inheritance. The sons of Puzur Mazat satisfied the heart (*libašu utebu*) of Ibi Nin šubur, that is made a settlement with him, and he promised that in the future he will not institute suit or process against them (*dinam u awatam ûl išu*). This is to be compared with *Cowley* 14, which is entitled by COWLEY *Settlement of Claim*. In COWLEY's translation it reads in part as follows:

"On the 14th of Ab...year 25 of Artaxerxes the king, said Pi b. Pahi...to Mibtaḥiah, daughter of Mahseiah...: In accordance with the action דינא which we took at Syene, let us make a division concerning the money and corn and garments and bronze and iron, all goods and possessions, and the marriage-document. Then an oath was imposed on you and you swore to me concerning them by the goddess Sati and my heart was content (לבבי וטיב) with that oath which you took to me concerning those your goods and I renounce all claim on you from this day for ever. I have no power to institute against you suit or process (דין ודבב), you or son or daughter of yours in the matter of those your goods concerning which you have sworn to me" [1])

As in the document from Susa, so in this document there was a suit by one party against the other; one of the parties satisfied the other, whereupon the latter promised not to sue the former. The correspondence is not only in pattern but also in details, וטיב לבבי corresponding to *libašu utebu* and [2]) דין ודבב to *dinam u awatam* [3]).

Most remarkable is the parallelism between what follows the part quoted above from AJSXXIV330 and a certain formula which occurs several times in the Aramaic papyri. Lines 25-27 read:

25. aš-šum ap-lu-ti-šu

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[1]) COWLEY, *op. cit.*, no. 14 (p. 42).

[2]) This phrase occurs numerous times in the Aramaic papyri. See COWLEY, *op. cit.*, 282 (Index), s.v. דין; Emil G. KRAELING, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, 310b (Index).

[3]) This phrase occurs several times in the Susa tablets. See *AJS* XXII 37.14, 160.16; XXIV 330.23, 331.11f.

šarram u da-a-na-am
u-ul i-ma-ḥa-ar.

SCHEIL renders this as: „Au sujet de son héritage, il n'abordera ni roi ni juge". More correctly he should have said: Il ne se plaindra ni(devant) roi, ni(devant)juge. The party who has received satisfaction promises that in the future he will not *complain before king or judge*. Almost identical language occurs in the Aramaic papyri [1]). In Cowley 8.11-14, for example, we read:

> "Whoever shall institute against you suit or process, against you or son or daughter of yours or anyone belonging to you on account of this land which I give to you, and shall appeal against you to governor or judge (ויקבל עליכי סגן ודין) shall pay to you or to your children the sum of 10 (that is, ten) kerashin, royal weight".

In a note to line 13 COWLEY says:

> "סגן a Babylonian term (*šaknu*), properly 'deputy' or 'representative' of the king. If דין means 'judge', the two words indicate two different authorities, the high court...and the local court. But it may mean 'magistrate and (his) court'. יקבל lit. 'complain against you [to] governor or judge'" [2]).

In the light of the parallel phrase in the Susa document it would seem that the two words do indicate two different authorities, but whether this corresponds to the realities of the administration of justice in Elephantine in the 5th century B.C. or is just a repetition of a stereotyped phrase cannot be determined with certainty. The latter alternative seems to be the more likely one. As to the correspondence between קבל and *maḥâru* it is sufficient to quote some of the definitions of these words from GESENIUS-BUHL and BEZOLD, respectively.

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[1]) See COWLEY, *op. cit.*, 8.13, 10.18f.; KRAELING, *op. cit.*, 9.19, 10.12f., 12.28.

[2]) COWLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 25. A truly remarkable correspondence to סגן ודין of the Aramaic papyri occurs in a tablet published in transliteration and translation by LUTZ (H. F. LUTZ, *The Verdict of a Trial Judge in a Case of Assault and Battery*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vol. 9, no. 6, pp. 379-381), which as the editor tells us, belongs to the Hammurabi period and comes from a mound situated in "the Nahrawan region, beyond the Diyâlâ river, which territory contains the tells of Bismaya, Asmur (Ašnunnak), Tshuma, Khafadjy, Ašjaly and Adjrab". Lines 6-8, in transliteration and translation, read:

> šak(k) anakku u da-ia-nu Bi-ir-l-li-šu ṣâb
> Amurrim a-na bâb Ištar id-di-nu-šu
>
> "The prefect and the judge brought Birilisu, the
> Amorite feudatory to the Gate of Ishtar".

"קבל gegenüberstehn, entgegengehn...entgegennehmen, empfangen, aufnehmen...in Pe.u.Pa. auch: d. Richter anrufen, wie äg.-aram., m.d.acc.d.P., APA, B. 16 D. 13, od. קדם B.5, APO 30 12, u. על " [1]).

Maḥâru...entgegenkommen, entgegentreten, entgegensein... Klage erheben...aufnehmen...empfangen...erhalten". [2])

It seems that the older usage of קבל is with the accusative of the person without קדם, which corresponds to the usage of *maḥâru* in the Susa document.

The word *maḥaru* also occurs in some partnership agreements in a context which has given rise to a difference of opinion between KOSCHAKER and SCHEIL as to the meaning of the clause in which the word occurs. AJSXXIII270. 6-11, for example, reads:

i-na ša-la-am gi-ir-ri-šu
kaspam um-ma-na i-ip-pa-al-ma
ne-me-lam ib-ba-aš-šu-ma
ma-al-[la] aḥ-ma-mi i-zu-zu
ki-di-nam u ku-bu-uz-za-am
u-ul u-ma-aḥ-ḥa-ar.

SCHEIL's translation reads:

"A la fin de son expédition, Bêlšunu rendra son argent au capitaliste, et s'il y a eu bénéfice, ils le partageront
à parts égales. (Bêlšunu) n'alléguera ni temple, ni
kubuzzê (traditions, précédents)".

KOSCHAKER's interpretation of the last phrase is diametrically opposed to that of SCHEIL. Whereas SCHEIL seems to interpret the clause as meaning that the obligor will perform according to the tenor of the document regardless of any rules of law, that is without taking advantage of any rules of law which may be in his favor, KOSCHAKER interprets it as meaning that the obligor will not act against the norms of the law. To quote:

„*kidinnam u kubussâm ūl umaḥḥar* besagt dass der

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[1]) GESENIUS-BUHL P. 698a.

[2]) C. BEZOLD, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, 169a.Cf. [*f*] *ar-ra-am im-ta-ḫar* in tablet 7, col. I, line 42 of *ana ittišu* (B. LANDSBERGER, *Die Serie ana ittišu*, p. 94), which is rendered there as „den König ging er(um Hilfe) an". In the light of the parallel from the Aramaic papyri this rendering, it would seem, requires correction. "Before the king he complained" would probably convey the meaning of the Accadian phrase with a fair degree of accuracy.

Kommendatar (XXIII270.10; 271.12; 272.11), der Darlehnsschuldner (XXIII181.21) bei Erfüllung ihrer Verpflichtungen der Rechtsordnung nicht entgegen handeln werden" [1]).

KOSCHAKER's interpretation, as against that of SCHEIL, does not seem very plausible. Why should a joint venturer who receives an advance of money from another joint venturer say, in so many words, that he will not act contrary to law? Does not that go without saying? Again, why is this type of clause found only in contracts of joint venture and once in a contract of loan and not in other types of contract? Under SCHEIL's interpretation, on the other hand, there is, as we shall presently see, good reason for this clause and for its occurrence in contracts of joint venture and of loan only.

Oddly enough, Scheil's interpretation seems to be supported by a reference to the terms of a loan agreement in DEMOSTHENES 35 (Contra Lacrit.), § 39: ἡ μὲν γὰρ συγγραφὴ οὐδὲν κυριώτερον ἐᾷ εἶναι τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων οὐδὲ προσφέρειν οὔτε νόμον οὔτε ψήφισμα οὔτε ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν πρὸς τὴν συγγραφήν.

Nothing is to be brought forward against the agreement, either law or decree or anything else. A clause of similar import occurs in a loan agreement of the 2nd century B.C. from Arkesine [2]): τῆς δὲ συγγραφῆς τῆσδε . . . μηδὲν εἶναι κυριωτερον, μήτε νόμον μήτε ψήφισμα μήτε δόγμα μήτε στρατηγὸν μήτε ἀρχήν.

As I have shown elsewhere [3]), the phrase μήτε στρατηγὸν μήτε ἀρχήν

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[1]) P. KOSCHAKER in *Orientalia*, N.S.4, 46.

[2]) See L. MITTEIS, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs*, 178, n. 4, citing *Bulletin de correspondance hellenique* VIII, 23f.

[3]) *Jewish Law*, 116f. The occurrence in Greek sources of a legal formula going back to the Susa tablets is not so strange as it seems at first sight. It was probably transmitted through some Hebrew or Aramaic source. As I have shown in my book *Jewish Law* (p. 35 ff.) and in an article in *Biblica* (39,77 ff.), there was considerable traffic of ideas, especially in matters legal, between Jews of Elephantine and Greeks. This is probably true also of other places about which no information has reached us. Legal terminology in Biblical Hebrew, on the one hand, and in Greek on the other, points in this direction. I shall call attention here to two very striking examples.

1. The words ἀδικέω and βοηθέω are standard terminology in petitions for relief by aggrieved parties in the Greco-Egyptian papyri of the early Ptolemaic period. In P. Enteuxeis 48 (217 B.C.), for example, the petition begins with ἀδικοῦμαι and ends with ἵνα διὰ σέ βασιλεῦ, τύχω τῆς βοηθείας. Similar terminology occurs in DEMOSTHENES 34.2: δεινὸν ἡγούμεθα εἶναι τὸ μὴ βοηθῆσαι ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ὑπὸ τούτου. There is clearly discernible in this terminology the notion that the main function of the administration of justice is to succour the oppressed who suffer wrongs at the hands of their oppressors. This idea in substantially

corresponds to the phrase לסגן ומרא (governor or prefect) in Brooklyn 10.13. The latter phrase, as we have seen above, goes back to the Susa tablets.

There remains the question why is the clause barring the maker of the document from taking advantage of regulations in his favor limited to partnership agreements. The answer, I believe, is to be found in the companion clause, in which it is provided that at the end of the venture the party who received the money from the capitalist is to return to the latter his capital and divide with him the profits equally. In other words, the party who provides the money for the venture is to share in the profits but not in the losses. This is a well-known method of evading the laws against usury. In Talmudic law

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similar terminology is implicit in Deut. xxviii 29: והיית אן עשוק וגזול כל הימים ואין מושיע. Very revealing in this respect is the LXX translation of this verse, where עשוק is rendered by ἀδικούμενος, ואין מושיע by καὶ οὐκ ἔσται σοι ὁ βοηθῶν.

2. In Exod. xxi 22 it is provided:

"And if men strive together, and hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart, and yet no harm follow, he shall be surely fined, ...and he shall pay as the judges determine".

The phrase which is rendered as "and he shall pay as the judges determine" is ונתן בפללים. This phrase is an old *crux interpretum*. See H. CAZELLES, *Études sur le code d'alliance*, p. 55. BUDDE (*ZAW* 11, 106f.) has proposed the reading בנפלים instead of בפללים. His main argument against the traditional reading and interpretation is that since the husband is to determine the extent of the damages there is no more room for a decision by arbitrators. However, the difficulty disappears in the light of a well-known procedure of Greek, Hellenistic and and Roman law used in determining the amount of damages in cases of personal injury. Speaking of Alexandrian law, TAUBENSCHLAG (*The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, 2nd ed., 431f.) says:

"The general action applied to all insulting acts (injuries, offenses and insults) comprised in the Greek notion of ... The domain of its application coincided with the Roman *actio iniuriarum aestimatoria*. The two actions resemble each other also in this respect that the evaluation of *quid iniuriae factum est* did not take place independently by the court but on the plaintiff's proposal".

With respect to the Roman *actio iniuriarum*, BERGER (*Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, p. 502, s.v. *Iniuria*) writes:

"...The plaintiff made his own assessment of the extent of the damages in a sum of money and the judge sentenced the defendant to what seemed to him *bonum et aequum*, but not to a larger sum than demanded by the plaintiff".

Under the law of Exod. xxi 22, too, the plaintiff proposed the amount of damages, but the decision rested with the judges. It is to be noted that here too terminology points in the direction of an an affinity between the Greek and the Biblical procedures. באשר ישית עליו is rendered literally by the LXX καθότι ἂν ἐπιβάλῃ. It so happens that this literal translation is also good technical legal language, for ἐπιβάλλω is used in classical Greek in the sense of *to impose a fine or penalty*. See LIDDELL-SCOTT-JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.h.v.

Incidentally, as I have pointed out in my lectures at the Hebrew University, the phrase *bonum et aequum* is strikingly similar to ועשית הישר והטוב of Deut. vi 18.

it is known as קרוב לשכר ורחוק מהפסד (lit. near to profit and far from loss) [1]). There must have been in existence in Susa a rule similar to § L [2]) of the Code of Hammurabi limiting the rate of interest and a rule similar to §U [3]) providing that the capitalist advancing money for a joint venture is to share both profits and losses with the party to whom the money is advanced. The clause barring the party receiving the money from taking advantage of rules and regulations of law which may be in his favor was apparently aimed at the law concerning the sharing of profits and losses.

b. *Warranty Clause in Susa Tablets and in Aramaic Papyri.*

I have dealt briefly with the warranty clause in Brooklyn 3 and in some of the Susa tablets in an article in *Biblica* [4]) and also in my book *Jewish Law* [5]) I have since become aware of some further similarities between the formulations of this clause in the Brooklyn papyrus and in some of the Susa tablets, which similarities I shall discuss here.

The warranty clause in Brooklyn 3, in KRAELING's transcription and translation, reads in part as follows:

והן גבר אחרן יגרנך ויגרה לבר וברה לך אנחן נקום ונפצל
ונתן לך בין יומן 30 והן לא פצלן אנחן ובנין ננתן לך בית
לדמות ביתך ומשחתה

"And if another man sue thee or sue son or daughter of thine, we will rise up and will recover(?) and will give (it) to thee within 30 days, and if we do not recover(?), we or our children will give to thee a house in the likeness of thy house and its measurements...".

The three operative words in this clause are קום (to stand up), פצל (to recover?) and נתן (to give, restore). There is very little doubt as to the exact meaning of the first and the last terms. The first term, as I have shown in the above-mentioned article, means *to stand up* in court to litigate against an adversary. The seller undertakes that in case an adverse claim is asserted against the property sold he will

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[1]) See *Babylonian Talmud, Baba Metzia* 70a.

[2]) See DRIVER-MILES, *op. cit.*, I, 173; II, 39. The renunciatory clause in the loan agreement (AJS XXIII 181.21) was apparently aimed at some law regulating interest. Cf. the renunciatory clause in P. BGU 1053 II. 4f. (Alexandria, 13 B.C.): καὶ μὴ καταφεύξεσθαι ἐπὶ πρόσταγμα φιλανθρώπων.

[3]) See DRIVER-MILES, I, 186f.; II, 43.

[4]) Vol. 35 (1954), 201f.

[5]) P. 142 ff.

[6]) KRAELING, *op.cit.*, 154 f

stand up in court to litigate. The last term ordinarily means *to give*, but in this context it is more accurate to render it, as SPEISER has done in similar context, as *to restore* [1]), that is to restore to the buyer, as the rightful owner, what has been taken away from him.

The middle term, which is transcribed by KRAELING as פצל is troublesome. I shall quote what KRAELING has to say about this term:

> "נפצל I first read ונצל, but נפצל is inescapable. Perhaps the verb is found also in A.P. 9 : 5 in the haphel 3rd sing. impf. 'if he separates from thee' (COWLEY: נצל, 2nd sing.!). Furthermore נצל means 'take away'; cf. 2: 13; 4 : 20; 6 : 15; 10 : 10. But 'split' or 'divide (costs?)' will hardly do for the peal form (especially in 1.22a). The required meaning there seems to be 'recover something taken away'. The same verb must be supplied in 1 : 9. Perhaps פצל means 'to remove an adverse claim' in connection with the seller's duty to remove such claims from the property sold. Jacob RABINOWITZ (who attributed that meaning to the supposed נצל in 1 : 9) noted that the same thing occurs in the Talmud, where פצי pael of פצא 'to deliver', is used. Cf. the example in LEVY s.v. Did פצא replace the verb פצל in this meaning?" [2])

The term פצל yields no satisfactory meaning. An attempt has been made by R. YARON [3]) to fit the word into the context by saying that from the well-known meaning of the piel of פצל *to peel off* it is not "a far cry" to the meaning *to clean*, and that the latter meaning is appropriate for the middle term of the warranty clause. However, this suggestion is without merit, for whether or not *peeling off* the skin of something will result in *cleaning* it obviously depends upon what is under the skin.

I am not convinced that graphically פצל is inescapable. On the other hand, I am now more than ever convinced, on the basis of a parallel which I have recently discovered in the Bible and which I shall presently discuss, that the required word is נצל The solution is perhaps to be found along the lines suggested by me in my book *Jewish Law* [4]), namely that the word represents an interesting amalgamation of the Hebrew נצל and the Aramaic פצא.

The Biblical parallel to the warranty clause to which I have just

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[1]) See PFEIFFER and SPEISER, *One Hundred Selected Nuzi Texts* (*AASOR*, XVI), nos. 15.15, 16.11 18.10 et *passim*.

[2]) KRAELING, *op. cit.*, 162.

[3]) See *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XV(1958), 20.

[4]) P. 48, n. 23.

referred occurs in the story of Jacob and Laban. In Gen. xxxi 4-9 we read:

> "And Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah to the field unto his flock, and said unto them: I see your father's countenance, that it is not toward me as beforetime; but the God of my father hath been with me. And ye know that with all my power I have served your father. And your father hath mocked me, and changed my wages ten times; but God suffered him not to hurt me. If he said thus: The speckled shall be thy wages; then all the flock bore speckled; and if he said thus: The streaked shall be thy wages; then bore all the flock streaked. Thus God hath taken away the cattle of your father, and given them to me".

God has taken away the cattle from Laban and restored them to Jacob, their rightful owner. This is legal terminology *par excellence*. The words ויצל (has taken away) and ויתן (has given) correspond to נצל and נתן of the warranty formula. That legal terminology is used in this passage may be seen from verse 16 of the same chapter where we read: "For all the riches which God hath taken away from our father, that is ours and our children's". There seems to be no reason why the children should be mentioned in this connection, unless we have here a reflection of the formula of an absolute conveyance of property: לך ולבניך אחריך (to you and to your children after you). לנו ולבנינו, then, means: *It is our absolute property* [1]).

We now come to the warranty clause in the Susa tablets. As has been stated above, the deeds of sale from Susa regularly contain a clause in which the seller undertakes that in case an adverse claim is asserted against the property he will stand up in court to litigate, the key-term in this clause being *nazâzu* (= קום). Occasionally, as in

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[1]) I have recently come upon some evidence which fills a gap in the chain leading to my interpretation of the middle term in the warranty clause of Brooklyn 3 as meaning something like "take away". Until recently I was unable to find in cuneiform sources a term having this meaning, or even one resembling it, used in a warranty clause or in similar context. I have now found such a term. In tablet 6, col. II, line 15 of *ana ittišu* (B. LANDSBERGER, *Die Serie ana ittišu*, p. 79), there occurs, in a section dealing with adverse claims to property, the following phrase: *ru-gu-mu-šu ú-ša-si-iḫ*. This is rendered by LANDSBERGER as „den Anspruch hat er ‚herausgerissen' (als unberechtigt zurückgewiesen)". The Accadian *nasâḫu* (herausreissen) is the equivalent of the Hebrew and Aramaic נצל (herausreissen). See GESENIUS-BUHL, *Wörterbuch* (17th ed.), 517b. It is to be noted that in the light of the parallels from the Bible and from Brooklyn 3 LANDSBERGER's interpretation of the formula would seem to require correction. *Nasâḫu* (snatch away) refers to the property, not to the claim.

AJSXXII47. 13, 49. 12, 79.5 *nazâzu* is followed by *abâbu* ("purger, justifier") [1]). In the first one of these documents, *abâbu* is followed by another term which presents difficulties. Following is SCHEIL's transliteration and translation of the warranty clause in this document:

10. . . . [a-na ba-aq-ri
u ra-gi-ma-an-[nu
Mu-ni-ik-ku at-ta [iz-za-az
u]-ub-be-ib i-na-ad-di-ma

„contre revendication et contestation (pour
Nin šubur abi) Munikku atta se tiendra responsable,
justifiera et rejettera (la plainte)"

The sequence *se tiendra responsable*, *justifiera et rejettera* (*la plainte*) is awkward, to say the least. *Clearing* the property should follow *rejecting* the complaint and not precede it, for that would be both the logical and the temporal order. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether one is justified in reading into the one word *nadû* (to throw) the quite modern concept of rejecting a complaint. I believe that a far more satisfactory solution of the difficulty is that the scribe confused *nadû* with *nadânu*. In two other documents from Susa (AJSXXIII320 rev. 8f. and 320-21, rev. 46) representing records of litigation, *abâbu* is followed by *nadânu* and the phrase is rendered by SCHEIL as *blanchirent* et *donnèrent*. It is to be noted that this is apparently not the only place in the Susa documents where *nadû* and *nadânu* are confused. In a note to AJS XXIV 379.39 SCHEIL says: "*Nadânu* et *nadû* semblent confondus dans ce passage". It should also be noted that, as stated above, the sequence *zakû* (to clear) and *nadânu* (to give) uniformly occurs in the warranty clause in the Nuzi tablets. In the light of the above it appears that the operative part of the warranty clause in AJSXXII47 consists of three terms—*stand up*, *clear* and *give*. As I have shown in the above-mentioned article, precisely the same terms קום (*stand up*), נקה (*clear*) and נתן (*give*) constitute the operative part of the warranty clause in the BAUER-MEISSNER Aramaic papyrus of 515 B.C.

Another feature of the warranty clause in some of the Susa tablets which has an exact counterpart in the Aramaic papyri is the provision that in case the buyer is evicted from the property sold, the seller shall deliver to the buyer another piece of property like the one he

[1]) SCHEIL in note to *AJS* XXII 47.13.

has sold to him [1]). The reader will recall that such a provision is also contained in the warranty clause quoted above from Brooklyn 3.

Finally, still another phrase in the warranty clause of some of the Susa tablets has a close parallel in the Aramaic papyri, and it is in the light of this parallel that this phrase in the Susa documents can be properly understood. AJSXXIV351.13-18 reads:

13. a-na a-wa-at eqli
ba-aq-ri u a-ru-ki-ma-ni
Da-ki-i-a
mâr Bi-zi-a-ti
a-na Puzur(ilu) Ma-an-za-at
i-za-a-az.

This is translated by SCHEIL as follows:

„Pour une affaire au sujet de ce champ,
revendication et réclamation, Dakiya,
fils de Biziati, pour Puzur Manzat,
répondra".

The rendering of *ana awât eqli* as „pour une affaire au sujet de ce champ" is hardly satisfactory. It adds nothing to *contestation et revendication*. The correct interpretation of *ana awât* (lit. on the word of) seems to be *concerning*, *in regard of*, *in the matter of*. The phrase corresponds to על דבר (lit. on the word of), which is used in the Aramaic papyri in similar context in the same sense. In Cowley 28.8, for example, we read:

לא אכהל אנה מחסיה בר וברה לי אח ואחה לי ואנש זילי
דינן למרשה עליך ועל בניך עלדבר פטוסירי

This is rendered by COWLEY as follows:

"I shall have no power, I Mahseiah, son or daughter of mine, brother or sister of mine, or any dependant of mine, to move the court against you or against your children in the matter of Peṭosiri" [2]).

c. *Annulment of Prior and Subsequent Gifts.*

In AJSXXIII285, a deed of gift by father to daughter in contem-

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[1]) See AJS XXIV 364.14-19. L. OPPENHEIM „Studien zu den altbabylonischen Stadtrechten", *Orientalia* N.S. 4 [1935], 157) has noted that a similar provision occurs in a number of Nuzi documents.

[2]) COWLEY, *op. cit.*, 104. The phrase also occurs in similar sense in the Bible. See GESENIUS-BUHL, 155a, s.v. דבר 2 f.). In the Aramaic papyri it is thought to be a Hebraism. See *ibid.*

plation of death, there occurs a clause in which the donor states that he has annulled all prior and subsequent gifts. In SCHEIL's transliteration and translation this clause reads:

11. ki-ir-ba-na ša pa-ni u wa-ar-ki
ih(?)-pi-ma
a-na(sal) Na-ru-ub-ti ma-ar-ti-šu
id-di-iš-si.

„toute donation d'avant et après, il a annulé,
et à sa fille Narubti il a donné".

A similar clause occurs in several of the Aramaic papyri. In COWLEY 8.15 f., for example, it reads:

ולא יכהלון יהנפקון עליכי ספר חדת ועתיק בשמי על ארקא זך למנתן
לאיש אחרן זך ספרא זי יהנפקון עליכי כדב יהוה לא אנה כתבתה ולא
יתלקח בדין וספרא זנה בידכי

COWLEY's translation reads:

"...and they shall have no power to produce against you any deed new or old in my name concerning this land to give it to any one else. Any deed which they produce against you will be forged. I shall not have written it and it shall not be accepted by the court while this deed is in your hand".

The donor declares that any "new or old" document "concerning this land" is null, that is, as in AJS285, any prior or subsequent deed is void.

CUQ [1]) has noted that the type of document represented by AJS285 has a close parallel in the *duppi simti* of the Nuzi tablets, which is similarly a disposition of property in contemplation of death. The parallelism goes even further, for in Nuzi, as in Susa, the gift is called *kirbana*, which is derived from *qarâbu* (to come near, to be near) = Hebrew and Aramaic קרב [2]).

What has just been said about *kirbana* brings us to the solution of a problem which is of considerable importance in the history of law. As is well known, the term ספר מרחק (document of being distant) occurs frequently in the Aramaic papyri [3]). The gist of this type of document is that the maker divests himself of ownership of certain

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[1]) E. CUQ, „Les actes juridiques susiens". *Revue d'assyriologie* 28 (1931), 57 f.

[2]) See *AASOR*, nos. 4.27, 8.3, 20.24. SPEISER's discussion of the term at p. 11 *ibid.* is superseded by that of CUQ, cited in the preceding note, to whom the parallel from Susa was available.

[3]) See COWLEY 6.22, 8.25, 14.14, 25.20; KRAELING 5.18.

property or of certain rights. A similar term occurs, also frequently, in Demotic documents. According to GRIFFITH, the earliest occurrence of the Demotic term is during the reign of Darius III. The counterpart of the Aramaic and Demotic terms in the Greco-Egyptian papyri is συγγραφὴ ἀποστασίου GRIFFITH, after mentioning the possibility that the type of document represented by this term was introduced in Egypt under Greek influence says: "but *a priori* it seems more probable that it was a native growth, perhaps stimulated by the presence of business-like and influential foreigners in the country" [1]). KRAELING takes it for granted that the Aramaic term is a translation from the Demotic [2]). In my book *Jewish Law* [3]), I have expressed the opinion that the Demotic term is a translation from the Aramaic, rather than the reverse. I was, however, unable to point to any Semitic source earlier than the 5th century B.C. in which a similar term occurs. I believe that *kirbana* of the Susa and Nuzi documents provides the answer. If *to come near* means *to become owner*, then to be distant means *to be divested of ownership*. This follows with almost compelling logic from two Nuzi documents. In AASOR, v. 10.2.53f., there occurs a clause which is rendered by SPEISER as follows: "The remaining sons of Zigi with the lands and buildings of the (above) one (part of the) property shall not interfere". The phrase which he renders as "shall not interfere" is: *la i-qar-ri-ib-šu*. In a note on this phrase Speiser says: "literally, shall not come near it". In another document (*ibid.* no. 19.12f.), SPEISER came much nearer to the exact meaning of the similar phrase *ul iqiribu*, rendering it as "they shall not have any claim". A similar phrase meaning "they shall not claim occurs a number of times in the Middle Assyrian Laws (Tablet A, § 27. 108; § 29.17; §30.39; §36.101; §38.24) [4]). In order to express the same idea affirmatively one would have to say *they shall be distant*, instead of *they shall not be near*, and this is precisely the mode of expression used in the Aramaic papyri [5]).

To recapitulate. As I have said at the beginning of this article,

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[1]) See F. Ll. GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, III, 118, 126.

[2]) KRAELING, *op. cit.*, 161.

[3]) P. 21 ff.

[4]) See DRIVER-MILES, *Assyrian Laws*, 524 (Glossary, s.v. *qiribu*).

[5]) There is perhaps a trace of this nuance of קרב in the phrase יהזר הקרב יומת ("and the common man that cometh nigh shall be put to death"), which occurs several times in the Book of Numbers (1 51; iii 10, 38; xviii 7). In the verse last cited the priesthood is called עבדת מתנה ("a service of gift"). The common man shall not come near, that is he is excluded from the gift.

I do not know the precise significance of the parallels discussed herein. But that these parallels are significant and that they are not the result of a series of coincidences seems to me beyond doubt. Generally, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the evidence from legal formulae — which is not unlike archaeological evidence in the form of tools and objects of industry and art — is of the utmost importance in the study of the movement of civilization.

SHORT NOTES

TWO PALESTINIAN SYRIAC TEXTS IDENTIFIED AS PARTS OF THE EPISTLE OF JEREMY

About 60 years ago A. S. Lewis and M. D. Gibson published some fragments of the Palestinian Syriac version of the book of Jeremiah [1]), which formed the underlying text of a Hebrew manuscript of Berešit Rabbah found in the Cairo Geniza. The text of Lamentations i 15-18 published in *VT* 10 (1960), p. 224-227 [2]) originally belonged to the same palimpsest. The underlying text of two other parts of Berešit Rabbah printed as Fragment XII and XXIV in the *Palestinian Syriac Texts*..., had not been identified so far [3]).

On close inspection it appeared to me that both texts contained parts of the Palestinian Syriac version of the Epistle of Jeremy. This means that the manuscript reused for copying the text of Berešit Rabbah at one time contained Jeremiah, Lamentations, the Epistle of Jeremy and—presumably—Baruch [4]).

Photostats kindly supplied by the Cambridge University Library (where the fragments XII and XXIV are designated as T.-S. 12.744 and T.-S. 12.745 respectively) enabled me to make sure the identification.

Once the Greek text, which is at the base of the Palestinian Syriac, had been traced it became possible to emend some of the readings as printed [5]) and also to identify the traces of a number of additional words or letters. Therefore it seems worth while to reprint both texts in an emended and augmented form [6]).

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[1]) *Palestinian Syriac Texts from palimpsest fragments in the Taylor-Schechter Collection* (London, 1900): Fragment II-V.

[2]) Where ܐܠܗܝܢ Col. b, l. 10 is a misprint for ܐܠܗܝܢ.

[3]) Though some lines of Fragm. XIIa were tentatively identified with Is. xxxvii 18-19.

[4]) This is also clear from the fact (not mentioned by the editors) that part of the running title ܬܪܝܢ[ܝܪ] is still visible on T.-S. 12.745. This running title is preserved in its entirety on a tiny scrap from the same manuscript in Cambridge University Library Ms. Or. 1085 Box 4[65].

[5]) One has to express his great admiration for the skill with which the original editors deciphered these palimpsests without knowing their real contents.

[6]) The text of Frag. XIIb and XXIVa (the flesh-side of both texts?) resisted identification. The upper part of Frag. XXIVa, col. b seems to represent Ep. Jer. 41 f.

T.S. 12.745b [= Ep. Jer. 33-39] [1])

Col. a		Col. b
(33) ܡܫܥܐ(ـــ) ܕܝ	l.	]ܐ[: * *
ܐܢ : ܕܥ		ܕܝ [
ܐ(ܠ)ܐ ܒܬ		ܠܐ ܒ[
ܠܐ ܐܬܠܝ		(36) ܕܥ(ܐ)
ܡܕܝܐ ـــ ܠܡ ·	5	]ܡܕܝܐ
ܘܠܐ ܐܬܠܝ		ܡܡܝܐ
ܐ(ܒ)ܬ(ܐ)ܘ ـــ		]ܘ ܐܡܝܐ
ܡܠܟ . ܘܠܐ		ܐܕܝܥ ܠܐ
ܐܘܡܐ(ܘ) ـــ		ܡܡܝ :
(34) (ܕ ܘ)ܡܡܝܐ	10	(ܠܐ) (ܡܠܟ)(ܝ)ܐ (37)
ܠܐ ܘ]ـ(ܐ)ܬ(ܠ)ܘ(ܕ)		ܡܬܝܡ
ܐ]ـܠ(ܘ) ـــ		ܘܠܟ * ܐ
(ܐ)ـܡܠ(ـ)		ܠܐ ܐ[
ܘܠܐ ܡܥ		(38) ܠܡܬܐ (ܐ)ܕ
ܘ(ـــ) ܐܡ	15	]ـ(ܡ)ܐ(ܡ) ܡܐ
* ܡ(ـ)ܐ		(ܐ) : ܐ[
ܡ ـــ ܠ		ܘ(ܡ)ـ
ܘܠܐ ܡ ܠ		ܘ * * ܡ
]ـ(ـ) : (35) ܕ		ܘ
]ـ(ـ)ـ ܠ	20	(ܐ) * * ܐ
ܡ ܡ ܕ		ـــ
ܘܠܐ ܐ		ـــ
(ܐ) * * * * ـ		(39) ـــ ܐ

[1]) Letters that are imperfectly legible are enclosed within ( ). Traces of letters which do not allow of an obvious reconstruction are indicated by *. Only those diacritical points of ܐ and ܝ which can be read without doubt are reproduced.

T.-S. 12.744a [= Ep. Jer. 50-54]

Col. b	Col. a	l.
[ ]	* * * [	(50)
[ ]	* * * * [	
[ ]	] (ܡ)ܐ [ ] *	
[ ]	] * ܘ * [	
] (ܕ)ܢ(ܥ) [	] ܚ[i	5
(53) ܡܢܝܐ ܠ(ܐ)	ܕ[ ](ܢ)ܚ	
ܡܢܝ	ܢ]ܠ(ܢ) [ ] ܡ .	
ܠܐ ܚܟ ܡ :	ܠ ( ) ܡ	
ܡ]ܐ ܫ(ܥ)	ܚ ܐ ܡ	
ܢ.]ܚ ܠ ܐ	10 ( ) ( ) ( )

l. 16 I cannot explain the ܐ in ܐܐ(ܝ)ܡܡ *.

Col. b l. 1 The letters * * ܟ ܕ visible in 1900 have disappeared but there is a gap in the parchment which could have contained these letters.

l. 18 ܡܡ is visible, but I cannot make out anything more.

T.-S. 12.744a

Col. a l. 11 The *nun* in ܢ[ ]*ܕ is quite certain, consequently a from derived from √ܢ ܕ seems to be out of question. Is ܢ ܕ ܡ to be read? (On this word cp. F. SCHULTHESS, *op.cit.*, § 142, Anm. 2 and p. 154).

l. 20/21 Our text omits οὐκ with a number of Greek MSS, *viz.* B A-106 311-198 239 534 Arab [1]).

Col. b l. 6/8 Here our text preserves a remarkable (though scarcely superior) reading not attested in Greek, a trace of which is perhaps to be found in (Old-)Latin texts. Instead of ἑαυτῶν οὐδὲ μὴ a Corbie Ms. cited by SABATIER (*Bibliorum Sacrorum versiones antiquae*, II/2, Remis, 1751), a codex Cavensis (L. MATTEI-CERASOLI, *Liber Baruch secondo il testo del codice Cavense*, Badia di Cava, 1935), a codex Legionensis (G. HOBERG, *Die älteste lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Baruch*, Freib. im Br., 1902[2]) and FIRMICUS, *De errore profanarum religionum*, 28, 4 [p. 75 l. 23 in K. ZIEGLER's edition] [2]) read *neque* (Legion. *nec*) *regionem*, the (so-called) Vulgate *neque regiones*.

l. 10 Here the Pal. Syr. follows the reading ἀδικούμενον (instead of ἀδίκημα) which occurs in a number of Greek MSS, *viz.* B Q-V-26-46-86'-130-147-233-239-410-544 C'Bo Aeth(? There does not exist an Ethiopic version for this word! W.B.).

l. 12 For (ܡ)ܥܒ[ܕ] as translation of ἀδύνατος cp. A. S. LEWIS, *A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary* (London, 1897), p. 65 l. 5 [= Joel iii 11].

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[1]) Here and henceforth the Greek text is cited according to J. ZIEGLER (edit.), *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis editum*: XV Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae, Gottingen, 1957.

[2]) As I have been informed by the Rev. Father B. FISCHER of the Vetus Latina Institute at Beuron there are no other quotations available.

l. 13 Γὰρ is omitted from our text as in some Greek MSS, *viz.* A-106 *L'*-36 147 Verss.

l. 14 The Pal. Syr. version of Gen. viii 7 (not 6 as in SCHULTHESS' *Lexicon*...) renders κόρακα with ܚܘܪܐ. If [ܐ]ܚܘܪܐ is only an orthographical variant for ܐܘܪܐ this word shows the same range of meaning as its Hebrew counterpart עֹרֵב (cp. Lev. xi 15; Dt. xiv 14 and see W. GESENIUS, *Thesaurus*...[2], *s.v.* and Eth. ፈዕ).

Leiden W. BAARS

RESTE DES I-IMPERFEKTS VON *ZKR*, QAL.

Eine lexikographische Studie.

1. J. BARTH, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* [2] § 78a [1]) hat mit guten Gründen [2]) der Meinung Ausdruck gegeben, *zāḵar* habe ursprünglich ein i-Imperfekt **jazkir* besessen; dieses sei jedoch als Hifʿīl-Imperfekt [3]) gefasst worden, was einerseits das Verschwinden des Qal-i-Imperfekts, andererseits das Entstehen der weiteren Hifʿīl-Formen zur Folge hatte. Diese Ansicht hat jedoch fast keine Spuren in der hebräischen Lexikographie hinterlassen. BDB [4]) und KÖHLER [5]) erwähnen sie gar nicht, BUHL [6]) erwähnt sie kurz am Beginne des Hifʿīl [7]), zugleich aber erwähnt er die Möglichkeit [8]), in Jer. xxiii 36 *umaśśā JHWH lō tizkᵉrū-ʿōd* „aber den Ausdruck „Last des Ewigen" sollt ihr nicht mehr erwähnen", der einzigen Stelle, für die er die Bedeutung „erwähnen" annimmt, Hifʿīl statt des Qal (also *tazkīrū*) zu lesen. Uns jedoch scheint dieser Vorschlag

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[1]) Der Aufsatz BARTHS *ZDMG* xliii S. 4 ff. ist mir zur Zeit nicht zugänglich.

[2]) BARTH weist auf den arabischen Qal *ḏakara* hin, auf die *qitl*-Nomina hebr. *zēker*, arab. *ḏikr*, ass. *zikru* und auf das aram. *nedᵊḵar* < **nedkir*.

[3]) Es ist jedoch anzunehmen, dass der Hifʿīl im Sinne von „erinnern" (s. weiter) alt ist; sekundär ist der Hifʿīl nur im Sinne von „erwähnen, nennen".

[4]) BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, *A Hebrew and English lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1907.

[5]) KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, Leiden 1953.

[6]) WILHELM GESENIUS' *hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* . . . bearbeitet von F. BUHL [17], Leipzig 1921.

[7]) BUHL unterscheidet nicht zwischen den verschiedenen Bedeutungen des Hifʿīl, als ob sie alle sekundär wären; vgl. jedoch Anm. 3.

[8]) KOEHLER liest einfach Hifʿil statt Qal. BDB nimmt hier und Jer. xx 9 an, der Qal bedeute „remember with implied mention". Vgl. auch BERGGRÜN (s. weiter) S. 279 und S. 280, Anm. 1.

unbegründet zu sein. Wenn wir nämlich — wie es mir scheint, mit Recht — BARTHS Theorie annehmen, der Hifʿīl sei eine Neubildung aus dem ursprünglichen i-Imperfekt des Qal, so müssen wir wohl vermuten, dass sich Reste der Bedeutung „erwähnen" auch im Qal erhalten haben, und dies umso mehr, da sich diese Bedeutung im arabischen *ḏakara* ,Gʿez *zakara* neben der Bedeutung „sich erinnern", im akkadischen *zakāru* als einzige Bedeutung des Qal erhalten und neuerdings N. BERGGRÜN, *Lᵉšōnēnu* xxi 279-282, xxii 80 sie auch im Qal des Mittelhebräischen nachgewiesen hat [1]). Es scheint uns also sehr wahrscheinlich, dass Qal *zāḵar* im Hebräischen wie im Arabischen und Gʿez, sowohl den Sinn „sich erinnern" wie „erwähnen" gehabt hat. Als aber das alte i-Imperfekt als Hifʿīl aufgefasst wurde und aus ihm die anderen Formen des Hifʿīl neugebildet worden sind, trat zugleich eine Differenzierung der beiden Bedeutungen ein: während Qal mit dem nach der Analogie der anderen u-Imperfekta neugebildeten u-Imperfekt *jizḵor* die Bedeutung „sich erinnern" behielt, erhielt der neugebildete Hifʿīl die Bedeutung „erwähnen, nennen", wohl weil der alte kausative Hifʿīl in der Bedeutung „erinnern" (Jes. xliii 26 *hazkīrēnī niššāfᵉṭā jaḥad* „erinnere mich, lass uns rechten miteinander") mit der Bedeutung „erwähnen" semantische Beziehungen hat [2]). Es darf uns jedoch nicht wunder nehmen, wenn im Qal Reste der Bedeutung „erwähnen, nennen" erhalten geblieben sind. Wir dürfen also, wenn wir Qal in dieser Bedeutung antreffen, es nicht einfach in Hifʿīl ändern; im Gegenteil, es wäre recht verwunderlich, wenn sich im Qal keine Reste dieser Bedeutung erhalten hätten [3]).

2. Wir haben also für Qal Reste der Bedeutung „erwähnen, nennen" postuliert. Wir wollen also im Folgenden die Fälle untersuchen, in denen sich diese Bedeutung erhalten hat. Dies ist keines-

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[1]) Für das Bibelhebräisch enthält der Artikel nicht viel Neues. Er erwähnt (ausser Jer. xx 9 und xxiii 36) auf Grund der mittelalterlichen jüdischen Exegese Qal *zkr* im Sinne von "erwähnen, nennen" Gen. xl 23, Est. ii 1, Eccl. ix 15 und ebenso den Nifʿal *nizkar šᵉmô / bišmô* Hos. ii 19, Zak. xiii 2, Ps. lxxxiii 5. Seine Annahme, die Bedeutung "erwähnen, nennen" sei im Qal sekundär und durch den Einfluss des Nifʿal *nizkar šᵉmô* entstanden, scheint uns ganz unwahrscheinlich.

[2]) Es ist wohl nicht anzunehmen, ursprünglich habe der Qal zwei Imperfekta gehabt, ein i-Imperfekt (**jazkir*) in der Bedeutung „erwähnen, nennen", das in den Hifʿīl übergegangen ist, und ein u-Imperfekt (**jazkur*) im Sinne von „sich erinnern", das erhalten geblieben ist — da das aramäische (syrische) *nedkar* „sich erinnern" wohl von **nedkir* abzuleiten ist.

[3]) Vgl. ferner Ps. lxxvii 12 Ktīb **ʾazkir*, Qrē *ʾezkor*. Ferner Jes. xxvi 13 *nazkir*, DSS I **nizkor*.

wegs leicht, denn die Bedeutungen „sich erinnern, an etwas denken" und „erwähnen, nennen" berühren sich in manchen Fällen ziemlich nahe, vgl. zum Beispiel die Verba *ḥgj* und *śjḥ*, die (s. die Bibelwörterbücher) sowohl „sinnen, nachdenken" wie auch „reden, sprechen" bedeuten, ferner Ausdrücke wie *ʾāmar ʾel / bᵉ / lᵉ-libbō* (aber auch *ʾāmar* allein, wie Gen. xliv 28 *waʾōmar ʾaḵ ṭārōf ṭōraf* „und ich musste denken, er ist sicher zerrissen worden") oder *dibbēr ʾel / ʿal / bᵉ-libbō* im Sinne von „denken". Wie nahe sich die Bedeutungen „sich erinnern" und „erwähnen" berühren können, möge Jer. iii 16 zeigen, wo unter den *zāḵar* parallelen Zeitwörtern sich sowohl „sagen" wie auch „sich erinnern" findet, d.h. sich für *zāḵar* sowohl die Bedeutung „sich erinnern" [1]) wie auch „nennen" postulieren lässt: *lō-jōmᵉrū ʿōd ʾᵃrōn brīṯ JHWH wᵉlō jaʿᵃlę ʿal-lēḇ wᵉlō jizkᵉrū-bō wᵉlō jipqōdū* „man wird nicht mehr sagen „Die Bundeslade des Ewigen" und sie wird niemandem in den Sinn kommen, noch wird man ihrer gedenken / sie erwähnen, noch sich um sie kümmern". Vgl. auch Ps. cxliii 5 *zāḵartī jāmīm miqqedem hāgīṯī bᵉḵol-poʿᵒlēkā ḇᵉmaʿᵃśē jāḏęḵā ʿᵃśōḥeᵃḥ* „ich gedenke der / erwähne die Tage von einst, ich sinne über / erwähne all dein Tun, denke nach über / nenne das Werk deiner Hände.

3. In den folgenden Fällen scheint Qal die Bedeutung „erwähnen, nennen" erhalten zu haben: Jer. xxiii 36, s. oben 1. Jer. xx 9 (vgl. BDB s.v., BERGGRÜN loc. cit., S. 279) *wᵉʾāmartī lō-ʾezkᵉrennū* // *wᵉlō ʾᵃdabbēr ʿōd bišmō* „und ich dachte: ich will ihn nicht mehr nennen // und nicht mehr in seinem Namen reden". Auch der erste Halbvers bezieht sich wohl auf die Nennung Gottes im Munde des Propheten, mit anderen Worten auf die Prophezeiung in seinem Namen.

Wohl auch Jer. xxxi 20 *kī-middē ḏabbᵉrī bō zāḵōr ʾezkᵉrennū ʿōd*, wohl zu übersetzen: Denn so oft ich auch von ihm rede, will ich immer wieder von ihm reden. So sehr wird Ephrajim von Gott geliebt, dass des Redens über ihn niemals genug ist. Mit dieser Auffassung, die sich schön in den Kontext fügt (Ephrajim als Lieblingskind, dessen sich Gott erbarmen muss), ist jede Schwierigkeit dieses Verses behoben.

So fasse ich auch Jona ii 8 *bᵉhiṯʿaṭēp ʿālaj napšī ʾeṯ-JHWH zāḵartī* // *wattāḇō ʾēlęḵā tᵉpillāṯī ʾel-hēḵal qodšęḵā* „als meine Seele in mir verschmachtete, nannte ich in meinem Gebet den Ewigen // und

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[1]) Die hier zwar die wahrscheinlichere ist.

mein Beten drang zu dir, zu deinem heiligen Tempel." *zāḵar* bezeichnet hier also das Nennen Gottes im Beten.

Ähnlich wohl auch Ps. lxxvii 4 *ʾezkᵉrā ʾᵉlōhīm wᵉʾehᵉmājā ʾaśīḥā wᵉṭiṭʿaṭṭēp rūḥī* „ich nenne Gott im Gebete und seufze, ich sinne und mein Geist verschmachtet." Ferner Ps. cv 1-5 und das parallele 1 Chron. xvi 8-12: *hōḏū lJHWH || qirʾū bišmō || hōḏīʿū ḇāʿammīm ʿᵃlīlōṯāw || šīrū-lō || zammᵉrū lō || śīḥū bᵉḵol-niplᵉʾōṯāw || hiṯhallᵉlū bᵉšēm qoḏšō . . . || diršū JHWH wᵉʿuzzō || baqqᵉšū pānāw tāmīḏ || ziḵrū niplᵉʾōṯāw* „danket dem Ewigen || ruft seinen Namen an || macht unter den Völkern seine Taten kund || segnet ihm || lobsingt ihm || redet von all seinen Wundern || rühmt euch seines heiligen Namens . . . || suchet den Ewigen und seine Stärke || sucht beständig sein Angesicht || verkündet seine Wunder . . . (vgl. auch den Hifʿil, wie Jes. xii 4 *hōḏū lJHWH || qirʾū bišmō || hōḏīʿū ḇāʿammīm ʿᵃlīlōṯāw hazkīrū kī nisgaḇ šᵉmō* „danket dem Ewigen || ruft seinen Namen an || macht unter den Völkern seine Taten kund || verkündigt, dass sein Name erhaben ist").

Wohl auch Ps. lxiii 7 *ʾim- zᵃḵārtīḵā ʿal-jᵃṣūʿāj || bᵉʾašmūrōṯ ʾehgē-bāḵ*, wenn zu übersetzen „wenn ich dich auf meinen Lager (im Gebet) erwähne || in Nachtwachen dich preise"; vgl. Vers 4-6 . . . *śᵃpāṯaj jᵃšabbᵃḥūnᵉḵā. kēn ʾᵃḇāreḵᵃḵā ḇᵃḥajjāj bᵃšimḵa ʾeśśā ḵappāj . . . wᵉśipṯē rᵉnānōṯ jᵃhallel-pī* „meine Lippen loben dich. So will ich dich preisen, so lange ich lebe, in deinem Namen meine Hände erheben . . . Und mit jubelnden Lippen lobsingt mein Mund" [1]).

4. Unsere Annahme, dass die Bedeutung ‚erwähnen, nennen" ursprünglich dem Qal angehörte und der Hifʿil in diesem Sinne sekundär sei, wird ferner bestätigt durch den Umstand, dass es im Bibelhebräisch keinen Hofʿal gibt und an seiner Statt der Nifʿal in der Bedeutung „erwähnt werden, genannt werden" dient. Da die

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[1]) Andere Fälle sind zweifelhaft. Ps. xlii 7 *ʿal kēn ʾezkorḵā mēʾereṣ jardēn* mag zwar bedeuten „daher erwähne ich dich im Gebete aus dem Lande des Jarden", vgl. Vers 9 *uḇallajlā šīrō ʿimmī tᵉfillā lᵉʾēl ḥajjāj* „und in der Nacht ist sein Lied mit mir, Gebet zu meinem lebendigen Gott", aber auch „ich gedenke dein ' . .", vgl. Vers 5. Ähnlich Ps. cxix 55 *zāḵarti ballajlā šimḵā* „ich erwähne deinen Namen / gedanke deines Namens in der Nacht." Vielleicht ist auch Lam. i 7 *zāḵᵉrā jᵉrūšālajim jᵉmē ʿonjāḥ umrūḏᵉḥā kol maḥamuddēha* aufzufassen als „Jerusalem sprach in den Tagen ihres Elends und ihres Jammers von all ihren Herrlichkeiten", wozu die Fortsetzung schön passt *rāʾūhā ṣārīm ṣāḥᵃqū al-mišbattēhā* „es sahen sie die Feinde und lachten über ihr Unglück", wieso Jerusalem in ihrer jetzigen Lage von ihren Herrlichkeiten sprechen kann; jedoch ist diese Auffassung keineswegs notwendig.

Bedeutung „erwähnen, nennen" ursprünglich dem Qal eigen war, diente als sein Passiv natürlich der Nifʿal. Später, als der Qal im Sinne von „erwähnen, nennen" vom Hifʿīl verdrängt wurde, blieb im Passiv der Nifʿal erhalten und der Hofʿal wurde zum Hifʿīl erst im Mittelhebräischen neugebildet [1]).

Der Nifʿal von *zkr* findet sich insbesondere im Ausdruck *nizkar šᵉmō / bišmo*, der in negativen Sätzen etwa im Sinne von „vernichtet werden" dient, wie Hos. ii 19 *wahᵃsīrōṯī ʾeṯ-šᵉmōṯ habbᵃʿālīm mippīhā // wᵉlō jizzāḵᵉrū ʿōd bišmām* „und ich werde die Namen der Baalim aus ihrem Munde verschwinden lassen // und sie werden nicht mehr mit ihren Namen genannt werden", d.h. sie werden vernichtet werden. Ähnlich Jer. xi 19 *wᵉniḵrᵃṯennū mēʾereṣ ḥajjīm // ušmō lō-jizzāḵēr ʿōd* „wir wollen ihn ausrotten aus dem Lande des Lebens // und sein Name werde ferner nicht genannt", wo die Bedeutung des „Vernichtet-werdens" noch deutlicher ist. Ferner Ps. lxxxiii 5 *ʾāmᵉrū lᵉḵū wᵉnaḵḥīdēm miggōj // wᵉlō jizzāḵēr šem-jiśrāʾēl ʿōd* „sie sprechen: auf, lasst uns sie vertilgen, dass sie aufhören ein Volk zu sein // und nicht erwähnt werde der Name Israels mehr". Aber auch *nizkar* allein ohne *šᵉmō / bišmō* findet sich in ähnlicher Bedeutung: Zak. xiii 2 *ʾaḵrīṯ ʾeṯ-šᵉmōṯ hāʿaṣabbīm min-hāʾareṣ // wᵉlō jizzāḵᵉrū ʿōd // wᵉgam ʾeṯ . . . ʾaʿᵃḇīr min- hāʾareṣ* „ich werde die Namen der Götzen aus dem Lande ausrotten // und sie werden nicht mehr genannt werden // und auch die . . . werde ich wegschaffen aus dem Lande", wo jedoch *šēm* im ersten parallelen Versteil genannt ist. Gänzlich fehlt jedoch *šēm* Ez. xxv 10 *lᵉmaʿan lō-ṯizzāḵēr bᵉnē-ʿammōn baggōjīm* „damit die Söhne Ammons nicht genannt werden unter den Völkern", d.h. damit sie vernichtet werden.

Ferner findet sich *nizkar* „erwähnt werden, genannt werden" in anderem Zusammenhang meiner Ansicht nach Hi. xxviii 17-18 *lō-jaʿarḵennā zāhāḇ uzḵūḵīṯ . . . rāmōṯ wᵉgāḇīš lō jizzāḵēr* „nicht gleichen ihr (scilicet der Weisheit) Gold und Glas . . . Korallen und Kristall dürfen nicht (in einem Atem mit ihr) genannt werden".

5. Wie wir ausgeführt haben, ist die Bedeutung „erwähnen, nennen" primär dem Qal von *zkr* eigen, wie wir es aus einigen semitischen Sprachen ersehen können. Auch im Bibelhebräisch finden sich deutliche Reste dieser Bedeutung im Qal und ihres Passivs im Nifʿal. Im Allgemeinen ist diese Bedeutung im Bibelhebräisch (wie auch im Aramäisch) auf den Hifʿīl übergegangen, indem das

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[2]) Vgl. zum Beispiel E. Ben Iehuda, *Thesaurus totius Hebraitatis* . . . s.v.

ursprüngliche i-Imperfekt des Qal *jazkir* als Hif'il gefühlt wurde, wozu dann auch die anderen Formen des Hif'il neugebildet worden sind.

Jerusalem, Isr. J. Blau

RECTIFICATION: SUR UN TEXTE HÉBREU DE JUDITH

Dans un article précédent (*V.T.* VIII 1958, 344-373) j'ai signalé plusieurs textes hébreux du livre de Judith, qui, tout en étant parallèles à la Vulgate verset par verset, me paraissaient présenter des marques d'originalité et pouvaient donc avoir des chances de se rapprocher du texte primitif.

J'ai découvert ultérieurement que l'un d'eux: le TH A dans ma classification, était une traduction en hébreu d'après le texte allemand de Luther. Ce texte, publié anonymement dans le recueil intitulé *Oṣar haq-Qodesh*, paru à Lemberg en 1851, reproduit la traduction exécutée par L. J. Ben Zeeb et publié à part sous le titre de *Megilath Judith* à Vienne en 1799, 1802 et 1819 [1]). La préface de ce dernier livre (omise par *Oṣar*) déclare au début que les fils des peuples (les chrétiens) ont traduit le rouleau de Judith dans la Bible parmi les Apocryphes, et, plus loin, que le *gwp* à partir duquel Ben Zeeb a traduit ce livre est écrit en langue araméenne (syriaque) dans le livre polyglotte, à partir duquel il a également traduit le livre de Ben Sira. L'auteur fait allusion à sa traduction hébraïque de Ben Sira d'après le texte syriaque, publiée en 1798. Il ajoute qu'il a renoncé, pour simplifier la typographie, à reproduire en synopse le texte araméen de Judith. On croirait, à lire ces lignes, que Ben Zeeb a traduit le texte syriaque. En réalité, il a suivi le texte de la Bible de Luther. Une multitude de petites particularités textuelles le montre indubitablement. S'il n'a pas voulu bluffer, Ben Zeeb n'a guère été explicite sur l'origine de son texte. Pris en bonne part, les termes de sa préface peuvent à la rigueur signifier qu'un texte araméen (syriaque), équivalent en substance (*gwp*) à sa version hébraïque, se trouve dans une polyglotte, où il a trouvé également le texte araméen de Ben Sira.

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[1]) Dans B. Friedberg, *Bet Eqed Sepharim, Bibliographical Lexicon*, Tel Aviv, 1952, ב, n° 539. Le Dr. Y. M. Grintz me communique par lettre que c'était une habitude des imprimeurs juifs de Galicie (où se trouve Lemberg) de publier anonymement des histoires du genre de Judith, surtout quand leur origine était suspecte au point de vue de l'orthodoxie (d'après un renseignement oral de M. Méir Yaari, très compétent en bibliographie).

Bien qu'ayant suivi le texte de Luther, Ben Zeeb a donné avec sa version hébraïque une version allemande, présentant les mêmes particularités de sens, mais différant dans le mot à mot du texte de Luther.

Il y a lieu de signaler ici la traduction hébraïque, faite également d'après le texte de Luther par Aqiba Lévi d'Halberstadt en 1689 et publiée seulement en 1766 à Berlin par Méir ben Asher [1]). Dans sa préface Aqiba déclare avoir trouvé une histoire de Judith dans une Bible en langue allemande: c'est ce qui m'a mis sur la piste de Luther. Les deux versions hébraïques de Ben Zeeb et d'Aqiba sont étroitement semblables dans les détails du sens, bien que le mot à mot diffère souvent.

La version allemande publiée parmi les Apocryphes dans la Bible de Luther fut exécutée en réalité par des collaborateurs (Jonas, Mélanchton, d'autres peut-être). Il n'y a aucun indice qu'un texte sémitique ait été utilisé par eux à coté de la Vulgate et du texte grec [2]). Les procédés de traduction sont assez libres: il y a parfois des abréviations, notamment pour des expressions parallèliques. Il y a quelques emprunts au texte grec et quelques additions pures et simples. Comme, par ailleurs, Ben Zeeb traite son propre modèle avec liberté, le texte hébreu auquel il aboutit diverge notablement de la Vulgate dans le mot à mot. Ceci, joint à quelques ressemblances avec le texte grec, m'avait fait penser qu'il était original.

Cette méprise peut engager à être prudent à l'égard des autres textes hébreux que nous possédons (TH B, C, E) et à ne pas admettre volontiers leur originalité. La situation toutefois n'est pas exactement la même. Si l'un de ces textes (TH C) n'est jusqu'ici connu que par une édition de 1651, deux (TH B et E) sont possédés en manuscrit et en double recension, ce qui amène à placer le prototype de chacun assez haut. Il faudrait alors supposer que les Juifs ayant fait la traduction à partir de la Vulgate auraient été prendre dans le texte grec quelques menus détails sans importance. Ce qui est attesté pour Luther est-il vraisemblable pour des Juifs travaillant bien avant lui?

La Saulchoir par Soisy- sur-Seine A. M. Dubarle

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[1]) *M'ṣh Yhwdyt wns ḥanwkh*: dans Friedberg, ◻, n° 3030.

[2]) Je dois ces renseignements au Dr. Hans Volz, directeur de la Commission pour l'édition des oeuvres de M. Luther. Qu'il en soit remercié.

FORMS OF TESTIMONY

Describing the coronation of the Judean king Joash, 2 Kings xi 12 and 2 Chr. xxiii 10 mention two signs of royalty which the priest placed on the king, viz. the *nezer* and the *ʿedwt*. The former is definitely a crown, while the literal meaning of the latter term, "testimony", presents some difficulty in this context. Relying on 2 Sam. i 10, where we are told of the crown and the armlet as the insignia of King Saul, the conjecture has been made that the original word was *ṣeʿadwt*, meaning armlets.

The traditional text, on the other hand, was accepted by Von Rad, referring, as he did, to an Egyptian practice to the point. Describing the procedure of his coronation, Pharaoh had mentioned God who „had put the crown on the king's head and established his protocol". A similar act of legitimation may have been in use in Judah, the presentation of this charter forming part of the coronation ceremony [1])

This brilliant interpretation does not, however, take into account that the *ʿedwt* was placed together with the *nezer* on the king and not, as we would expect, into his hand. We will try, therefore, to propose another hypothesis which may be considered together with the above-mentioned interpretations, though it is based on feeling rather than on exact proof.

The term *ʿedwt*, it is well known, means real as well as personal evidence, the former even being the earlier form of usage. A heap of stones, for instance, was made witness of the covenant between Jacob and Laban (Gen. xxi 44) and a similar function was given to a single stone by Josua (Jos. xxiv 27). In these cases no inscription is mentioned, the memory of the occasion being preserved by connecting it with a lasting object. A more advanced form of real evidence was the engraved table or the written document. The covenant of Sinai was attested by the tables of the decalogue, therefore called "Tables of Testimony", or by the „Deed of Covenant" mentioned in Ex. xxiv 7.

It seems, consequently, to the writer that the *ʿedwt* put upon the king was a piece of real evidence, the meaning and material of which

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[1]) G. von Rad, Das judäische Königsritual. *Theol. Literaturzeit.* lxxii (1947) pp. 211-216, followed by R. de Vaux, *Les Institutions de l'A.T.* Paris 1958, p. 159. See also A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel*, Cardiff 1955, p. 21, referring to the phylacteries as infra and his bibliography, G. Widengren, "King and Covenant", *JSS* II 1957, p. 6.

remain to be defined. Thinking of the crown and the *ʿedwt*, we are reminded of the law about putting the sign upon the hand and between the eyes (Ex. xiii 16, Deut. vi 8, xi 18). Even if we do not accept the rabbinical interpretation, referring to the phylacteries, but take the passage as a figure of speech, there must have been in the beginning a literal sense of the expression. These signs of hand and head, the *twtapwt* and *ʾwt*, thus, must have been ornaments or charms used in contemporary society, so that a religious meaning could be attached to them by the Thora [1]).

We will not go into etymological questions about the *twtapwt*, recently examined again by E. A. Speiser [2]), but rather look at the meaning of the other terms employed in this context, *ʾwt* and *zikarwn*. H. Tur-Sinai has shown that the primary sense of *ʾwt* was a miracle to verify the word of a prophet, later on the *reliquia* of such a miracle in past times being called by the same name [3]). The term was, however, used also as a symbol for the sanctity of a covenant, reminding both parties of their obligations. In this latter sense *ʾwt* as well as *zikarwn* and *ʿedwt* fulfilled the function of being a reminder and a witness through the association of the idea of covenant to a certain object. Israel is, thus, asked to bind the word of God upon the hand and between the eyes to remember, and perhaps also to remind God, of past covenants and miracles [4]). The parallelism of *ʾwt* and *ʿed* appears also in Is. xix 20, where the altar and the pillar on the frontier of Egypt shall be a sign and a witness to God to remember his people there. This is the same idea as in Jos. xxii, and the opposite of a frontier mark like that mentioned in Gen. xxi 44. The stone is not to divide the land between the parties but to connect the two parcels into one. It all depends on the dedication by the parties.

On the grounds of these considerations it seems to the writer that *nezer* and *ʿedwt* of the king correspond somehow to *twtapwt* and *ʾwt*

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[1]) On the practice during the second commonwealth see: A. M. Habermann, ʿAl hatepilin bjmj qedem. *ʿEres Israel* iii (1954) pp. 174-177.

[2]) E. A. Speiser, Twtpwt. *Jewish Quarterly Review* xlviii (1957) pp. 208-217. We would add to the interesting conclusions of the writer on the number four: Rabbi Aqiba (died 135 C.E.) deduced the requirement of four compartments of the phylacteries from analysing the word *twtapwt*: *twt* meaning two in Katpi (?) and *pwt* meaning two in Africa. The phylacteries comprise four passages and the box of leather must be exactly square (Bab. Talmud Menahot 34b).

[3]) H. Tur-Sinai, Lahish Letter iv, *J.Q.R.* xxxix (1948-49) p. 366, Encyclopaedia Miqraʾit, *ʾwt*, J. N. Epstein Jubilee Volume, Jerusalem 1950, pp. 49-57.

[4]) Cf. Y. Kaufmann, *Toledot Haʾemuna Haisraelit*, Tel Aviv, ii (1945), p. 429.

of the whole of Israel. The crown most probably being of gold, the *'edwt* could then be a golden bracelet witnessing a certain idea. An anonymous opinion is, actually, quoted in Babylonian Talmud Sanhedrin 22a according to which Deut. xvii 19 ordered the king "to write the Law in the form of an amulet and attach it to his arm, as it is written in Ps. xvi 8: I have set God always before me, because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved". The law has, indeed, been called *'edwt* and the king should keep it always with him, but it is difficult to imagine the whole of it being tied to the arm. Besides, the passage of Deut. does not use the word *'edwt*. We should rather expect a short passage representing the whole covenant and being contained in a small amulet, forming a reminder and witness [1]).

Mention can also be made at this point to the diadem of the priest described in Ex. xxviii 36 (cf. xxxix 30 and Lev. viii 9) as follows: "And you shall make a plate of pure gold and grave upon it, like the engravings of a seal: Holiness to God". There were just these two words as a reminder to God to accept his people. Could not be the same text or something similar on the *zikarwn* between the eyes? In post-biblical language *azkarah* means the name of God and the incense offering, called by the same term, was, perhaps, opened by a solemn recital of the divine name [2]). In fact, Eliezer ben Hyrkanos (about 100 C.E.) interpreted the blessing of Deut. xxviii 10: "And all the people of the earth shall see that the name of God is called upon you" as a reference to the phylacteries of the head (Bab. Talmud Berahot 6a). The most important function of the *twtapwt* is, thus, the evidence that the name of God is upon Israel.

The same assumption may be expressed as regards the *'wt* on the hand. The rabbinical reference to Ps. xvi 8 seems more than just a homily. Perhaps the psalmist has God at his right hand by wearing an amulet or a bracelet with the divine name inscribed upon it. Both the *'wt* and the *'edwt* would then be an ever present witness of God [3]).

A further use of the term testimony was neither real nor personal evidence but a formal gesture validating a covenant. Abraham gave seven lambs to Abimeleh "that it may be testimony (*'edah*) for me

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[1]) This is also the underlying idea of Targum 2 Sam. i 10, translating *'ef'adah* (bracelet) by *twtepta*.

[2]) Cf. L. Koehler, Lexicon, Leiden 1953, *'azkarah*. See, however, G. R. Driver, Three Technical Terms in the Pentateuch. *JSS* i (1956) p. 99.

[3]) Cf. Is. xliv 5.

that I dug this well" (Gen. xxi 30). This was given as consideration for the release of rights on the part of the Philistine king and to settle the ownership finally on the patriarch. Everybody present would remember the act and to be able to bear witness if disagreements should occur later on. A similar formality is described in Ruth iv 7 and called *te'wdah*.

But a covenant could be made without any of these means, in the presence of witnesses only. In this case each party called on the other to keep his promise, turning at the same time towards the witnesses to remember the proceedings. The verb *ha'ed*, thus, got the double meaning of admonition towards the opposite party and of calling somebody to become a witness. This development, finally, gave the nouns *'edwt*, *'edah* and *te'wdah* the sense of admonition and law, even where no testimony was involved.

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THE TRANSLATION OF CDC 5 : 5-6

ויעלו מעשי דויד מלבד דם אוריה ויעזבם לו אל

According to the teaching of the Qumran Brotherhood polygamy was prohibited and was one of the snares by which Belial entrapped Israel. They supported this view by an appeal to Gen i 27 'A male and a female He created them' and to Gen vii 9 'Two by two . . . they entered the ark'. The conduct of the illustrious King David, the great national hero, seemed to be a strong argument against this interpretation of the Scriptures. The author of the instruction contained in the first part of *Damascus Document* (A) therefore discounted the apparent authority of David in the matter by stating that David had not read the book of the Law as it had remained shut up in the Ark of the Covenant until the time of Zadok. Such is a summary of the relevant part of CDC 4 : 15-5 : 5, which immediately precedes the text here to be discussed. From all this it follows that David had acted wrongly and had transgressed by his polygamy. So the author proceeds to add in extenuation the sentence transcribed at the head of this note. This has been variously understood and translated. It is of interest to recall some of these interpretations.

S. Schechter in the *editio princeps* took ויעלו to be a corruption of ויעלימו, and translated: 'But they concealed the deeds of David

save only the blood of Uriah, and God abandoned them to him'. He does not explain in what this concealment consisted [1]).

M.-J. LAGRANGE remarks that ויעלו would mean 'montèrent' or in the hif'il 'ils exaltèrent les actions de David' (with a reference to Ps cxxxvii 6). He adds that 'no meaning is satisfactory' and therefore emends to יגלו and translates: 'et les actions de David furent révélées, sans parler du sang d'Uriel et Dieu les lui avait remises'. The meaning would seem to be that when the book of the Law became known in the time of Zadok, then the true nature of David's actions became apparent, namely as transgressions though unintentional [2]).

R. H. CHARLES gives the following version: 'Now they glorified the deeds of David save only the blood of Uriah, and God abandoned them to him'. For the meaning 'glorified' he refers to Ps cxxxvii 6 and Talmudic usage. The last words 'abandoned them to him' he considers corrupt and asks: 'Does this mean: abandoned Israel to the sway and example of David?' [3]). But this glorification of David's acts does not suit the context which requires rather some word alluding to the nature of his acts as transgressions.

C. RABIN: 'And the deeds of David were reckoned [as inadvertent sins], except the blood of Uriah, and God allowed them to him'. In a note he refers to *Aboth* iv 17 where it is said that 'the crown of a good name excels (עולה על) them all', namely the crowns of learning, of priesthood, and of royalty [4]). In this text the use of the verb may be compared to that in Ps cxxxvii 6. The reference to 1 QS 7 : 3 appears to be intended for the mention there of a fault committed by inadvertence. Then presumably on account of the need to add to the text with the translation 'reckoned', he suggests reading *wayyo'-ověru* with reference to Sir xlvii 11 and 2 Sam xii 13. For 'allowed them' reference is made to Neh v 10 with the word 'perhaps'. This evidently to note that there the word can be taken differently as in the Revised Standard Version 'Let us leave off this interest'. The note adds that the meaning is found in medieval Hebrew [5]).

T. H. GASTER gives a rather free rendering: 'Accordingly David's actions were not punished, save the spilling of the blood of Uriah,

[1]) S. SCHECHTER, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*. I. *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*. Cambridge (1910) p. xxxvi.

[2]) M.-J. LAGRANGE, *Revue Biblique* N.S. 9 (1912) 221.

[3]) R. H. CHARLES, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. II. Oxford (1913) 810.

[4]) J. H. HERTZ, *Sayings of the Fathers*. London (1943) 68 f.

[5]) C. RABIN, *The Zadokite Documents*. Oxford (1954) 19.

but God remitted the penalty for them'. No note is given in explanation of the meaning given to the words. The general sense however appears to be fairly close to that intended by the author [1]).

Millar Burrows offers the following: 'The deeds of David were overlooked, except the blood of Uriah, and God left them to him' [2]).

A. Dupont-Sommer has a different version for the first clause: 'Les œuvres de David montèrent (vers Dieu), à l'exception du meurtre d'Urie, et Dieu les lui laissa'. The need to add what is not clearly implied in the text is not in favour of this interpretation [3]).

As no one of these translations seems likely to win general acceptance, it is permissible to offer a new suggestion. It will be well to begin with the second clause. Whatever the precise connotation attributed to the verb in יעזבם, it speaks of some action of God concerning David's deeds as in themselves not pleasing to Him. All the translations quoted agree in this. They were not pleasing to God because David by his polygamous marriages was, though unconsciously, violating the divine will — in the opinion of the brotherhood. Now such inadvertent sins required divine pardon and the word that would be expected in our context is that which is regularly used in this connection in Leviticus, namely סלח [4]). And in each passage the verb used in the Aramaic Targum is the ithpeel form of the verb שׁבק namely יִשְׁתְּבֵיק. [5]). And this verb is frequently used with the meaning 'forgive' [6]). Its primary meaning is 'leave, forsake, abandon' as is that of the Hebrew עזב. The obvious explanation of our passage is therefore that the Aramaic speaking author of our text used the Hebrew word with the secondary meaning, familiar to him in his daily speech, of an Aramaic word with the same basic connotation. For one whose native speech was not Hebrew, such an adaptation could suggest itself quite unconsciously. As both words agree in the meaning 'leave', it could readily be presumed that they both have the meaning 'forgive'. The word was so understood by Lagrange though without explanation, and also by A. M. Habermann who gives as equivalent ימחול. He also refers in support

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[1]) T. H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation.* New York (1956) 66.

[2]) M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls.* London (1956) 353.

[3]) A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte.* Paris (1959) 144.

[4]) Leviticus iv 20, 26, 31, 35; v 10, 16.

[5]) A. Berliner, *Targum Onkelos herausgegeben und erläutert.* Berlin 1884.

[6]) Gen iv 7, 13; xviii 24, 26; l 17; Num xiv 19, 20, etc.

to Nehemiah v 10 [1]). The translation of the last clause is therefore: 'and God forgave them'. The Hebrew adds 'to him' but English idiom does not require these words.

As the suffix in the Hebrew for 'forgave them' refers back to the 'actions of David', these are clearly not considered to be laudable. So CHARLES's 'glorified' does not suit the context, nor does HABERMANN's 'were held to be good' [2]). The context suggests that ויעלו minimizes the importance of David's misdemeanours although they were such as to require divine pardon. And it is a curious fact that the verb עלה has such a meaning in contradiction to the meanings 'to exalt, be exalted' of which its forms are capable. This minimizing usage springs from the lightness of a thing causing it to go up in the balance. So in Ps. lxii 10. This is JASTROW's explanation of the Mishnaic use of the verb to signify that the holiness of a material is lost or neutralized by its mixture with specified quantities of 'profane' material [3]). The holiness is diluted by the mass of other matter and loses its importance so that foodstuffs in which *terumah* has become mixed in permissible quantity may be eaten by any Israelite [4]). This meaning suits our passage very well. The misconduct of David was after all of no great consequence in the circumstances. The passage may therefore be translated:

> But the deeds of David were of small moment except for the blood of Uriah, and God forgave them.

And it must be remembered that the only deeds of David in question are those by which he is considered to have acted wrongly.

Oxford Edmund F. SUTCLIFFE

JHWH ELOHIM IN DER PARADIES-ERZÄHLUNG GENESIS II 4b — III 24

In der biblischen Erzählung von der Erschaffung des Menschen und seines Weibes, vom Paradies, dem Sündenfall und dessen Folgen, wird Gott, wo er handelnd und redend auftritt, überall JHWH Elohim genannt. Die Wahl dieser Doppelbezeichnung kann hier nicht, wie sonst gelegentlich an anderen Stellen der Bibel, wo der

[1]) A. M. HABERMANN, *'Edah we-'Eduth*. Jerusalem (1952) 100.

[2]) Nor H. BRAUN's, 'die Annahme der Taten Davids durch Gott', *Spatjudisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus*. I. Tübingen (1957) 102 n. 7.

[3]) M. JASTROW, *A Dictionary of the Targumim* . . . New York, Berlin (1926) 1081.

[4]) Terumoth iv 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

Mensch sich im Affekt an die Gottheit wendet oder von ihr rühmend spricht, den Zweck haben, die Göttlichkeit JHWH's besonders zu betonen. Im Gegenteil: Wo der Mensch oder die Schlange hier von der Gottheit sprechen, bezeichnen sie diese überall mit „Elohim", Gott, allein; der Mensch, offenbar, weil er nach der in der Bibel überall festgehaltenen Ansicht den Namen Gottes damals noch nicht kannte, und die Schlange, weil auch ihr dieser Name unbekannt war, oder weil es ihr nicht erlaubt war, ihn dem Menschen kundzuten. Überall, wo dagegen Gott als handelnd oder redend eingeführt wird, vom Anfang der Erzählung: „An dem Tag, da *JHWH Elohim* Erde und Himmel machte", bis zu ihrem Ende: „Da jagte *JHWH Elohim* ihn hinweg aus dem Garten Eden" etc., wird Gott bei jeder Handlung und Rede mit diesem Doppelnamen benannt: JHWH Elohim. Diese ausnahmslose, methodische Durchführung des Namens-Schemas kann ihre Entstehung keinesfalls dem Zufall verdanken. Aber wie mag sie zu erklären sein?

Unmöglich kann diese ständige Doppelbezeichnung daraus verstanden werden, dass der Verfasser seine Leser etwa erst darauf aufmerksam machen wollte, dass JHWH, der hier schaffend und redend auftritt, Gott ist. Dafür hätte es allenfalls genügt, dem Namen das Wort Elohim, Gott, am Anfang der Erzählung ein oder zweimal hinzuzufügen; aber dass dies durch die ganze Erzählung, insgesamt zwanzigmal, durchgeführt ist, kann daraus nicht erklärt werden.

Begreiflicherweise hat auch die jüdische Tradition sich mit dieser verwunderlichen Erscheinung beschäftigt. Meist fand sie in dem Gebrauch der verschiedenen Gottesbezeichnungen JHWH oder Elohim in der Bibel einen Hinweis auf die Grundeigenschaften Gottes: des Erbarmens und der Gerechtigkeit, die hier zusammen wirken. Es bedarf jedoch keines Nachweises, dass diese Deutung, als ob hier immer wieder darauf hingewiesen sei, dass Gott bei allen seinen Taten zugleich erbarmend wie gerecht handelte, sowohl als er den Menschen erschuf, wie auch als er ihn endlich aus dem Paradies verjagte, nur aggadische Ausdeutung ist, die den Text nicht erklären kann. Und ähnliche, neuere Auslegungen, wie sie u.a. z.B. M. Cassuto in seinem hebräischen Genesis-Kommentar versucht hat, bieten keine mögliche Grundlage zum Verständnis dieser verwunderlichen Doppelbenennung.

Aber auch die kritische Bibelforschung steht dieser Erscheinung hilflos gegenüber. Es ist keine Erklärung, wenn z.B. von einigen angenommen wird, dass der Redaktor hier zwei Handschriften vor

sich fand, deren eine von JHWH, die andere von Elohim erzählte, und dass er, um beiden gerecht zu werden, überall JHWH und Elohim schrieb. Solche doppelte Texte, deren einer JHWH, der andere dagegen Elohim hat, liegen uns bekanntlich z.B. in den Sammlungen des Psalmbuchs, Kap. i-xli gegenüber Kap. xlii-lxxii vor. Wo z.B. die eine Abschrift eines Psalms, in Kap. xiv, JHWH hat, schreibt Kap. liii, in demselben Psalmlied: Elohim; aber nirgends hat ein Abschreiber versucht, beide Namen nebeneinander festzuhalten; auch zeigen die Paralleltexte hier viele andere Ungleichheiten, und Ähnliches darf man gewiss auch für allfällige Paralleltexte der Paradies-Erzählung voraussetzen; aber in dieser hat der Abschreiber nirgends sonst solche Doppelmöglichkeiten nebeneinander festgehalten. Und hätte auch er sich nicht damit begnügt, wo er Textvarianten notieren wollte, sie ein oder zweimal auszuschreiben, im übrigen aber jene eine Möglichkeit festgehalten, die ihm die richtige zu sein schien? Andere Forscher, wie z.B. Gunkel, begnügen sich mit der Bemerkung, dass diese Doppelbenennung „jedenfalls von dem Redaktor stammt"; aber damit wird die Schwierigkeit nicht gelöst, sondern nur von dem Verfasser der Erzählung auf den späteren Redaktor abgeschoben. Was dieser seinerseits gedacht haben mag, als er, statt eines Namens für die Gottheit, zwei setzte, und dies nicht hier und da, sondern in ununterbrochener Folge zwanzigmal, vom Anfang der Erzählung bis zum Ende, darauf wird damit keinerlei Antwort gegeben.

Nein, wenn in der ganzen Erzählung in folgerichtiger Methode die Gottheit stets mit dem Doppelnamen JHWH Elohim bezeichnet wird, müssen dieser Erscheinung bestimmte, klar entscheidende Tatsachen zugrundeliegen.

Diese klaren Grundtatsachen müssen offenbar mit dem Charakter der Paradies-Erzählung zusammenhängen. Diese ist bekanntlich nicht erst auf palästinensischem Boden entstanden. Wie wir heute längst wissen, sind die Züge der biblischen Urgeschichte und besonders die Traditionen von den ersten Menschengeschlechtern altes Erbgut, dessen Ursprung auf Babylonien hinweist, wohin die biblische Erzählung ja auch die ersten Anfänge der Menschheit verlegt, und wo so viele alte Parallelen zu den biblischen Berichten von der Schöpfung des Menschen und von der Sintflut gefunden worden sind. Von Babylonien, das vor der Gründung der Stadt Babel nach der früheren Hauptstadt Ur-Kasdim oder mit der ursprünglich ägyptischen Bezeichnungsart Arpachschad, d.i. Ur-p-

ksd, Ur der Chaldäer, genannt wurde, kamen auch Abraham und sein Haus, als sie über Harran nach Canaan zogen. Aber jene Traditionen vom Paradies, die die Patriarchen aus Babylonien mit sich brachten, waren in Keilschrift niedergeschrieben, in jener Schrift, die, wie heute wohlbekannt ist, von den Sumerern an die Babylonier und von denen weiter auch an die Chittiter und andere Völker übermittelt wurde; und heute besitzen wir auch aramäische Texte in babylonischer Keilschrift, die in jener Sprache nach den für diese geltenden Gesetzen niedergeschrieben sind, und wir mögen annehmen, wie dies auch viele Forscher längst vermutet haben, dass auch die ältesten hebräischen Geschlechter, die aus Babylonien nach Palästina einwanderten, vor der Verbreitung der Alphabet-Schrift, in babylonischer Keilschrift geschriebene Urkunden besassen.

Die Keilschrift der Babylonier, Chittiter und anderer Völker, die ja aus der sumerischen Bilderschrift hervorgegangen war, hatte sich bekanntlich zu einer gemischten Schrift entwickelt, die, neben den alten, als Ideogramme (Sinnzeichen) verwendeten Bildzeichen, auch aus diesen entstandene Silbenzeichen verwendete. Diese waren demgemäss vieldeutig, entsprechend den vielen (sumerischen oder semitischen) Namen der Dinge und Begriffe, die nun auch als Silbenzeichen verwendet wurden. So konnte z.B. jenes Zeichen, das als Ideogramm die Sonne oder den Sonnengott bezeichnete, u.a. auch als Silbe, *ut*, *tu*, *tam*, *par*, *laḫ*, *liḫ*, *ḫiš* etc. gelesen werden, und um es dem Leser klarzumachen, dass in diesem oder jenem Fall die Sonne, der Sonnengott Šamaš gemeint war, oder etwa mit dem Zifferzeichen 30 der in 30 Tagen umlaufende Mond, Mondgott Sin, wurde neben dem Zeichen für Sonne oder Mond zwangsweise noch das Zeichen für Gott geschrieben: Gott Sonne (*Ilu Šamaš*), Gott Mond (*Ilu Sin*). Dies sollte nicht bedeuten, dass „Gott" mit dem Namen auszusprechen sei; das Zeichen für *Ilu*, Gott war nur ein Hinweis, Determinativ, das lehren sollte, dass das benachbarte Zeichen nicht etwa, als Silbe, *ut*, *tu*, *tam*, *par* oder ähnlich auszusprechen sei, sondern als Gottesbezeichnung zu lesen ist — und als Gott wurde ja auch die Sonne bezw. der Mond angesehen.

Was in der gesprochenen Sprache überflüssig, ja widersinnig erscheinen mag, dass anstatt des Gottesnamens in zwei Worten „JHWH Gott" ausgesprochen würde, war in der alten Schreibweise der Keilschrift notwendig und logisch. In jener musste man statt Šamaš oder Sin: „Gott Samas, Gott Sin" etc. schreiben, und natürlich auch, wenn von Israels Gott die Rede war: „Gott JHWH" oder

„JHWH Gott"; und während in der rechtsläufigen babylonischen Keilschrift die Reihenfolge „Gott Šamaš" herrscht, wählt das Hebräische — im ursprünglichen Keilschrifttext und dessen Übertragung — die später auch im Hebräischen alleinherrschende, linksläufige Schreibweise: „JHWH Elohim".

So erklärt sich die folgerichtige Doppelschreibung JHWH Elohim in der aus Babylonien stammendes Paradieserzählung natürlich und notwendig aus der Keilschrift, in der diese alten Traditionen zuerst niedergelegt waren. Und zugleich beweist die Tatsache der Festhaltung dieser Schreibweise in der alten Paradiestradition nun ihrerseits, dass wir das Vorhandensein alter israelitischer und wohl hebräisch abgefasster Texte in Keilschrift anzunehmen haben.

Es ist keineswegs verwunderlich, dass diese alte, in der Keilschrift begründete Schreibweise JHWH Elohim, wo eigentlich nur JHWH beabsichtigt ist, in der Paradieserzählung sich auch in hebräischer Abschrift treu erhalten hat. So pflegte man in babylonischen Urkunden neben Personennamen (s. dazu mein Buch *Altbabylonische Tempelrechnungen*, Wien 1913, S. 130) die sumerischen Schriftzeichen MU.NI oder MU.BI.IM „sein Name" hinzuzusetzen, um klarzumachen, dass es sich eben um Personennamen handelt. In Nachahmung dieses babylonischen Schriftgebrauchs ist auch in den aramäischen Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine gelegentlich *Šĕmeh*, „sein Name" neben Personennamen hinzugesetzt, obgleich dies in aramäischer Schrift nicht nötig wäre. Und dieser babylonische Schriftgebrauch hat sich einmal, in einer offenbar aus dem Babylonischen übertragenen Urkunde, auch in der Bibel in Esra viii 14 erhalten: „Šešbaṣṣar, šĕmeh", wo gleichfalls lezteres Wort eigentlich nicht auszusprechen war und nur als Determinativ neben den Eigennamen Šešbaṣṣar gesetzt ist.

Und heute besitzen wir bekanntlich eine weitere interessante Analogie zu der Wiedergabe des Gottesnamens in alter Schreibweise in vielen Pentateuchfragmenten aus Qumran, geschrieben in der nachexilischen, aramäischen Schrift, die jedoch für den Gottesnamen JHWH die althebräischen Schriftformen festhalten. Und eine weitere, längst bekannte ähnliche Tatsache stellen jene griechischen Übersetzungstexte der hebräischen Überlieferung dar, die für den biblischen Gottesnamen die hebräischen Zeichen יהוה festhielten, die jedoch später als griechische, linksläufige Zeichen IIIIII verstanden wurden. So ist auch die Schriftfolge JHWH Elohim ein Zeichen dafür, wie die biblischen Schreiber in der Wiedergabe dieser heiligen

Texte die Schreibung des Gottesnamens mit zwei Ideogrammen festzuhalten suchten, JHWH als den eigentlichen Namen, Elohim als Determinativ, das, im Urtext, die Lesung sicherstellen sollte.

Nur einmal noch findet sich die Doppelbezeichnung JHWH Elohim innerhalb der Erzählung in der hebräischen Bibel, in Jona iv 6: „Und JHWH Elohim hatte einen Wunderbaum entboten, der wuchs über Jona empor" etc. Es ist aber darauf hinzuweisen, dass die Jona-Erzählung in ihrem wesentlichen Inhalt „Ninive, die grosse Stadt" in Assyrien betrifft, und, wie es scheint, ebenfalls auf in Keilschrift geschriebene Traditionen aus Assyrien und Babylonien zurückgeht. Und während die als hochheilig geltenden, dem Pentateuch zugrundeliegenden urgeschichtlichen Berichte in vollster Treue und in Wahrung der Schreibweise des Gottesnamens übertragen wurden, hat der Bearbeiter oder Abschreiber des Jona-Buches nicht die gleiche Treue an den Tag gelegt, wie ja auch die anderen Fragmente aus Qumran, in den Jesaia-Rollen und anderen Schriften, den Gottesnamen mit den neuen Schriftzeichen wiedergeben, während sie für die Bücher des Gesetzes die alte Schreibweise festzuhalten suchen.

Jerusalem (Isr.) N. H. Tur-Sinai

REVIEWS

A. H. VAN ZYL, *The Moabites*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1960. XI+240 pp., 1 map.

This monograph, based on a doctoral thesis aims at "moulding all available material about the Moabites into a co-ordinate survey of the land and the life of the Moabite people", and while the greater part of the book is devoted to the history of the Moabites from Iron Age I to II there are also substantial chapters on the language, topography and religion of this people.

Naturally the author, who is Senior lecturer of Semitic Languages in South Africa (Pretoria) has collected all the literary evidence from Biblical and non-Biblical sources concerning the Moabites. His chapter on the language is a philological treatment of the Mesa' inscription.

Dr. VAN ZYL scrupulously notes every authority from whom he has gained information and it is immediately clear that for the material evidence he learns heavily on Nelson GLUECK. GLUECK is, of course, an obvious scource for Trans-Jordanian history, but his work was done some time before the war and was that of tracing sites from a surface selection of pottery, a very useful initial exploration but which must be followed by excavations. The author accepts uncritically GLUECK's theory that there was no settled life in Transjordan from the EB to the beginning of the Iron Age. He does mention that (note to p. 44) "recently HARDING *PEQ* 1955 pp. 11-12 has shown a certain scepticism concerning GLUECK's chronology" but fails to discuss this important criticism. The reason for this becomes clear when reading the chapters on the topography and religion. The author merely quotes facts and theories of the explorers and adds his own theories, quite unaware of the existance of a modern archaeological science, and without any deeper understanding of the possibilities and limitations of this science. Discussing the identification of ruins in Transjordan with the information derived from the Old Testament in a purely 'armchair-archaeological' fashion does not bring us any further to the solution. Nowhere in the discussion of many identifications is the question raised: was this site inhabited in the period in which the Bible assumes that it was inhabited? Discussing el-Kerak the author states that ALBRIGHT found there the first typical Moabite pottery. We ask whether the author has seen this pottery and if he dates it to the 13th century B.C., the 12th, 11th or what? Up till now there are no two sites in Transjordan of which archaeological proof exists to say they were inhabited all through the Iron Age. GLUECK has done magnificent pioneer work, but only archaeological research can confirm or correct his conclusions. Apart from this basic criticism one feels that in this book there is a lack of general understanding of archaeological statements as made by GLUECK, and of the archaeological situation.

The following are some instances: "In spite of the complete lack of

remains from the I.A. it can be assumed that this is the site of חשבון" (p. 92); "glacis were part of the I.A. fortifications in Palestine" (p. 99); "proto-Ionian pilaster capitals from Cis-Jordanian fortresses" (p. 99); "a number of these cities were interested in agriculture" (p. 98). How can water from a wadi at the bottom of a valley flow through a rock-cut ditch on top of a ridge? (p. 98); how do we know that the enclosures around cultivated land date from E.B.A.? (p. 99). Is there any proof that the unification of the Moabite tribes coincided with the arrival of Israelite tribes? (p. 117). Is there any indication that further archaeological exploration 'could easily supply' more inscriptional material? (p. 31). "As they (the Israelites) had met some Moabite tribesmen in this valley, they called it the ערבות מואב" (p. 116). And p. 128: Jericho had just previously been ruined by the Israelites, yet "the Moabites could have restored a few bastions and established themselves there temporarily. The period of occupation by the Moabites was too short to leave any definite traces and whatever remains there could perhaps have been eventually washed down the slopes by torrents". May we assume that then the author dates the Joshua campaign to ca. 1350, the date of the last L.B. settlement at Jericho? From that date on to the 7th century no pottery at all has ever been found at Tell es-Sultan. This sort of treatment of Biblical history with pseudo-archaeological knowledge is misleading.

Since the archaeological information reproduced in this study is so undigested and unanalytic, not much authority can be given to the conclusions drawn by the author. The evaluation of archaeological material in the chapter about religion is equally unreliable.

However, all the available material (except the important finds from the L.B.A.) is collected in this study. There are several odd mistakes in the otherwise clear English: 'rests' (p. 69) in place of 'remains', 'maiden-soil' in place of 'virgin'.

Leiden H. J. Franken

Michel Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés*, Genève, E. Droz, et Paris, Librairie Minard, 1960, 210 pages. Fr. s. 18.—

Les découvertes de Qumrân ont ramené l'attention sur le livre des Jubilés, qui présente tant d'affinités avec les écrits de la secte. L'exposé que nous offre M. Testuz sur „les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés" vient donc tout à fait à son heure. D'autant plus que la littérature d'expression française n'est guère favorisée sur ce point particulier. Quelques articles de revue, dispersés sur 70 ans. Aucune traduction complète: celle de F. Martin est restée en manuscrit, car le commentaire qui y était joint fut interrompu par sa mort; il n'en est resté que deux importants articles publiés dans la *R.B.* de 1911: *Le livre des Jubilés, Buts et procédés de l'auteur, Ses doctrines* (le titre donné par M. Testuz, p. 204, serait à compléter). Quant à la traduction partielle de J. Bonsirven dans *La Bible apocryphe*

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(mentionnée p. 16), elle a pour base . . . la traduction anglaise de CHARLES (j'y reviendrai).

Dans son *Introduction* (p. 7-42), M. TESTUZ résume les données générales relatives au livre: contenu, noms, genre littéraire, manuscrits et versions, éditions et traductions modernes, composition et sources, auteur et date, remaniements possibles (i, 7-25 et 28; xxiii, 11-32; xxiv, 28b-30). En ce qui concerne les sources, la situation des Jubilés par rapport aux livres canoniques de l'A.T. est d'abord caractérisée de façon succincte. Puis on passe aux „autres sources": un *Livre d'Hénoch* plus archaïque que celui que nous possédons, l'ancien *Livre de Noé*, un *Livre des Guerres de Jacob* utilisé par le midrash *Wa-Yissa'u*, des traditions populaires orales ou écrites, quelques pièces poétiques . . . On pourrait, je crois, être plus précis en ce qui concerne *Hénoch* (que M.T. écrit Enoch, à l'anglaise) et le *Livre de Noé*, car des parallélismes précis sont fournis par les sections anciennes et les fragments noachiques recueillis dans la compilation actuelle de 1 *Hénoch*; l'examen de ces parallélismes serait instructif, même pour l'étude des idées religieuses des Jubilés. Il aurait fallu également mentionner le *Testament de Lévi*, partiellement connu sous sa forme araméenne et attesté de façon secondaire par les *Testaments des XII Patriarches*: ses affinités avec les Jubilés posent la question d'un emprunt, ou tout au moins de l'utilisation parallèle d'une source commune (voir *R.B.*, 1956, p. 400-406). L'auteur est cherché dans l'essénisme ancien, non dans les sectes pharisienne ou sadducéenne (regardées comme „les tenants du Judaïsme officiel", p. 28, ce qui est sans doute un anachronisme pour l'époque envisagée). La date est fixée, d'après les allusions à l'histoire contemporaine, vers 110 (CHARLES disait: entre 109 et 104), et M.T. réfute les arguments de ZEITLIN qui songe au Vème siècle (p. 35-38) et d'ALBRIGHT qui propose la fin du IIIème (p. 38-39). Sur ces derniers points, je suis à peu près d'accord, bien que 110 me paraisse une date un peu basse: la conquête d'Edom fut effectuée vers 125; mais l'allusion à la prise de Samarie (v. 110) reste discutable; d'autre part, l'argument tiré du soutien que l'auteur apporterait à Jean Hyrkan et à la dynastie asmonéenne (p. 35) peut être mis en question, et le „parti religieux" qui rompit avec Hyrkan dans les dernières années de son règne semble bien être le parti pharisien plutôt que l'ancien essénisme. Quant à l'hypothèse d'un remaniement postérieur pour trois passages du livre, il ne me paraît pas s'imposer; d'autant plus que la chronologie de l'essénisme reste discutée (M.T. adopte, p. 42, celle de M. DUPONT-SOMMER, qui est plausible, mais non certaine).

Dans le corps de l'ouvrage, les divers aspects de la doctrine des *Jubilés* sont examinés point par point: I. La création et le monde (p. 43-58); II. L'histoire du monde et Israël (p. 59-74); III. Le monde des esprits (p. 75-94); IV. Les deux voies morales (p. 93-99); V. Les lois rituelles et morales (p. 101-119); VI. Le calendrier révélé (p. 121-164); VII. Les derniers temps (p. 165-177). On conclut par un exposé des rapports entre les *Jubilés* et la littérature essénienne (p. 179-195), c'est à dire: le *Document de Damas*, le *Manuel de discipline*, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, les *Hymnes*, la notice de Josèphe sur les Esséniens (la *Règle de la Guerre* n'est pas envisagée, ni les

fragments de *Qumran Cave I*). L'examen des doctrines est objectif, clairement présenté. Il est centré sur le livre lui-même, et ne jette sur les autres Pseudépigraphes qu'un coup d'oeil latéral, à propos des Anges (p. 96-89) et du calendrier (p. 128-130). Cette méthode offre l'avantage de ne pas encombrer l'exposé de discussions critiques. Il me semble pourtant qu'une comparaison plus poussée et plus fréquente avec les textes qui ont pu servir de source à l'auteur (parties anciennes d'*Hénoch* et *Testament araméen de Lévi*) aurait mieux remis le livre dans son milieu vivant. La lecture critique des différents chapitres le montrera à plusieurs reprises.

Chapitre I. L'exposé des idées des *Jubilés* sur la création et le monde montre déjà le rôle qu'aura dans le livre la symbolique des nombres (p. 44 s. et 52). Mais on y reviendra surtout à propos du Calendrier (p. 134-137). Dès maintenant je me demande s'il faut chercher l'origine de cette arithmologie sacrée du côté de la Grèce (Pythagore) ou du côté de la Mésopotamie. N'en trouve-t-on pas déjà des traces fort nettes dans le *Document sacerdotal* du Pentateuque, avec l'oeuvre divine des Sept jours, puis la liste des dix patriarches antédiluviens, dont le 7ème, Hénoch, vit 365 ans? A mon avis ,les *Jubilés* systématisent un procédé entré dans la tradition juive avant l'époque hellénistique. C'est pareillement du côté de la Mésopotamie que je chercherais l'origine de ces „tables célestes" où sont gravés tous les destins. Il est caractéristique qu'elles sont en rapport étroit avec la personne d'Hénoch; or la légende de celui-ci me paraît avoir des sources mésopotamiennes bien caractérisées (cf. *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses*, 1958, p. 6-26, 181-210). M.T. signale (p. 55) la notion babylonienne du Destin, en même temps que la notion grecque; mais, dit-il, „on ne peut malheureusement pas établir des rapprochements plus précis entre ces conceptions étrangères et la doctrine des Jubilés car les textes manquent". La comparaison deviendrait plus aisée si les Jubilés n'étaient pas isolés de la littérature juive apparentée (1 *Hénoch* notamment). J'en dirais autant des notions géographiques analysées p. 56-58. Leur rapport avec la science géographique du milieu grec n'est guère douteux. Mais elles ont aussi des connexions avec la géographie mythique du *Livre d'Hénoch*, qui me semble d'origine mésopotamienne (cf. *R.B.*, 1958, p. 33-69; voir notamment p. 45-47); ce fait souligne que l'influence grecque n'est pas seule en cause. Ne faut-il pas chercher dans la diaspora orientale l'origine de la tradition particulière qui a donné finalement le *Livre d'Hénoch* et où les *Jubilés* ont vu le jour après son implantation en Palestine?

Chapitre II. A propos de l'irruption du mal dans le monde à la suite de la chute des Veilleurs, il est regrettable que les fragments de 1 *Hénoch* qui se rapportent au sujet ne soient pas explicitement mentionnés, car ils paraissent bien être la source des *Jubilés* (p. 61 s.). J'en dirais autant du *Testament araméen de lévi*, qui éclaire le récit relatif à l'institution du sacerdoce lévitique par Jacob (p. 68). Mais ce sont là des détails mineurs, car le privilège d'Israël mis en évidence par l'histoire de l'alliance est fort bien analysé. Je doute pourtant que l'idée d'une nouvelle alliance, remplaçant l'alliance mosaïque et accordée à la seule communauté fidèle à l'idéal des *Jubilés* (p. 69 et 74), ait dans le livre cette netteté. D'une part, je pense que, pour l'auteur, l'alliance eschatologique n'est qu'un renouvellement de

l'alliance mosaïque, qui est établie à jamais; d'autre part, rien ne dit explicitement qu'aux yeux de l'auteur cette alliance soit déjà conclue. Sur ce point, le *Document de Damas* et la *Règle de la Communauté* fournissent des données plus claires; mais peut-on les reporter sur les *Jubilés*?

Chapitre III. Bon exposé de l'angélologie et de la démonologie (p. 75-86), suivi d'un aperçu sur l'enseignement des autres écrits non-canoniques sur ce sujet (p. 86-89). Il est dommage que les sections anciennes d'*Hénoch* et le *Testament de Lévi* n'aient pas été mis à part. Une comparaison explicite entre leur enseignement et celui de *Jub.* aurait utilement éclairé celui-ci. Par exemple, p. 75, à propos de Jub. ii 2: cf. 1 Hén. x 11-22; p. 76, à propos de Jub. iv 21, cf. 1 Hén. xii 1-2; p. 77, à propos de Jub. iv 6, cf. 1 Hen. civ 7; p. 82, à propos de Jub. vii 22, cf. 1 Hén. vii 1 gr., lxxxvi 4, lxxxviii 2 . . . Sur cette base, le développement réel apporté par les Pseud-épigraphes plus tardifs (cités ici pêle-mêle) aurait ressorti avec plus de netteté. Quant à l'origine de cette angélologie (p. 79 s.), elle est à juste titre rapprochée de la Perse; mais cela confirme le rapport de la tradition recueillie par *Jub.* avec la diaspora orientale: n'est-ce pas au contact du syncrétisme irano-babylonien, hellénisé à partir d'Alexandre, que celle-ci a développé sur des points particuliers la doctrine traditionnelle des livres bibliques? J'hésiterais, en tout cas, à dire que ces doctrines sont „nées dans le milieu sectaire des Esséniens" (p. 90). Leur présence dans la littérature rabbinique me fait penser qu'elles étaient plus largement répandues, bien que chaque secte en ait fait usage suivant ses traditions propres; dès lors, leur pénétration dans le N.T. (succinctement présentée p. 89-92) ne paraît pas due seulement à une influence de l'essénisme „par le canal des enseignements populaires": la question est sans doute plus complexe.

Chapitre IV. Bon exposé de la doctrine des deux Voies; mais une comparaison avec 1 Hén. xcii-civ n'aurait pas été superflue. Quant à l'origine de la doctrine, elle n'est discutée que fort brièvement (p. 97-99), et l'influence du mazdéisme (admise pour les textes de Qumrân par K. G. Kuhn et A. Dupont-Sommer, qui cite le même texte des Gâthâs sur „les deux Esprits") est peut-être envisageé de façon trop unilatérale: certains textes sapientiaux de l'A.T. n'en renfermaient-ils pas l'amorce? Au demeurant, j'admets sans difficulté que la tradition juive a pu se comporter à l'égard de la sagesse iranienne comme elle l'avait fait à l'egard de la sagesse égyptienne ou cananéenne, accueillant plus d'un élément qu'elle adaptait aux perspectives propres de la révélation biblique. P. 97, ligne 9, je signale une erreur de référence: lire Jub. xxii 2 (et non xxiii 2).

Chapitre V. Nous trouvons ici la halakha particulière du groupe dont proviennent les *Jubilés*. Il ne me semble pas douteux que le *Livre de la Première Loi* désigne le Pentateuque en son entier (M.T. pose la question p. 102). Les différences relevées entre les dispositions du Pentateuque et celles de *Jub.* ne signifient, à mon avis, ni que l'auteur regarde son livre comme supérieur à la Loi de Moïse, ni qu'il en puise les éléments dans un Code secret de la secte à laquelle il appartient (p. 119). Il y a là simplement un exemple des rapports concrets entre Ecriture et Tradition dans le judaïsme ancien. L'auteur recueille les traditions particulières de son milieu, qui ont une valeur interprétative pour l'intelligence de la Loi.

Il en fait une présentation concrète en les insérant dans la trame de l'histoire sainte, rapportée d'après la Bible, mais une Bible que la Tradition amplifie ou transforme suivant les besoins pratiques du temps, pour en actualiser les leçons. L'insistance sur la circoncision, l'interdiction de la nudité et des mariages mixtes, répondent à l'invasion du Judaïsme par les coutumes et les moeurs grecques; la dureté des interprétations fournies (p. 116) rejoint ce que nous savons de certains docteurs juifs du Ier siècle (cf. l'école de Shammaï). Pourquoi ces positions n'auraient-elles pas eu droit de cité dans le „grand courant" du Judaïsme (cf. p. 117)? Celui-ci était-il déjà fixé *ne varietur*, et se réduisait-il au pharisaïsme et au sadducéisme, seuls qualifiés d'„officiels"? Signalons, dans le détail des analyses, qu'une comparaison avec le *Testament de Lévi* aurait fourni d'utiles compléments p. 106 (les sacrifices, et notamment les bois permis pour les offrir; cf. *Testament araméen*, fr. de la Bodl., col. C, 24) et p. 109 (les dîmes). P. 108, ligne 32, corriger la référence xv 27 en xv 26.

Chapitre VI. L'exposé du calendrier occupe à juste titre une place importante. N'aurait-il pas été préférable de comparer systématiquement sur ce point *Jub.* et 1 Hén. lxxii-lxxxii (rappelé secondairement p. 128-130)? En effet, *Jub.* paraît bien dépendre ici du *Livre des luminaires du ciel* (dont la grotte IV de Qumrân nous fournira des fragments assez abondants, attestant un texte plus long que celui de l'éthiopien). Cette référence aurait l'avantage d'orienter vers le lieu d'origine possible du calendrier en question: la Mésopotamie. M.T. songe à une influence des mathématiciens grecs et du pythagorisme (p. 131-137). N'est-il pas paradoxal de supposer qu'un milieu conservateur, en réaction contre l'hellénisme, ait ainsi emprunté à une tradition qu'il combat un élément auquel il attribue tant d'importance? Les spéculations pythagoriciennes sur les nombres „plongeaient leur racines dans le passé de l'orient", comme dit M.T. (p. 137). Ne convient-il pas de regarder vers cet Orient lui-même? Rappelons que la tradition iranienne connaissait un calendrier solaire, fait de 12 mois de 30 jours, avec 5 jours intercalaires (J. Duchesne-Guillemin, Zoroastre, p. 109). Pourquoi l'élaboration du calendrier de 364 jours, fait de 12 mois de 30 jours avec 4 jours intercalaires, n'aurait-elle pas été faite dans la diaspora orientale, qui aurait trouvé moyen d'adapter ainsi le cycle sabbatique au calendrier solaire en usage dans ce milieu? Je ne fais que poser la question. Mlle A. Jaubert a tenté de montrer l'ancienneté du calendrier des *Jubilés* et son identité avec celui du Code sacerdotal. M.T. discute longuement sa thèse (p. 159-164). Ses raisons vaudraient d'être discutées à leur tour; mais sans doute Mlle Jaubert aura-t-elle l'occasion de le faire pour défendre son point de vue; je m'en voudrais de la devancer. Personnellement, je crois valable son argument fondé sur la création des astres le mercredi (discuté p. 160). La publication des *Mishmaroth* de Qumrân permettra sans doute de trancher la question (cf. J. T. Milik, dans *V.T.*, Suppl. IV, p. 25). Parmi les fêtes prévues dans le calendrier des Jubilés, celle de *Shabu'ôth* retiendra l'attention par l'interprétation qu'en donne M.T. (après Zeitlin): ce n'est pas la fête des Semaines, mais des Serments (p. 146-149). Même la traduction ancienne de vi 17 est ici contestée: l'auteur des *Jubilés* ignorerait la règle des sept semaines qui séparait cette

fête de la Pâque dans le Judaïsme „officiel" (et dans la Bible!). Par contre, tous les serments divins aux patriarches sont fixés à cette date: c'était donc une fête des Serments. La seconde remarque est intéressante (jeu de mots sur *Shabuʿôth*); mais elle ne me paraît pas exclure la règle des sept semaines (bien que celle-ci ne soit pas mentionnée explicitement). Les deux significations se superposent fort bien; et l'on sait d'ailleurs que, dans le Judaïsme rabbinique, la Pentecôte commémorait l'alliance au Sinaï comme c'est déjà le cas en Jub. vi 11. Je ne vois pas qu'il y ait là une opposition réelle entre les deux pratiques. Pareillement, les traditions particulières relatives à la Fête du Seigneur, le 15 du 7ème mois, ne comportent que des variations secondaires par rapport à la Fête des Tabernacles, exactement comme dans Neh. viii 13-17 comparé à Lev. xxiii, 33-43. Le rattachement de ces fêtes à des initiatives patriarcales n'en change pas la nature profonde, et je crois que les différences entre *Jub.* et la tradition dite „officielle" sont exagérées (p. 155 s.): on a là deux traditions interprétatives de la même Torah mosaïque. Quant au comput du calendrier, qui sait si, en réalité, la communauté dont proviennent les *Jubilés* n'était pas plus conservatrice que les milieux qui suivaient le calendrier lunisolaire?

Chapitre VII. Les remarques sur les „derniers temps" concernent l'eschatologie des *Jubilés*. Les passages regardés comme des additions postérieures p. 39-42 sont ici utilisés sans remarque particulière (et à juste titre, selon moi). Mais il manque une comparaison avec 1 *Hénoch* (notamment chap. xcii-civ, dont les idées sont très proches de celles de *Jub.*) (cf. p. 171). Aux pp. 174-177, M.T. propose de chercher dans le livre une clef mathématique pour connaître le Jour de l'ère messianique (ce serait le 22ème jubilé après l'exode). Je m'avoue sceptique à cet égard. L'imminence psychologique de la Fin est une loi du milieu apocalyptique et de ses productions littéraires. Dans Daniel déjà, la Fin est sur le point d'advenir; les 70 semaines d'années la placent même au terme d'un cycle jubilaire (490 ans = 10 jubilés de 49 ans comme dans *Jub.*). Le recours aux calculs d'Eratosthène me semble donc superflu (p. 176), et aussi le „report à l'échéance finale" opéré pour adapter le livre à une chronologie qui s'allongeait (p. 177).

Chapitre VIII. La confrontation de *Jub.* avec les textes de Qumrân est conservée pour la fin. Le rapport avec le *Document de Damas* est évident, mais on ne saurait parler de 58 „citations" des Jubilés dans les fragments sadoqites (plutôt que „sadokites"): la liste donnée dans les tables de Chaim Rabin porte souvent sur de simples parallélismes d'expression (p. 179). Comme la date du *Document* est discutée, tout le monde n'accordera pas que „trois quarts de siècles" séparent les deux ouvrages (p. 183), bien que cela reste plausible. A la fin du passage consacré au *Manuel de discipline* (p. 187), je relève une présentation de l'eschatologie de *Jub.* qui contredit celle de la p. 171. L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (p. 187-89) aurait peut-être gagné à être présenté plus tôt, à l'occasion de l'histoire et de la géographie de *Jub.*, dont il est si proche. On trouve pour finir les parallélismes des *Hymnes* et de la notice consacrée par Josèphe aux Esséniens.

Je n'ai point parlé jusqu'ici des citations des *Jubilés* qui parsèment

l'ouvrage. Elles méritent pourtant une remarque. L'influence de la traduction anglaise de Charles s'y fait très fortement sentir. Certes, cette traduction est excellente; mais un relai supplémentaire entre l'original hébreu et le français constitue un risque d'erreur supplémentaire, qu'une traduction plus originale de l'éthiopien aurait supprimé. Pareille aventure était déjà arrivée au P. Bonsirven dans sa *Bible apocryphe*: vérifiant la traduction de Jub. i 8-16, j'y ai dénombré quelque six contre-sens et plusieurs faux sens . . . La traduction de M.T. n'en est pas là; mais j'y ai relevé plusieurs faiblesses qui s'expliquent généralement par une influence latérale de l'anglais. Voici quelques exemples. Jub. x 29-30 (p. 51): „. . . il n'alla pas dans le pays de son héritage *à l'ouest de la mer*" (pour: à l'ouest, vers la mer; Ch.: . . . to the West, (that is) to the sea) . . . „. . . Tu t'es établi dans un pays . . . qui *ne t'a pas* été attribué par le sort" (eth.: . . . qui ne nous est pas échu par le sort; Ch. id.). P. 61, pour v 1: „les filles des hommes étaient belles à *contempler*" (Ch.: to look upon; à voir, ou à regarder). P. 61, pour v 2: „. . . *l'illégalité* se répandit sur la terre" (l'iniquité *amaḍâ*; Ch.: lawlessness). P. 63, pour xi 17: „. . . que sa part ne tombe pas dans l'erreur suivant l'impureté et l'*abjection*" (*menâné*, „nequitia"; Ch.: vileness, entendu au sens actif!). P. 61, pour xii 22: „*Lève-toi* de *ce* pays . . ." (*naʿâ* „va-t-en de *ton* pays"; Ch. „get thee up"). P. 69, pour i 23: „. . . je circoncirai *la peau* de leur coeur" (le prépuce, foreskin); plus loin, pour i 24: „ils *rempliront* mes commandements" (anglicisme, pour fulfill). P. 70, pour xv 31: „. . . Il a *placé des esprits ayant l'autorité de les égarer* loin de lui" (pour: il a donné pouvoir à des esprits pour les faire errer loin de lui; Ch.: He placed Spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him). P. 82, pour vii 22: „. . . (les Nafilim) étaient tous *gigantesques* (litt.: dissemblables; Ch. unlike, ou en corr. plundered, or strove) . . . Et les géants égorgèrent les Nafils, et les Nafils égorgèrent les Eljos *et la race des Eljos*, et un homme l'autre" (litt.: le géant égorgea le Nafil, le Nafil égorgea l'Elyo, l'Elyo l'homme, et l'homme son prochain; Ch.: The Giants slew the Nafil, and the Nafil slew the Eljô, *and the Eljô mankind*, and one man another). P. 83, pour x 5: „. . . garde-les liés dans le lieu de la condamnation et *ne les laisse pas apporter* la destruction aux fils de ton serviteur" (litt.: et qu'ils ne perdent pas les fils . . .; Ch.: and let them not bring destruction on the sons . . .). P. 95, pour xxii 16: „. . . toutes leurs voies sont *pollution*, impureté et destruction" (entendre: souillure; anglais „pollution"). P. 95, pour xxiii, 12: „. . . *toutes les espèces* de calamités et de maux" (lire: toutes sortes; anglais, all kinds). P. 97, pour xxii 22: „. . . il n'y aura plus aucun espoir pour eux *au pays du vivant*" (lire: sur la terre des vivants, in the land of the living). P. 104, xxxvi 9: „il sera extirpé du pays de la vie" (he shall be rooted out of the land of the living, il sera déraciné de la terre des vivants); xxxvi 10: „. . . il sera effacé du livre *du souvenir* (de la correction; of the discipline) des enfants des hommes . . . et *il ira dans l'éternelle execration* (and he shall depart into eternal execration; et il disparaîtra dans la malédiction éternelle). J'arrête ici ce désagréable épluchage (pour lequel la traduction de Martin, restée en manuscrit, m'a considérablement aidé).

J'ai relevé un certain nombre de fautes d'impression. P. 10, en syriaque: *nubilaye* pour *yubilaye*. P. 40, l. 29; offence. P. 93, l. 4 du bas, anmées.

P. 105, titre: culturelles (pour cultuelles). P. 108, l. 27: circoncie (pour circoncise). P. 109, l. 26: Javé. P. 130, νόθον (sans accent). P. 155, l. 26: Nissan. P. 188, l.8 du bas, Tanaïs (pour Tanis). P. 199, l.3 du bas: calendrier (lettres inversées). P. 80, *irin* (pour *ʿirin*). P. 88, *maleʾakim*, *maleʾaké* (plutôt: *malʾakim*). P. 201, plusieurs titres de la bibliographie sont fautifs (et quelques dates manquent). P. 204, l.25: 1846 (au lieu de 1946). A cette bibliographie il faudrait ajouter la rétroversion en hébreu de S. Rubin, Vienne, 1870; l'ouvrage de Skat Hoffmeyer sur *La situation de la littérature apocryphe et pseudépigraphe par rapport aux sectes dans le judaïsme palestinien tardis* (en danois), Copenhague, 1918, p. 165-202; l'étude de C. Albeck, *Daf Buch der Jubiläen und die Halacha* (Bericht der Hochschul für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin), 1930; la traduction danoise parue dans *De Gammeltestamentlige Pseudepigrafer*, 3. Hæfte, Copenhague, 1958; l'article de J. B. Frey, dans le *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, t. 1, col. 371-380 (contient quelques indications bibliographiques secondaires). Enfin, une table des références aurait été bien utile pour la consultation du livre.

Je ne voudrais pas que mes critiques diminuent l'intérêt que mérite l'ouvrage de M.T. Elles montrent au contraire avec quelle attention je l'ai lu. La synthèse qu'il présente apportera beaucoup aux exégètes qui étudient le milieu juif inter-testamentaire, notamment à ceux qui n'ont pas l'accès direct à la version éthiopienne des Pseudépigraphes. Ils trouveront là, au total, une bonne introduction au livre, important et parfois difficile, des *Jubilés*.

Paris Pierre Grelot

PALESTINSKIJ SBORNIK

Палестинский сборник (*Recueil Palestinien*), publié par l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS — Société Palestinienne Russe, fascicule 3 (66), Moscou-Leningrad, 1958, 228 p.; fascicule 4 (67), 1959, 248 p.

Le programme de ce recueil s'élargit avec chaque fascicule et s'étend à tous les domaines de la culture (archéologie, histoire, philologie, droit, etc.) du Proche-Orient, depuis l'époque la plus reculée jusqu'à l'époque moderne.

Dans les derniers fascicules, plusieurs études sont consacrées à des sujets strictement palestiniens ou, à tout le moins, en rapport avec la Palestine. Ainsi V. V. Struve s'occupe de la *Lutte contre un esclavage conséquence du prêt, en Babylonie et en Palestine*. Par une analyse grammaticale du texte des lois de Hammurabi, l'auteur interprète son contenu et particulièrement les articles 117-119; selon lui cette partie du code avait pour but la lutte contre l'asservissement des débiteurs, en interdisant de réduire en esclavage un chef de famille, et en limitant à trois ans la durée du travail des membres libres de sa famille. L'essai de Hammurabi dans ce sens avait été précédé, un siècle et demi avant lui, par les lois du roi Lipit-Ishtar qui avait prescrit de rendre sa liberté au serf-débiteur s'il remboursait par son travail le double de la valeur de son emprunt. Struve retrouve ce même principe dans le Deuteronome (XV, 18), duquel il tire également la conclusion qu'en Israël la période habituelle de louage d'un salarié agricole était

égale à trois ans et il en trouve la confirmation dans Isaïe (XVI, 14). Ce système de louage pour une durée de 3 ans aurait été également en vigueur en Babylonie à l'époque de Hammurabi.

Aux problèmes législatifs est également consacré l'article *De l'histoire des relations sociales en Assyrie*, dans lequel L. A. Lipin examine la législation médio-assyrienne à propos du terme *aššuraju* (féminin: *aššurâitu*). D'après lui, ce terme désignerait un homme libre, d'origine subarienne-hurrite, mais qui ne jouissait pas de la plénitude des droits civiques propres aux autres hommes libres lesquels, de par leur origine ethnique, appartenaient à l'élément dominant de l'état assyrien. L'*aššuraju* pouvait posséder des biens considérables, mais était tenu d'accomplir certains devoirs. Quand il s'était engagé, on pouvait le battre, lui percer les oreilles, le réduire en esclavage sa vie durant et même le vendre hors des frontières d'Assyrie. L'auteur assimile sa situation à celle des *muškenum* du code babylonien et des lois d'Eshnunna, et au *tôšâb* et au *gêr* de la Bible.

L'article de A. M. Gasov-Ginsberg, *ʿĀr — pays de Mōʾāb* (*Etymologie du nom*) est consacré à la toponymie de la Palestine. L'auteur examine le terme géographique *ʿĀr — Mōʾāb* (Nombre XXI, 28; Isaïe XV, 1) ou simplement *ʿĀr* (fréquent dans le Deuteronome et ailleurs) qu'il considère comme identique au terme arabe *al-Ġawr* (cavité, dépression) qui désigne la dépression de la Mer Morte.

M. J. Helcer, dans ses *Notes sur l'histoire de la Phénicie au VIIIe siècle avant notre ère*, s'occupe de l'état de ce pays avant la conquête assyrienne et des conséquences de cette conquête; en plus des sources anciennes, l'auteur utilise également les inscriptions publiées dans la revue *Iraq*.

Dans le même groupe d'études signalons le dictionnaire de I. N. Vinnikov des inscriptions araméennes pour une période de mille ans environ (à partir du IXe siècle avant n.e.), et la traduction et le commentaire par K. B. Starkova du *Manuel de Discipline*. Nous revenons sur cette étude ailleurs et d'une manière détaillée (cf. *Revue de Qumrân*, tome II, No 6).

Le problème de la Syrie et de ses rapports avec l'Europe aux différentes époques est abordé dans plusieurs articles. S. P. Potockij publie la reproduction, et étudie, une monnaie inconnue d'Antiochus IV Epiphane trouvée en 1917 dans un trésor en Russie de Sud. G. A. Tiracjan s'occupe des *Liaisons commerciales entre l'Arménie et la Syrie dans l'antiquité* d'après des matériaux datant du Ier au IIIe siècle de notre ère et fournis par les fouilles archéologiques exécutées en 1949 en Arménie. N. V. Pigulevskaja traduit en russe et commente la *Chronique d'Edesse* (publiée par J. S. Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, tome I, Rome 1719, p. 387-417, étudiée et traduite précédemment en allemand par L. Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die Edessenische Chronik*, Leipzig, 1893) et la *Légende syriaque d'Alexandre le Grand* (légende chrétienne publiée par E. A. W. Budge, *The history of Alexander the Great, being the Syriac version of the pseudo-Callisthenes*, Cambridge, 1889).

Les historiens du christianisme trouveront un intérêt considérable dans l'article de R. M. Bartikjan, *Sources arméniennes pour l'étude de l'histoire du mouvement paulicien*. L'auteur puise dans les documents arméniens et y découvre des faits inconnus jusqu'ici concernant l'idéologie et le développement du paulicianisme.

Aux rapports du christianisme avec les premières générations de Musulmans est consacré l'article de V. V. MATVEEV, *N. A. Mednikov et l'étude du traité entre ʿOmar ibn al-Haṭṭāba et les Chrétiens de Palestine et de Syrie.* MEDNIKOV, professeur à l'Université de Saint-Pétersbourg et membre de la Société Palestinienne Russe, a donné le premier une étude exhaustive du traité qui aurait été conclu entre ʿOmar et les Chrétiens. Ce fameux texte, qui était utilisé par les Musulmans pour régler la situation juridique des Chrétiens dans les pays conquis, aurait été composé, d'après MEDNIKOV, plusieurs siècles après ʿOmar afin de servir de justification aux limitations de droits imposées aux Chrétiens.

Plusieurs études sont encore consacrées aux problèmes arabes et parmi elles deux articles de A. LUNDIN se rapportent à la péninsule arabe. Dans l'un, *A propos du problème de la chronologie des inscriptions himyarites*, il tâche de systématiser les données connues concernant cette chronologie et penche pour dater cette ère selon les vues de J. HALEVY. Dans un supplément, LUNDIN discute avec G. RYCKMANS à propos d'un ouvrage consacré au même sujet. Dans une autre étude *Différenciation sociale en Arabie du Sud au VIe siècle de notre ère*, l'auteur, en se servant des inscriptions récemment publiées, et en particulier de celles de G. RYCKMANS (*Le Muséon*, 1953), examine les termes qui désignent différentes classes des gens libres ou asservis. L'auteur conclut que la division sociale en Arabie du Sud s'est produite dans le sens de la différenciation profonde des couches à l'intérieur des classes. Au VIe siècle, l'ancienne noblesse des clans, les kabirs, est déjà réduite à un rôle insignifiant, et une nouvelle aristocratie se constitue, formée par les possesseurs de biens-fonds, les chefs militaires, les hauts fonctionnaires, etc. C'est à cette même époque également qu'en Arabie, se serait formée la structure féodale.

L. E. KUBBEL', dans son article intitulé *Sur quelques traits du système militaire du khalifat des Omeyyades* (661-750) examine les rapports sociaux dans l'armée, et les formes par lesquelles s'y manifestaient les contradictions sociales caractéristiques du Khalifat de Damas. Il arrive à la conclusion que le cadre essentiel de cette armée était donné par la classe privilégiée des militaires arabes. Ceux-ci étaient entretenus aux frais de l'Etat et de la population agricole exploitée des pays conquis. On utilisait largement des unités auxiliaires fournies par la noblesse de ces pays conquis. Les mercenaires étaient rares. L'armée des Omeyyades représenterait un exemple typique d'une armée au début de l'époque féodale. L'armée servait à maintenir l'obéissance aussi bien des peuples soumis, que des classes inférieures mécontentes des tribus arabes.

Un autre problème, de caractère à la fois militaire et social, est traité dans l'article de M. ČURAKOV, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes*, qui examine le déroulement de la conquête militaire et les charges sociales et économiques qui en ont résulté pendant la période située entre le milieu du VIIe siècle et l'année 739, date de la suppression de la domination du Khalifat sur le Maghreb. L'auteur se propose d'étudier d'une manière plus détaillée, dans un autre article consacré aux Kharidjites du Maghreb, la lutte des classes qui accompagna ces évènements et les évenements suivants.

Deux articles sont consacrés aux anciens auteurs arabes. Dans le premier, *Le Livre des routes et des provinces d'Ibn Khordādbeh*, P. G. Bulgakov arrive à la conclusion que le texte de cet ouvrage est conservé dans deux versions: l'une abrégée et l'autre complète datant toutes deux de la fin du IXe siècle. Bien que l'auteur y trouve un nombre considérable d'anachronismes, il considère l'ouvrage comme important. A. B. Khalidov publie le texte critique établi par lui et la traduction des *Suppléments au texte de la „Chronologie" d'al-Bīrunī d'après les manuscrits de Leningrad et d'Istamboul.*

L'étude de P. V. Ernštedt, *Deux lettres administratives coptes de l'époque arabe*, nous montre la pénétration des influences arabes dans l'administration égyptienne parallèlement à la persistance des formes de la langue grecque des affaires. L'original, inédit jusqu'ici, de la première lettre est conservé dans l'un des musées de Moscou, l'autre, dont le fac-similé fut publié par F. de Rossi, provient de la collection de Turin. Une autre étude de ce même auteur, *Du domaine des égyptianismes les plus anciens du grec*, est une continuation de ses travaux sur ce même sujet (*Emprunts égyptiens dans la langue grecque*, Moscou-Leningrad, 1953, et *Anthropomorphisme sémantique dans les égyptismes lexicaux du grec*, dans le fasc. 2 de *Palestinskij Sbornik*).

D'autres articles consacrés à l'égyptologie s'occupent tous de l'histoire de cette discipline en Russie. I. G. Livšic traduit du francais et commente le *Mémoire sur le système hiéroglyphique de Champollion*, composé par le diplomate et orientaliste S. I. Kossakovskij pour A. J. Italinskij, ambassadeur russe à Rome. Le mémoire a été probablement rédigé d'après les conférences que Champollion a tenu en Juin 1825 à Rome pour les diplomates et les savants. I. S. Kacnel'son rappelle la première thèse russe sur l'art égyptien ancien, présentée par P. V. Ulanov à l'Université de Moscou en 1818; l'auteur offre des renseignements biographiques sur Ulanov et examine ses opinions esthétiques. N. S. Petrovskij donne la description du *Papyrus Butenev* rapporté d'Alexandrie en Russie en 1833 avec d'autres objets. Ce papyrus magnifiquement conservé contient le *Livre des morts* de Amon mes, chef des artisans du temple d'Amon, situé probablement à Thèbes. V. J. Galant, dans l'article *l'Egypte dans la description économique et géographique de Napoléon Bonaparte*, basé principalement sur les mémoires de l'Empereur, complète les études concernant l'Egypte à l'époque moderne.

En plus des études, le *Recueil* comporte plusieurs compte-rendus d'ouvrages russes et occidentaux. Une très utile innovation est introduite à partir du fascicule 4 sous la forme d'une table des matières et de résumés dans une langue occidentale. A cette occasion, on pourrait exprimer le souhait qu'un index soit fait qui présenterait un très grand avantage pour l'utilisation de matériel abondant que chaque numéro du *Recueil* apporte à ses lecteurs.

Paris S. Szyszman

BOOK LIST [1]

Bible et Terre Sainte.
Volume relié contenant les numéros de 1959-1960. Contributions de M. Avi-Yonah, Muzy, Carmignac, Rothenberg, Ananti, Leconte, Pritchard, Baillet, Aharoni . . . et une multitude de belles photographies.

Les pélerinages. Sources orientales III. Egypte ancienne, Israel, Perse, Inde . . . Seuil, Paris 1960. M. Vieyra, Les pélerinages en Israel, pp. 75-87.

Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart [3], Mohr, Tübingen. 74.-85. Lieferung. 1960. Mari (Röllig); Mensch (Kapelrud); Menschenopfer (Eissfeldt); Mesa (Galling); Messias (Weise); Micha (Meyer); Moabiter (Noth); Moloch (Eissfeldt); Monotheïsmus (Baumgärtel); Moses (Osswald); Mosessegen, Moseslied und Meerlied (Stoebe); Musik (Westermann); Mythos (Mowinckel); Nahumbuch (Osswald); Namengebung (Stamm); Namenglaube (Baltzer); Nehemiabuch (Galling). Numeri; Obadjabuch (Werbeck); Offenbarung (Eichrodt); Opfer (Hentschke).

Textus. Annual of the Hebrew University Bible Project. Vol. I ed. C. Rabin. Jerusalem (Isr.) 1960. 214 pp. Contributions by Ben-Zvi, The Codex of Ben Asher; Gottstein, The authenticity of the Aleppo Codex; Loewinger, The Aleppo Codex and the Ben Asher Tradition; Driver, Abbreviations in the Massoretic text; Diez-Macho, A new fragment of Isaiah with Babylonian pointing; Talmon, Double readings in the Massoretic text; Yeivin, A Massoretic fragment from the Cairo Geniza; id. A unique combination of accents. And a report of the Bible project.

E. Beaucamp, La Bible et le sens religieux de l'univers. 222 pp. Cerf, Paris 1959.

P. E. Bonnard, Le Psautier selon Jérémie. 284 pp. Cerf, Paris 1960. N.F. 13,50.

H. Cunliffe-Jones, The Book of Jeremiah, Introduction and Commentary (Torch Bible Commentaries) SCM Press, London 1960. 287 pp. 15/—.

I. Engnell, Grammatik i gammaltestamentlig hebreiska, Scandinavian University Books, 1960. 180 pp.

M. Estrade e B. M. Girbau, Tobit-Judit; B. M. Girbau, Esther. La Biblia, Montserrat 1960. 295 pp.

† Ch. Jean — J. Hoftijzer, Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest. Livraisons I et II. כתב-א. xv + 128 pp. Brill, Leiden. Dutch fl. 36.—.

A. R. Hulst, Old Testament translation problems. In co-operation with other scholars. xvi, 262 pp. Amsterdam, Dutch Bible Society, 1960. Dutch fl. 12.50.

S. Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot. Psalms from Qumran. Thesis Copenhagen. Acta theologica Danica Vol. II. Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus 1960. 366 pp. D.kr. 50,00.

A. S. Kapelrud, Israel, fra de eldate tider til Jesu fedsel, 181 pp. Oslo 1960.

H. Limet, Le travail du métal au pays de Sumer au temps de la IIIe dynastie d'Ur. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liege, fasc. clv. Paris 1960. 313 pp.

E. Nielsen, Grundrids af Israels Historie. 2. udgave. Gad, Copenhagen 1960. 199 pp.

E. Osy, Les Psaumes. Edition de poche 402 pp. Paris 1960.
Traduction annotée, une des plus réussies en francais.

A. Schalit, King Herodes, the Man and his Work, 542 pp. maps and plates, (Hebrew) Jerusalem 1960.

J. H. Scheepers, Die Gees van God en die Gees van die Mens in die Ou Testament, xvi + 329 pp. Thesis Free University Amsterdam. Kampen 1960. Dutch fl. 9.50.

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[1]) The mention of books in this list neither implies nor precludes subsequent review at length.

DER PROPHET NATHAN UND DER TEMPELBAU

VON

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Der religiöse Synkretismus, der nach der Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan begonnen hat [1]), resultierte, darf man sagen, zur Zeit Sauls in einer kanaanisierten israelitischen Religion. Als David Jerusalem einnahm und die Israeliten dadurch eine neue Hauptstadt erhielten, stiess die in Kanaan geformte israelitische Religion auf eine weitere Ausgestaltung der kanaanäischen El-Religion, was sicher viel zu bedeuten hatte. Indem Jerusalem das religiöse Zentrum des Davidsreiches wurde, wuchs die vorjerusalemitische und im grossen ganzen nordkanaanäisch geprägte israelitische Religion in eine neue und offenbar entscheidende Epoche hinein. Ein neuer Religionssynkretismus beginnt. David wird zum Priesterkönig Jerusalems על דברתי מלכי־צדק, Ps. cx 4. Das besagt, dass David der oberste Leiter der alten jebusitischen Religionsform [2]) wird und dass er diese in der Hauptsache in ihren alten Traditionen weiterleben lässt. Man darf die Frage stellen, ob es überhaupt eine Verehrung Jahwes in der Stadt gegeben hat, bevor die Bundeslade in sie getragen wurde. Offenbar hat David die Lade nicht unmittelbar nach der Eroberung in die Stadt gebracht. Es muss ihm jedoch schon bald klar geworden sein, dass Jerusalem kein natürliches Zentrum für das religiöse Leben Israels werden konnte, solange das alte Symbol Jahwes, die Lade, sich nicht in der Stadt befand. Sobald dieses Gottessymbol aber in der Stadt aufgestellt war, galt die neue Hauptstadt als legitimer Kultplatz Jahwes. Daraus ergaben sich religionspolitische Konsequenzen. Jahwe war von nun an in Jerusalem zu Hause und in Jerusalem ist von nun an die offizielle Formung der israelitischen Religion bestimmt worden. Das bedeutet aber nicht zugleich, dass der Kult Jahwes der einzige im jebusitischen

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[1]) M. Noth, *Geschichte Israels* [3], 1956, S. 95, vgl. E. Klamroth, *Lade und Tempel*, 1932, S. 67, I. Engnell, *Gamla Testamentet* I, 1945, S. 135 f.

[2]) E. O. James, *The Nature and Function of Priesthood*, Glasgow 1955, S. 78. Vgl. Geo Widengren, "Psalm 110", *UUÅ*, 1941 : 7, 1, S. 21.

Gebiet existierende gewesen sei [1]). Die alte Kultform (oder die alten Kultformen) Jerusalems starben nicht plötzlich aus [2]) und wurden nicht durch etwas völlig Neues ersetzt. Ebensowenig gestaltete sich die Religion in den übrigen Teilen des Reiches in genau der gleichen Weise wie in Jerusalem.

Statt dessen wurden die alten Kultplätze „israelitisiert", wobei grosse Teile des Traditionsgutes dieser Heiligtümer in die israelitische Religion hinüberwuchsen. Es hat nämlich mehrere jebusitische Kultplätze gegeben; man hat nicht das Recht, nur mit einem einzigen zu rechnen. Die Tradition Gen. xiv 18 berichtet von El Eljon als der Jerusalemer Gottheit und von dem König der Stadt als dem Priester dieser Gottheit [3]). Das heisst also, dass es einen königlichen Tempelplatz drinnen in der Stadt gab und dass dieser dem El Eljon

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[1]) Die Tatsache, dass Abdi-Chipa Jerusalem als ^{a}*ᵢbit* ^{d}*šulmani* bezeichnet, lässt J. Lewy annehmen, es habe einen Tempel des Šulman in der Stadt gegeben, welcher bei der Einnahme der Stadt durch die Jebusiten zerstört worden sei, „The Šulman Temple in Jerusalem", *JBL* 59/40, S. 520f. Hierüber weiss man freilich nichts Sicheres. Šulman kann recht gut die akkadische Bezeichnung des alten westsemitischen Gottes *šlm*, Šalem, sein, so auch nach J. Lewy in "Les textes paléo-assyriens et l'Ancien Testament", *RHR* 110/34, S. 64, vgl. H. S. Nyberg, "Studien zum Religionskampf im Alten Testament", *ARW* 35/38, S. 352 f.

[2]) Vgl. A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel*, 1955, S. 29 f.

[3]) Rowley findet keinen Grund zu der Annahme, dass David bei der Einnahme Jerusalems das alte Heiligtum der Stadt zerstört habe. Gen. xiv 18 ff. ist nach Rowley als eine israelitische Legitimierung der jebusitischen Priesterschaft, und nicht als eine solche des jebusitischen Heiligtums zu verstehen. Dasselbe gilt nach ihm von Ps. cx, "Zadok and Nehushtan", *JBL* 59/38, S. 124 f., vgl. "Melchizedek and Zadok" (Gen. 14 and Ps. 110), *Festschrift f. A. Bertholet*, 1950, S. 462, Anm. 4. Die Legitimierung dürfte sich aber auf beide bezogen haben. Nach U. Cassuto (La Questione della Genesi, *Pubbl. della R. Univ. degli studi di Firenze*, Fac. di Lett. e Filos. III : 1/1934, S. 373) und H. S. Nyberg ("Studien zum Religionskampf im Alten Testament", *ARW* 35/38, S. 363 f.) ist Gen. xiv zu der Zeit entstanden, als Jerusalem die Hauptstadt Israels wurde (vgl. E. R. Hardy Jr, "The Date of Psalm 110", *JBL* 64/45, S. 389 f.). Nach Nyberg konnte erst damals der Ahne des Volkes, der sonst lokale Kulte aller Art von sich wies, der Jerusalemer Gottheit gehuldigt haben. An und für sich kann diese Hypothese durchaus zutreffen. Es ist aber auch möglich, dass Gen. xiv eine alte Tradition von Abraham als einem Verehrer des Himmelsgottes El Eljon enthält und dass diese Tradition zu Davids Zeiten ihre jetzige Form erhalten hat. Die Annahme, dass die Form des betr. Abschnittes aus der Zeit der Machtübernahme Davids in Jerusalem stammt, wird durch die Angabe von xiv 14-15 gestützt, derzufolge Abraham nach Dan und in die Gegend nördlich von Damaskus sowie danach wieder nach Jerusalem gezogen ist. Das ist vielleicht als eine „Legitimierung" der Eroberungen Davids in den Gebieten nördlich von Damaskus zu verstehen. Indem man behauptete, Abraham habe einen Kriegszug in diese Gegenden unternommen, konnte man Davids Unternehmen als eine reine „Wiedergewinnung" alten israelitischen Landen hinstellen.

geweiht war. Ausserdem kennen wir zwei jebusitische Heiligtümer in der Nähe von Jerusalem, nämlich Gihon und den Soheletstein bei Rogel [1]). Beide haben unter dem neuen Regime selbstverständlich weiterbestanden, was u.a. daraus hervorgeht, dass Salomo bezw. Adonia vor ihnen ritualgemäss als Könige gesalbt wurden. Von der Bundeslade nimmt man an, dass sie wahrscheinlich an einem jebusitischen Kultplatz in der Stadt aufgestellt war [2]). Das Vorkommen der ehernen Schlange, Nehuštan, 2 Kön. xviii 4, deutet auf einen alten, von den Israeliten übernommenen jebusitischen Schlangenkult. Ob Nehuštan später im Tempel Salomos oder sonstwo ihren Platz hatte, geht nicht aus dem Text hervor [3]).

Eine für diesen Zusammenhang wichtige Notiz steht in 2 Sam. xxiv 18 ff. Es heisst hier, dass David die Tenne des Jebusiten Arauna gekauft und daselbst einen Altar errichtet habe. Sollte wirklich der neue König der Stadt einen völlig profanen Platz gewählt haben, um einen Altar zu errichten, oder hat er nicht eher — in Übereinstimmung mit seiner ganzen Religionspolitik — den neuen Altar an einem alten jebusitischen Kultplatz erstellt und diesen so israelitisch gemacht? Der Begriff Tenne, גֹּרֶן, steht im AT in gewissen Zusammenhängen als Bezeichnung eines Kultplatzes, und in dem Wort selber steckt eine Anspielung auf die dort vorkommenden Fruchtbarkeitsriten. So muss auch, nach allem zu schliessen, die Richt. vi 36 ff erwähnte Tenne, auf die Gideon die Wolle legt, ein Kultplatz sein. Denn man befragt den Willen Jahwes nicht an einem ganz beliebigen Ort. In diesem Text geht es ja um eine Orakelantwort, und eine solche erhält man nur in einem Heiligtum [4]). Auch 1 Kön. xxii 10 ist גרן der Ort prophetischer Weissagung [5]). Gen. l 10 berichtet, dass Joseph und sein Volk während sieben

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[1]) J. P. Peters, *The Religion of the Hebrews*, 1932, S. 159, A. Lods, *Israël des origines au milieu du VIIIe siècle*, 1930, S. 418, Aa. Bentzen, "Studier over det zadokidiske Praesteskabs Historie", *Festskrift udg. af Kobenhavns Universitet*, Nov. 1931, S. 9, J. Pedersen, *Israel* III-IV (eng. Ed.), S. 239, Ed. Nielsen, *Shechem. A Traditio-Historical Investigation*, 1955, S. 330.

[2]) So B. Maisler, "Das vordavidische Jerusalem", *JPOS* 10/1930, S. 185, vgl. Rowley, *JBL* 59/38, S. 126.

[3]) Diesen Schlangenkult lokalisiert Lods nach Rogel, *Israël*, S. 419, vgl. Ed. Nielsen, *Shechem*, S. 330.

[4]) Hier ist auch die Rolle zu beachten, die der Tau, טל, in diesem Zusammenhang spielt, V. 37. Der Tau, der ja als göttlich und lebenspendend gilt, erscheint in diesem Text als Zeichen der Rettung.

[5]) J. R. Porter, "The Interpretation of 2 Samuel VI and Psalm CXXXII", *JThSt* 5/54, S. 171. Vgl. J. de Groot, "Die Altäre des Salomonischen Tempelhofes", *BZAW* 31/24, S. 32.

Tagen eine Trauerfeier über Jakob in גרן האטד hielten. Auch hier muss גרן ein Kultplatz sein. Bei Hos. ix 1-2 kommt der Begriff als Anspielung auf den allzu baalisierten Kult des Nordreiches vor [1]). Wenn es in V. 2 heisst, גרן ויקב לא ירעם, so bedeutet das, dass die Gottheiten des Fruchtbarkeitskultes nicht als Hirten taugen. Der wirkliche Hirte des Volkes ist Jahwe, aber es hat ihn verlassen.

Hiermit ist 2 Kön. vi 27 zu vergleichen. Samaria wird von dem Heer der Aramäer belagert und infolge davon herrscht in der Stadt grosse Hungersnot. Eine Frau, die mit einer Nachbarin abgemacht hatte, ihren Sohn zu töten und aufzuessen, klagt vor König Joram die andere Frau an, dass diese ihren Teil der Abmachung nicht gehalten habe, nämlich auch ihrerseits ihren Sohn zum gleichen Zwecke töten zu lassen. Sie bittet Joram um Hilfe, aber dieser antwortet ihr: Hilft dir Jahwe nicht, woher soll ich dir helfen, etwa von גרן oder יקב? Das heisst, dass der heilige Platz des Fruchtbarkeitskultes — und damit die Götter und das Auferstehungsritual des Kultplatzes — eine Alternative zu Jahwe bilden; in diesem Vergleich liegt aber auch die Antwort an die Frau. Die Gottheit oder die Gottheiten, die man auf גרן und bei יקב verehrt, können nichts ausrichten, wenn Jahwe seine Hilfe verweigert. Übrigens kommt der Begriff Tenne auch 2 Sam. vi 6 vor. Die Lade Jahwes wird dort nach גרן נָכוֹן, einer hergerichteten Tenne, gebracht, die deshalb ein heiliger Platz sein muss [2]), denn die Lade darf grundsätzlich nicht an einem profanen Ort aufgestellt werden [3]).

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[1]) „Here it appears, that the threshingfloor was the place of ritual prostitution . . . Prostitution in antiquity occurs as a purely religious rite, as every student of Semitic religion knows", A. J. Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion*, 1917, S. 5. Vgl. J. Gray, "*Goren* at the City Gate", *Palest. Exploration Quart.* 85/53, S. 120. Vgl. Hos. x 11, „Ephraim ist ein geübtes Kalb, das gerne drischt", was besagt, dass das Volk es vorzieht, an dem Kult auf der Tenne teilzunehmen.

[2]) Vgl. Porter, an der eben zit. Stelle. Zu גרן s. auch J. Pedersen, *Israel* III-IV (eng. Ed.), S. 240, Anm. 1, H. S. Nyberg, "Studien z. Hoseabuche", *UUA* 1935 : 6, S. 68, J. Gray, "The Canaanite God Horon", *JNES* 8 49, S. 32. In der gleichen Bedeutung wie der eben angeführten kommt auch der Stamm *grn* in Ugarit vor, I Keret 112, 215, I Aqht : 23, 2 Aqht V : 6, Reph. I : II, 6, 9. Zu Parallelen auf griechischem Gebiet s. B. H. Stricker, "The Origin of the Greek Theatre", *The Journ. of Egypt. Archaeol.*, 41/55, S. 39 ff.

[3]) W. R. Arnold übersetzt גרן נכון mit „a permanent threshingfloor", "Ephod and Ark", *Harvard Theol. Stud.* 3/17, S. 62 f., vgl. A. W. Margolis, "גרן נכון in 2 Sam. vi 6", *JBL* 39 20, S. 70 ff. Diese Übersetzung gibt hier doch eigentlich keinen Sinn. J. Morgenstern erwähnt die Bedeutung „prepared" und meint, dass die betr. Tenne reingefegt gewesen sei. Indessen wählt Morgenstern die Übersetzung „a certain threshingfloor", נכון *JBL* 37 18, S. 145 ff. נכון, das auch

Die angeführten Beispiele und die Tatsache, dass David einen Altar auf der Tenne Araunas errichtet, dürften genügen um zu beweisen, dass die Tenne Araunas ein alter Kultplatz war [1]). Durch den Altar Jahwes wird dieser Platz israelitisch, und gerade auf ihm, der ursprünglich einem Fruchtbarkeitskult gedient hatte, wurde später der Tempel Salomos erbaut.

Das überlieferte Material erlaubt es nicht, näher zu bestimmen, welche Bedeutung die „Tenne" Araunas als Heiligtum gehabt hat. Vermutlich ist sie nicht der wichtigste jebusitische Kultplatz der Stadt gewesen, aber doch bedeutend genug, dass sich David um ihn bemühte. Jedenfalls muss David angestrebt haben, alle Kultplätze zu israelitisieren. Wahrscheinlich hat der Hauptkultplatz des El Eljon in Jerusalem auch weiterhin als Hauptkultplatz, nun der neuen offiziellen Religion, gedient. Aber wer war dann Arauna [2]), der als Besitzer eines Heiligtums bezeichnet wird? Ist überhaupt anzunehmen, dass ein Privatmann einen Kultplatz besass? Kaum! Entweder war Arauna der Oberpriester des betreffenden Kultplatzes oder er war von königlicher Geburt. Die Antwort findet man 2 Sam. xxiv 23, wo es heisst: הַכֹּל נָתַן אֲרַוְנָה הַמֶּלֶךְ לַמֶּלֶךְ. Hier muss ארונה ein Eigenname sein. ארונה המלך bedeutet „der König Arauna", welche Form mit דוד המלך, 2 Sam. xiii 39, und יאשיהו המלך, Jer. iii 6, zu vergleichen ist, trotz der etwas ungewöhnlichen Wortfolge. Diese Übersetzung wird auch von den Akzenten (*mērĕkā* und *ṭifḫā*) unter den beiden Worten gestützt und zeigt, dass die Masoreten die Worte als zusammengehörig betrachteten. המלך ist also Apposition zu Arauna. Das heisst, dass man nicht mehr — auf unsicherem Fundament — mit der These von Zadok als Vorgänger

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vorbereitet, geordnet, hergerichtet bedeutet, wird u.a. von dem Volk gesagt, das für die Epiphanie Jahwes bereit sein soll, Ex. xix 11, oder von Mose, der sich für das Erscheinen Jahwes bereit halten soll, Ex. xxxiv 2. Das Verb erscheint auch bei der Beschreibung des Tempeldienstes, 2 Chron. xxix 35, xxxv 10, 16, sowie im Zusammenhang mit Opfern, Ps. cxli 2. גרן נכון 2. Sam. vi 6, muss also eine zum Kultfest hergerichtete Tenne bezeichnen. Diese Übersetzung wird durch Aquila gestützt, der ἑτοίμης schreibt.

[1]) Vgl. W. O. E. Oesterley-Th. H. Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*², 1937, S. 197 f., Ed. Nielsen, *Shechem*, S. 330. Schon die Tatsache, dass David die Tenne kaufte, weckt die Vermutung, dass es sich nicht um einen völlig profanen Ort gehandelt haben kann — auch wenn die Tradenten versuchten, ihn als solchen hinzustellen. Wäre die Tenne Araunas irgendein profanes Grundstück gewesen, hätte David als Eroberer der Stadt kaum um ihren Erwerb verhandeln brauchen.

[2]) Zum Namen Arauna s. H. B. Rosén, "Arawna — Nom Hittite?", *VT* 5/55, S. 318 ff.

Davids zu arbeiten braucht. Der letzte jebusitische König Jerusalems war Arauna [1]), der 2 Sam. xxiv 23 David als seinen Herrn empfängt und anerkennt.

Es könnte als überflüssig erscheinen, darüber zu sprechen, wo die Tenne Araunas lag, weil ja der Tempel Salomos dort erbaut wurde. Es fragt sich indessen, ob dieser Platz innerhalb der alten Jebusiterstadt Jerusalem gelegen hat. Aus 2 Sam. xxiv 16 scheint hervorzugehen, dass Jahwes מלאך sein verderbliches Wirken in der Stadt noch nicht begonnen hat; Jahwes מלאך hat, noch ehe die Pest die Stadt erreicht hat, bei/auf (עם) der Tenne haltgemacht [2]). Schon diese Angabe dürfte genügen, um den Platz als heilig erscheinen zu

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[1]) Vgl. S. Yeivin, "Social, Religious and Cultural Trends in Jerusalem under the Davidic Dynasty", *VT* 3/53, S. 149. Nach Bentzen war Zadok der letzte jebusitische König, "Zur Geschichte der Ṣadoḳiden", *ZAW* 51/33, S. 173 ff., vgl. G. Widengren, "Psalm 110 och det sakrala kungadömet i Israel", *UUÅ* 1941: 7, 1, S. 21, Ed. Nielsen, *Shechem*, S. 329. Mowinckel meint, Zadok habe dem alten jebusitischen Priesterkönigshaus angehört, *Ezra den skriftlaerde*, S. 109, Anm. 2., vgl. E. O. James, *The Nature and Function of Priesthood*, S. 75. Budde dagegen hält Zadok für einen Bruder des Ussa, "Die Herkunft Ṣadoḳs", *ZAW* 52/34, S. 42 ff.

Es ist zu beachten, dass V. 20 sagt: וישקף ארונה . שקף in der Bedeutung blicken, ausschauen, wird in der Regel nur von Gottheiten und königlichen Personen gebraucht. So steht es mit Bezug auf Jahwe oder Elohim in Ex. xiv 24, Dt. xxvi 15, Ps. xiv 2, liii 3, cii 20, Klagel. iii 50. So schaut auch צֶדֶק vom Himmel herab, Ps. lxxxv 12. Ebenso wird das Verb von den drei Männern Gottes gebraucht, die Gen. xviii 6 Abraham und Sara besuchen, und ferner von Abraham, xix 28, was, neben vielen anderen Kennzeichen, die Kategorien charakterisiert, unter welchen man den Ahnen des Volkes sah. Abimelech, der Philister König, erblickte Rebekka durch ein Fenster, Gen. xxvi 8. Ähnlich blickt Isebel zu einem Fenster des Königspalastes zu Jisreel hinaus und spricht von dort mit Jehu, 2 Kön. ix 30, vgl. V. 32. Offenbar handelt es sich in diesen Fällen um ein „Audienzfenster" (s. H. Gresmann, "Der Messias", *FRLANT* 26/29, S. 45 ff.) oder ein Fenster, an dem sich der König dem Volke zeigt. Auch von Michal heisst es, dass sie durch ein Fenster auf den vor der Lade tanzenden David herabblickt, 2 Sam. vi 16, 1 Chron. xv 29. So sieht auch Siseras Mutter durch ein Fenster mit einem Gitter hinaus, Richt. v 28; sie wird wie eine von ihren Frauen umgebene Mutter eines Königs dargestellt. Das gleiche Motiv kommt auch in Spruch. vii 6 vor.

[2]) Aus V. 15 kann man vielleicht erschliessen, dass bei dieser Gelegenheit ein Fest auf der „Tenne" stattfand, denn es heisst, dass Jahwe Pestilenz in Israel kommen liess vom Morgen an bis zur Zeit des מועד. Dieses Wort bezeichnet im Pentateuch nach H. S. Nyberg einen streng sakralen Begriff, nämlich den Augenblick, wo sich die Kultgemeinde versammelt, "Ḳorah's uppror (Num. 16 f.)", *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 12/47, S. 231. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass es sich bei 2 Sam. 24 um dieselbe Bedeutung handelt. LXX hat einen bezeichnenden Zusatz zu V. 15, nämlich καὶ ἡμέραι θερισμοῦ πυρῶν, und es war zur Zeit der Weizenernte. Auch sei erwähnt, dass laut 1 Chron. xxi 20 Arauna dabei war, zu dreschen. S. auch H. Schmidt, *Der Heilige Fels in Jerusalem*, 1933, S. 80 ff.

lassen. Stimmt es nun, dass das Verderben Jerusalem nicht erreichte, so muss die Tenne Araunas ausserhalb der damaligen Stadt gelegen haben, weshalb es auch ganz natürlich ist, dass die Lade Jahwes nicht auf dieser Tenne aufgestellt wurde, sondern irgendwo innerhalb der eigentlichen Stadt südlich von Ofel.

In diesem Zusammenhang sei erwähnt, dass die 1 Kön. xxii 10 erwähnte Tenne, auf der Ahab von Israel und Josaphat von Juda Platz nahmen, um den Weissagungen der Propheten zu lauschen, nach Sidney SMITH vor der Stadtmauer von Samaria lag [1]). Mit Rücksicht auf die an einem solchen heiligen Platz aufgeführten Riten ist diese Lage auch sehr wahrscheinlich. Der Ausdruck בַּשָּׂדֶה kann nämlich in Zusammenhang mit einem ausserhalb einer Stadt liegenden Kultplatz gebraucht werden, wo sich ein Teil des Rituals der Erntefreudenfeste abspielte. So heisst es z.B. Richt. ix 27, dass die Männer zu Sichem aufs „Feld" hinauszogen, um ihre Weinberge abzulessen und die Trauben zu keltern. Danach machten sie הלולים, Fest(jubel), und gingen in בית אלהיהם, in ihres Gottes Haus, und assen und tranken. Dieses Gotteshaus ist vielleicht als ein Tempel auf dem Kultplatz des „Feldes" aufzufassen, und in diesem Tempel hätte die sakrale Mahlzeit stattgefunden [2]).

Die oben angeführten Belege für jebusitische Kultplätze müssen natürlich bei einer Darstellung jener Epoche der israelitischen Religionsgeschichte beachtet werden, die mit der Einnahme Jerusalems durch David beginnt. Die jebusitischen Heiligtümer haben weiterhin dem religiösen Leben gedient, aber so, dass sie nun im Prinzip israelitische, und damit dem Namen nach jahwistische Kultplätze geworden sind.

Aus allgemeinen religionspolitischen Gründen muss man bei einer solchen Lage damit rechnen, dass es zu Davids Zeiten sowohl bei den Israeliten wie bei den Jebusiten Gruppen gegeben hat, die mit den neuen Verhältnissen nicht einverstanden waren. Es ist daher nicht ganz ausgeschlossen, dass Absalom bei seinem Versuch, den Thron zu gewinnen, sich auf gewisse missvergnügte Gruppen gestützt hat [3]). Aus 2 Sam. xv geht hervor, dass Absalom es verstand,

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[1]) "The Threshing Floor at the City Gate", *Palestine Explor. Quart.* 78/46, S. 5 ff.

[2]) Vgl. u.a. 1 Sam. ix 22, wo ein לִשְׁכָּה auf der Opferhöhe erwähnt wird. Siehe W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 1927, S. 254, Anm. 6.

[3]) Dass das Reich Davids starke politische Spannungen in sich trug und offenbar nicht völlig geeint war, geht u.a. aus 2 Sam. xix 41 ff. hervor. Über das Reich

die im Lande herrschenden Misshelligkeiten auszunutzen [1]). Sicher handelt es sich bei diesen Spannungen nicht bloss um die Rivalität der Nord- und der Südstämme. Der in Jerusalem entstehende Religionssynkretismus dürfte ebenfalls zu der Unruhe beigetragen haben. Die Verschmelzung von jebusitischem und israelitischem Wesen kann kaum ohne Reibungen vor sich gegangen sein. Die Anhänger der alten jebusitischen Kultform mit dem Priester Zadok an der Spitze haben sicher alles getan, was ihnen in der neuen Lage möglich war, nicht nur um ihre Traditionslinie am Leben zu erhalten, sondern auch um ihr das Übergewicht über die israelitische Linie zu sichern. Andererseits darf es als ebenso sicher gelten, dass die Träger der vorjerusalemitischen israelitischen Religion unter Leitung des Priesters Abjathar ständig daran gearbeitet haben, sich geltend zu machen und die Oberhand zu gewinnen. Offiziell war ihre Traditionslinie auch die des Königs, aber die neuen Verhältnisse in Jerusalem haben ihnen auf manchen Gebieten ohne Zweifel einen harten Kampf, auf anderen eine schnelle Anpassung aufgezwungen. Folglich hat man mit zwei mächtigen, anfänglich rivalisierenden Traditionslinien zu rechnen, welche späterhin die Hauptkomponenten der Religion bilden, die man als die israelitische bezeichnet.

Das ist der Hintergrund für das Auftreten des Propheten Nathan anlässlich Davids Wunsch, einen neuen Tempel in Jerusalem zu bauen, 2 Sam. vii. Die Tradenten, denen es schwer fiel zu erklären, weshalb nicht David, „Jahwes Liebling", den Tempel errichtete, haben aus ihrer grundsätzlich königsfeindlichen Einstellung heraus angegeben, David sei wegen seiner vielen kriegerischen Unternehmungen unrein gewesen, obwohl diese Kriege ja doch als Jahwes heilige Kriege gelten konnten. Die Lösung des Problems, 2 Sam. vii, in Form einer Verheissung über den Bestand des Königshauses, baut offenbar auf einem alten Kultorakel über die Fortdauer des Königsgeschlechtes, nämlich auf Ps. lxxxix 20 ff. [2]). Aus der Erzählung 2 Sam. vii kann man erschliessen, dass gewisse, vermutlich jebusitische Kreise in Jerusalem den Plan Davids, einen Tempel zu bauen, zu vereiteln suchten. Als Sprecher dieses Widerstandes tritt der Prophet

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Davids als ein küntsliches Gebilde, s. J. Morgenstern, "Amos Studies III", *HUCA* 15/40, S. 59 ff.

[1]) Man bemerke, dass der Begriff Richter in 2 Sam. xv 4 synonym mit König ist.

[2]) Betr. des Verhältnisses zwischen Ps. lxxxix und 2. Sam. vii s. meine Abhandlung *Psalm* 89. *Eine Liturgie aus dem Ritual des leidenden Königs*, Lund 1959, S. 182 ff.

Nathan auf, den die Tradenten als einen „reaktionären" Jahwisten hinstellen. Beachtet man nun Nathans übriges Auftreten, vor allem seine Strafrede 2 Sam. xii 1 ff., so findet man, dass er das Verhalten des Königs gegen Uria und Bath-Seba aufs schärfste verurteilt und den König dazu bringt, ein Todesurteil über sich selbst auszusprechen, V. 5. Nathan hebt zwar dieses Urteil auf, verkündigt aber andererseits dem Königshaus anderes Unglück, V. 7 ff. Ferner ist zu beachten, dass Nathan offenbar Salomo beschützte und auch einen gewissen Einfluss auf Salomos Mutter Bath-Seba, die ja zuerst mit einem Hethiter, Uria, verheiratet war, ausübte. Es ist sehr zweifelhaft, ob sie selbst als Israelitin bezeichnet werden darf. Schliesslich begegnet uns Nathan als einer der wichtigsten Fürsprecher der Thronkandidatur Salomos, 1 Kön. i 11 ff.

Eben diesen Zusammenhang muss man meines Erachtens mit den oben erwähnten Jerusalemer Traditionslinien verknüpfen. Soweit ich sehen kann, gibt es eigentlich kein greifbares Anzeichen dafür, dass Nathan ein „reaktionärer" jahwistischer Prophet [1]) gewesen wäre, und ebensowenig für die Behauptung: „Nathan tritt als Hüter der nomadischen Zelttradition auf . . ." [2]). Eher verhält es sich so, dass „das reaktionär jahwistische Gepräge, das man möglicherweise an der Tradition über Nathan finden kann, . . . auf den deuteronomistischen Traditionskreis zurückgeht, der das Material vermittelt hat" [3]). Wenn Nathan wirklich ein „reaktionärer" jahwistischer Prophet gewesen ist, dann ist es, vorsichtig gesagt, recht merkwürdig, dass er sich beim Streit um die Thronfolge mit Zadok verbündet hat. Der Einfluss dieses Hofpropheten dürfte eher einen Beweis für die Anpassung Davids an die Jerusalemer Verhältnisse bilden. Es ist hier auch zu beachten, dass Nathan, ebenso wie der Priester Zadok,

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[1]) So u.a. Rowley, *JBL* 58/39, S. 130, vgl. W. Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* I[5], 1957, S. 43.

[2]) H.-J. Kraus, Gottesdienst in Israel, *Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie*, Theol. Abhandl. 19/54, S. 36, vgl. F. Dumermuth, "Zur deuteronomistischen Kulttheologie und ihren Voraussetzungen", *ZAW* 70/58, S. 66. S. auch C. H. Gordon, *Introduction to Old Testament Times*, 1953, S. 157.

[3]) Nach I. Engnell, "Natan", *SBU II*, Sp. 430. Nach Bentzen war Nathan ein jebusitischer Prophet, *Studier*, S. 13. Vgl. auch J. Lindblom, demzufolge Propheten wie Nathan, Gad un Ahia in den Texten der Absicht dienen mussten, „deuteronomistische Ideen zu propagieren", *Profetismen i Israel*, 1934, S. 169. F. Schwally verneint, dass Nathan ein Prophet gewesen sei, "Zur Quellenkritik der historischen Bücher. I. Der Prophet Nathan", *ZAW* 12/1892, S. 156. Zu 2 Sam. vii bemerkt Mowinckel, dass dieses Kapitel eigentlich kein Geschehen schildere, sondern nur in midrasch-ähnlicher Form über ein historisch-theologisches Problem reflektiere, „Natanforjettelsen i 2. Sam. kap. 7.", *SEÅ* 12/47, S. 226.

im AT vor der Eroberung Jerusalems durch David überhaupt nicht erwähnt wird [1]). Es ist kein Zweifel, dass Nathan als einer der Anführer der Gruppe, die wir als die jebusitische Partei bezeichnen dürfen, zu gelten hat [2]).

Der andere Leiter dieser Partei war der Priester Zadok. Sein Name ist unumstritten rein jerusalemitisch und kommt vom selben Stamm wie der Jerusalemer Götternamen Ṣedeq [3]). Dieser Zadok musste nach der Eroberung der Stadt durch David den Rang des ersten Priesters der Hauptstadt mit Abjathar teilen. Schon daraus dürften sich Verwicklungen ergeben haben. Es fragt sich aber, ob Zadok nicht doch der bedeutendere von beiden war. In der Regel nennen ihn die Texte vor Abjathar, und in 2 Sam. xv 25 wendet sich David mit dem Befehl, die Lade Gottes wieder nach Jerusalem zu bringen, nur an Zadok.

Von besonderem Interesse ist die Tatsache, dass der Thronprätendent Nathans und Zadoks Salomo heisst, welcher Name mit dem Götternamen Šalem zusammenhängt. Die Tradition sagt, dass er diesen Namen seit seiner Geburt trug, und das dürfte ein Zeichen für eine bewusste Anpassung Davids an jebusitische Verhältnisse sein. Wenn nun Nathan, auf Jahwes Gebot hin, den Salomo Jedidja nannte, 2 Sam. xii 25, so muss das unsere besondere Aufmerksamkeit erwecken. Dieser Name mit dem theophoren Bestandteil Jah kann der Ausdruck einer gewissen Rücksichtnahme auf die alte israelitische Traditionslinie und damit auch eines in der Stadt entstehenden Religionssynkretismus sein. Aber er kann auch ein Hinweis darauf sein, dass Salomo der Erwählte ist, der David als König nachfolgen soll. ידיד ist ja eine Variante von דוד „Liebling", und diese teils auf den jungen Gott *Dwd* und teils auf den Vater-König anspielende Benennung zeichnet Salomo als den Thronfolger aus. Indem er den Namen Jedidja erhält, בעבור יהוה, entsprechend dem Willen Jahwes [4]),

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[1]) Vgl. Bentzen, *Studier*, S. 11, H. G. Judge, "Aaron, Zadok and Abiathar", *JThSt* 7/56, S. 71.

[2]) Vgl. A. Lods, *Israël*, S. 423; M. Noth, *Geschichte Israels*[3], 1956, S. 186.

[3]) Zur Lit. hierüber s. meine Arbeit *Psalm* 89, S. 79, Anm. 5.

[4]) LXX^{Luc} und Theodotion haben ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου (= בדבר יהוה). Die übliche Übersetzung um-willen gibt hier keinen klaren Sinn. Mag sie auch in den meisten Fällen zutreffen, kann doch der Ausdruck בעבור עמו ישראל in 2 Sam. v 12 und 1 Chron. xiv 2 kaum bedeuten „um seines Volkes Israel willen". Eher muss es heissen: „auf Grund (des Willens) seines Volkes Israel" oder „übereinstimmend mit . . ." Der Sinn muss ja der sein, dass David, entsprechend dem Willen des Volkes, und nicht bloss deswegen, weil das Volk existierte, zum König erhoben worden ist. Dem Inhalt nach muss man auch בעבור in 2 Sam.

darf auch Salomo als der Erwählte Jahwes gelten [1]). Hinter der Angabe von 2 Sam. xii 25 steckt vielleicht eine Designierung als „Kronprinz" oder ein Eid, in dem der Prophet den Namen des Thronfolgers verkündet. Es ist möglich, dass Bath-Seba und Nathan sich gerade auf dieses Ereignis bezogen, als sie David fragten, ob er nicht durch einen Eid Salomo als seinen Nachfolger bezeichnet habe, 1 Kön. i 13, 17, 28-31. Man darf nämlich die Tradition dieser Texte nicht ohne weiteres verwerfen, dass David bei einer früheren Gelegenheit Bath-Seba eidlich versprochen habe, ihr Sohn Salomo solle das Königreich erben. Auch wenn David in keiner Weise dagegen zu reagieren scheint, dass Adonia öffentlich als Thronfolger auftritt [2]), kann er doch zu einem früheren Zeitpunkt ausdrücklich Salomo als seinen Nachfolger bezeichnet haben. Die Wahrscheinlichkeit eines solchen Vorganges wird durch ein zeitlich nicht weit entferntes Ereignis des assyrischen Geschichte gestützt. Dort hat der Grosskönig erst vor den Göttern und der königlichen Familie und dann vor dem gesamten Volk den Namen seines Nachfolgers proklamiert. Die Proklamation war in diesem Fall aber nicht absolut bindend, denn sie hat die Brüder des Erwählten, des Essarhaddon, nicht an dem Versuch gehindert, den Beschluss ihres Vaters umzustürzen [3]). Es ist ein Ding, designiert zu sein, und ein anderes, seine Stellung behaupten und befestigen zu können. Wie Salomo seine Königsmacht befestigte, geht aus 1 Kön. ii hervor.

Es ist also meines Erachtens nicht ganz richtig, dass Salomo durch eine Palastintrigue zur Macht gekommen ist. Die Angabe von 1 Kön. i 9 f. spricht nämlich dafür, dass Salomo und sein Kreis seit längerer Zeit in einen Gegensatz zu Adonia und seiner Partei geraten waren. Adonia muss ja laut dieser Angabe gewusst haben, dass Salomo sein Rival war, weshalb er diesen als den einzigen unter seinen Brüdern und Söhnen Davids von der Einladung zu seinem

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vii 21 mit „übereinstimmend mit" übersetzen, was auch von dem folgenden וכלבך „und nach (übereinstimmend mit) deinem Herzen." Ähnlich auch 2 Sam. vi 12. Denn Obed-Edom wird nicht wegen der Lade gesegnet, sondern es hat der mit der Lade verknüpften Gottheit gefallen, Obed-Edom zu segnen.

[1]) Es ist also nicht ganz richtig, einen Unterschied zu machen zwischen Saul und David einerseits, als den von Jahwe Erwählten, und Salomo andererseits, den bloss David unter Hintansetzung des Willens des Volkes auserwählte; dies gegen Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* II, 1953, S. 62.

[2]) Die Parallelität des Auftretens Absaloms und Adonias als Thronprätendenten, 2 Sam. xv 1; 1 Kön. i 5, ist sehr deutlich.

[3]) S. Smith, "The Practice of Kingship in Early Semitic Kingdoms", *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship* (ed. S. H. Hooke) 1958, S. 59 ff.

Krönungsfest ausschloss. Aus dem gleichen Grunde waren auch Salomos vertrauteste Anhänger, Zadok, Nathan und Benaja, nicht eingeladen. Letzterer, der Hauptmann der Leibwache, stammte aus Kabseel im südlichen Juda und war einer der alten Kämpfer Davids. Sein Auftreten war offenbar von reiner Berechnung diktiert — indem er die Partei Salomos ergriff, hoffte er, an Stelle seines Rivalen Joab den Oberbefehl über das Heer zu erhalten. Ein weiteres Anzeichen für einen längeren Machtkampf zwischen der Partei Adonias und der jebusitischen Partei bilden sowohl die schnelle Reaktion Nathans anlässlich des Krönungsfestes Adonias wie auch seine Worte zu Bath-Seba, dass er ihr einen Rat geben wolle, wie sie ihr eigenes und Salomos Leben retten könnte, 1 Kön. i 12. Dieser Vers verrät deutlich, dass Salomo und seine Mutter in Lebensgefahr schwebten, falls Adonia sein Ziel erreichte. Indem er sich zum König salben liess, hoffte Adonia, das Volk, vor allem Juda [1]), definitiv gewinnen und Salomo verdrängen zu können. Offenbar rechnete er damit, dass David keinen grösseren Widerstand leisten würde, wenn das Volk dem Adonia erst einmal als seinem König gehuldigt hatte. In dieser Situation gelang es jedoch der jebusitischen Partei, David zum Eingreifen zu veranlassen — das Ergebnis ist bekannt [2]).

Die Männer um Adonia scheinen der Kern einer Gruppe gewesen zu sein, welche die vorjerusalemitischen Traditionen verfocht und vermutlich auch sonst Repräsentanten der mit David missvergnügten Kreise, Judäer vor allem, um sich sammelte. Unter den Führern dieser Partei bemerkt man auch Männer wie den Eliden Abjathar und Davids alten Feldherrn Joab, welche beide Gefährten Davids während seiner frühen Jahre als Freischärler gewesen waren. Die beiden sind also im Gegensatz zu Zadok und Nathan als Israeliten zu bezeichnen. Abjathar, der seinem Ursprung nach der elidischen Priesterschaft zu Nob angehörte, vertrat offenbar die in Kanaan vor der Eroberung Jerusalems ausgebildete israelitische Religionsform. Rechnet man mit den Namensformen als historisch anwendbaren Quellen, so gilt hier ausserdem, dass keiner der namentlich aufgeführten Parteigänger Adonias einen Jerusalemer Namen trägt; in den Namen Adonia und Joab steckt eine Kurzform von Jahwe [3]).

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[1]) 1 Kön. i 9.

[2]) Vgl. A. Jeremias, *ATAO*[4], S. 536.

[3]) Zur Namensform der Söhne Davids aus der Zeit vor bzw. nach der Einnahme Jerusalems, s. H. S. Nyberg, *ARW* 35/38, S. 373 f., vgl. O. Eissfeldt, „Silo und Jerusalem", *Suppl. to Vetus Test.* 4/56, S. 143.

Mit Rücksicht auf die ausserordentlich grosse Rolle, welche die Religion und ihre Formen damals spielten, dürfte es nicht ganz berechtigt sein, in der Partei Adonias nur den Ausschlag seines eigenen Strebens nach der Krone zu sehen. Die religionspolitischen Faktoren dürfen in diesem Fall nicht völlig ausser Acht gelassen werden. Adonia war in den Augen der judäischen Partei der geeigneteste Thronkandidat. Wie dem auch sei, so steht es ganz ausser Zweifel, dass Adonia die herrschenden religiösen Spannungen ausgenutzt hat [1]).

Mit der Thronbesteigung Salomos hatten die Träger der alten jebusitischen Kulttradition ihr Ziel gewonnen. Ihre Traditionslinie besass nun stärkeren Einfluss als zu Davids Zeiten, was man auch daraus entnehmen kann, dass der Religionssynkretismus unter Salomo viel spürbarer ist als unter David [2]). Es ist sehr zu beachten, dass der Hauptsprecher der alten israelitischen — oder richtiger: vorjerusalemitischen — Traditionslinie, der Priester Abjathar, nach Salomos Machtübernahme aus Jerusalem ausgewiesen wurde; danach war Zadok allein und unumstritten der angesehenste Priester der Stadt. Die Verbannung Abjathars beraubte seine alte Priesterdynastie jeglichen Einflusses in der neuen Hauptstadt [3]). Zadok ist allem Anschein nach kein allzu eifriger „Jahwist" gewesen und hat die religiöse Entwicklung nicht in einer sozusagen richtigen „israelitischen" Bahn zu leiten vermocht, wozu er ja auch kaum die geeigneten Voraussetzungen besass. Die Hypothese Eissfeldts, dass Zadok und seine Priesterschaft „ergebene und zuverlässige Anhänger Jahwes" geworden seien [4]), stützt sich eigentlich auf keinen anderen Grund als dass Zadok und seine Priester offiziell als Jahwepriester amtierten — aber als Leiter der königlichen Religion hatte er die beste Gelegenheit, sie in einer Richtung zu beeinflussen, die mit der alten jebusitischen Tradition übereinstimmte. Als Salomo König

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[1]) Vgl. K. Galling, „Die Erwählungstraditionen Israels", *BZAW* 48/28, S. 73, Bentzen, *Studier*, S. 11, *ZAW* 51/33, S. 174, Plöger, "Priester und Prophet", *ZAW* 63/51, S. 163 f., Josephus, *Antiquitates*, Buch 7, Kap. 14. Nach Rost vertritt Adonia nach Salomos Thronbesteigung den Widerstand gegen den neuen König, "Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids", *BWANT* 3. Folg. 6/26, S. 88.

[2]) Vgl. Bentzen, *ZAW* 51/33, S. 174 f.

[3]) Vgl. Bentzen, *Studier*, S. 17 f., Widengren, *Psalm* 110, S. 21.

[4]) „Silo und Jerusalem", *Suppl. to Vetus Test.* 4/56, S. 145. Nach dem Verschwinden des letzten Eliden, der eine führende Rolle in der Religionsgeschichte Israels gespielt hatte, kann die Traditionslinie von Silo unmöglich weiterhin eine so grosse Bedeutung gehabt haben, wie Eissfeldt annimmt.

geworden war, konnte er sehr wohl einen neuen Tempel errichten, ohne den Widerstand der von Zadok geleiteten Priesterschaft hervorzurufen [1]).

Ideologisch gesehen liegt es in der Natur der Sache, dass die Könige Tempel bauen [2]). Das hat selbstverständlich auch David tun wollen, und sein Kauf der Tenne Araunas zeigt, dass er wenigstens in geringerem Umfange dieser königlichen „Pflicht" nachgekommen ist. Johs. PEDERSEN hält es für sehr eigentümlich, wenn David, der ja ein Königtum nach der Art der gleichzeitigen Herrscher zu errichten wünschte, es völlig unterlassen hätte, „to provide the most important thing, a temple to secure the holiness of the kingdom." Nach PEDERSEN gibt es deshalb keinen Grund, „to try to get round the text", wenn 2 Sam. xii 20 direkt mitteilt, dass David in den Tempel Jahwes ging, ויבא בית יהוה [3]). Die Hypothese PEDERSENS ist nicht so einfach abzuweisen, denn 2 Chron. viii 11 liefert ein Indizium dafür, dass Palast und Tempel in älterer Zeit identisch waren [4]). Hier heisst es nämlich, dass die Lade Jahwes sich im Hause Davids befand, also nicht an dem alten Hauptkultplatz der Stadt. Dieser, der den Jebusiten gehörte, hat vielleicht auch unter dem neuen Herrscher immer noch den ersten Rang behalten. Der oberste

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[1]) H. WINCKLER spricht von einer kultischen Umwälzung im Zusammenhang mit der Thronbesteigung Salomos, SCHRADER, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*[3], 1903, S. 233.

[2]) Vgl. BENTZEN, "The Cultic Use of the Story of the Ark in Samuel", *JBL* 67/48, S. 47 f.

[3]) *Israel* III-IV (eng. Ed.), S. 238. — Der Ausdruck בבית יהוה in Ps. xxiii 6 muss sich nicht unbedingt auf den Tempel Salomos beziehen, weshalb der Psalm im Prinzip in vorsalomonischer Zeit entstanden sein kann. Der Vorschlag L. KÖHLERS, statt בבית יהוה vielmehr ביד יהוה zu lesen, weil nach KÖHLER niemand im Tempel wohnen kann, ist unbegründet, „Psalm 23", *ZAW* 68/56, S. 233 f. Der Sprecher dieses Psalms ist der König, der Gesalbte Jahwes, V. 5. Nur der König kann prinzipiell geschen sich so äussern, wie es in V. 4 ff. geschieht. Nur er kann von sich sagen, dass er im Palast-Tempel wohne; er tut dies auch in seiner liturgischen Funktion als der Sohn seines Gottes, der nach der Durchführung des Leidensrituals im Triumph in den Tempel zurückkehrt.

[4]) Der sumerische Bericht von Enmerkar und dem Herrscher Arattas enthält (Z. 301) nach A. FALKENSTEIN den ersten Beleg dieser Erscheinung, "La Cité-Temple Sumérienne", *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* 1[1], 1954, S. 789. PEDERSEN hat ferner vermutet, dass es in der Königsburg Kerets ein besonderes Dachheiligtum gegeben habe, Die "Krt Legende", *Berytus* 6/41, S. 75. Die doppelte Funktion der Burg als Palast und Tempel ist eine natürliche Folge des zwischen Gottheit und König herrschenden ideologischen Verhältnisses. — Vgl. auch E. KLAMROTH, *Lade und Tempel*, 1932, S. 72, K. MÖHLENBRINK, "Der Tempel Salomos", *BWANT* 4. Folg. 7/32, S. 48 ff., 55, H. VINCENT-M. A. STEVE, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament* 2-3, 1956, S. 619.

Priester dieses Heiligtums war Zadok. Die Angabe, dass die Lade im Königspalast stand, löst auch das Problem, welche Stellung Abjathar in Jerusalem einnahm: er dürfte der königlichen „Kapelle" im Palast vorgestanden haben.

Der sich im Auftreten des Propheten Nathan äussernde Widerstand gegen Davids Absicht, einen Tempel zu bauen, 2 Sam. vii, beruht sicher darauf, dass man von jebusitischer Seite keinen zweiten Tempel in der Stadt sehen wollte, in dem, als dem königlichen Tempel und Reichsheiligtum, Abjathar und nicht Zadok als oberster Priester fungieren würde — mit anderen Worten: der jebusitischen Kultform würde ein gefährlicher Rivale erwachsen, und man hatte zu befürchten, dass der jebusitische Kult sein Ansehen bei der Bevölkerung der Stadt verlieren und folglich auch im übrigen Reich zurückgedrängt werden würde. Dass David sich einen Palast mit einer „Kapelle" baute, war leicht zu ertragen, ja, es war ganz in der Ordnung, aber den Plan eines neuen prachtvollen Tempels musste er mit Rücksicht gerade auf jene Gruppen der Bevölkerung der Stadt fallen lassen, die er mit so wenig Aufhebens wie möglich in die israelitische Gemeinschaft eingliedern wollte. Als dann Salomo eben mit Hilfe der Partei Zadoks zur Macht gekommen war, bestand keine Gefahr mehr für den Fortbestand und starken Einfluss des Jebusitertums. Eher war nun das Gegenteil eingetreten. Religionspolitisch macht der Verlauf von Salomos Regierung es ganz deutlich, dass man den König nicht als einen „echten Jahwisten" bezeichnen kann. Auch aus seiner Erfüllung des Testamentes Davids, 1 Kön. ii 2-9, geht seine überwiegend „jebusitische" Einstellung hervor. Er zögerte nämlich nicht, einige Hauptvertreter der gegenüber der alten jebusitischen Tradition „fremden" Israeliten aus dem Wege zu räumen. Das Urteil, das 1 Kön. xi 3-6 über ihn ausspricht, beweist deutlich genug, dass er in deuteronomistischen Kreisen nicht als „echter" Jahwe-Anbeter galt [1]).

Das hier Gesagte macht das Auftreten Nathans in 2 Sam. vii verständlich. Er führt offenbar das Wort der alten jebusitischen Tradition Jerusalems, deren Widerstand gegen den beabsichtigten Tempelbau so stark war, dass David von seinem Plan zurücktreten musste. Die Zeit war für ein solches Unternehmen noch nicht reif.

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[1]) Salomo wird wahrscheinlich nicht nur wegen seiner vielen Gemahlinnen und wegen der Tempel, die er für ihre Götter aufführen liess, verurteilt.

WANN EROBERTE NEBUKADNEZAR JERUSALEM?

VON

ELIAS AUERBACH

Haifa

Millar BURROWS in seinem von hervorragender Objectivität zeugenden Buche *More Ligt on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1958, schreibt auf S. 191: „As a matter of fact it now seems clear that the correct date for this disaster (die Zerstörung Jerusalems. E.A.) is not 586 but 587."

Dieser entschiedene Ausspruch ist offenbar basiert auf die neuen Aufschlüsse und genauen Datierungen, die uns das vor kurzem von WISEMAN aufgefundene Stück der Babylonischen Chronik [1]) für die Ereignisse von 608 bis 594 gebracht hat. Dass sich Millar BURROWS so deutlich, im Gegensatz zu der bisher vorherrschenden Meinung, für 587 entscheidet, frappiert mich umso mehr, als ich an dem gleichen und von mir schon teilweise diskutierten Material [2]) zu dem entgegengesetzten Resultat komme. *Es scheint mir sicher, dass das Jahr der Eroberung Jerusalems* 586 *ist.*

Es muss vor allen Dingen beachtet werden, dass die Chronik WISEMAN noch nicht die Eroberung Jerusalems unter Zedekia umfasst. Zur Festlegung dieses Ereignisses haben wir also zwei Arten von Material vor uns:

1) Wir können aus dem bereits bekannten Material der babylonischen Chronik Schlüsse ziehen; der Ausgangspunkt für diese ist die genau datierte Besetzung der Stadt unter Jojachin.

2) Wir müssen das biblische Daten-Material untersuchen, Bestätigungen oder Widersprüche gegenüber den fixierten babylonischen Daten aufdecken, und können so das Datum der Eroberung Jerusalems festzulegen versuchen.

ad 1). Aus der WISEMAN-Chronik (B.M. 21946 Rev., Z. 11-13) erfahren wir folgendes:

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[1]) V. J. WISEMAN, "Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum". London 1956.

[2]) E. AUERBACH, "Der Wechsel des Jahres-Anfanges in Juda im Lichte der neugefundenen Babylonischen Chronik". T.Z. 1959, H. II, S. 113-121.

Z. 11: Im 7. Jahr, Monat Kislev, musterte der König von Akkad seine Truppen, marschierte nach Ḫatti-Land,

Z. 12: lagerte gegen die Stadt Judas, und am 2. Tage des Monats Adar besetzte er die Stadt und nahm den König gefangen.

Z. 13: Er ernannte dort einen König nach seinem eigenen Herzen, empfing ihren (der Stadt) schweren Tribut und sandte sie (Tribut und Gefangene) nach Babylon.

Das 7. Jahr Nebukadnezars läuft vom 1. Nisan 598 bis zum 30. Adar 597. Der 2. Adar dieses Jahres ist der 16. III. 597. Das 8. Jahr beginnt am 14. IV. 597.

Der Bericht ist sehr kurz und summarisch, denn das Ereignis ist nach babylonischem Massstab nicht sehr wichtig. Da für dieses Jahr kein anderer Kriegszug erwähnt ist, ist Nebukadnezar offenbar nur zu dem Zweck aufgebrochen, um die Angelegenheiten in Juda zu ordnen, das ja zum „Ḫatti-Land" gerechnet wird [1]). Der Bericht drückt sich vorsichtig aus, er erwähnt keinerlei Kampfhandlungen, ja nicht einmal eine wirkliche Einschliessung der Stadt, und bestätigt dadurch, wie wir sehen werden, einen ausführlicheren und sehr lebendigen Bericht der Bibel.

Die spätere endgültige Eroberung Jerusalems würde also, wenn sie 587 erfolgt ist, ins 18. Jahr Neb. fallen, wenn 586, ins 19. *Jahr* Neb. Entscheiden kann dies erst die Auffindung des Chronik-Abschnittes für diese Zeit. Wir kommen bald darauf zurück.

Die bab. Chronik erwähnt nach der Besetzung der Stadt drei Geschehnisse: 1. die Einsetzung eines neuen Königs; 2. den Empfang eines „schweren Tributs"; 3. die Absendung dieses Tributs nach Babel; aber mit dieser ist vor allem verbunden, aber nicht gesondert erwähnt, der Abtransport eines gewaltigen Exulanten-Zuges, der nach den biblischen Angaben 10000 Männer [2]), also gegen 40000 Seelen umfasste. Falls das alles, wie es nach der Chronik zunächst aussieht, noch im 7. Jahr Neb. geschehen ist, ständen dafür *genau* 4 *Wochen* zur Verfügung, vom 2. bis 30. Adar (16. III.-13. IV.) 597.

Es ist aber sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass diese Zeit genügt. Die

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[1]) So nimmt auch Martin Noth (—*ZDPV*. 1958) an und zieht daraus wichtige Folgerungen.

[2]) Dass 2 R xxiv in zwei Versionen hier 2 verschiedene Zahlen gibt, 10000 und 8000, ist in Wirklichkeit kein sachlicher Widerspruch. Die Zahl 10000 ist eine Gesamtzahl, die Zahl 8000 ausdrücklich (V. 10) nur die der „gibbore ḥajjil" und der Kriegshandwerker. In der ersten sind noch 2 grössere Posten enthalten, die zahlreichen Priester und die Hofbeamten.

Absetzung des Königs Jojachin und die Einsetzung eines neuen Königs vollzieht sich nicht am ersten Tag nach der Besetzung der Stadt. Die Absetzung ist eine politische Strafe (für den Abfall seines Vaters Jojakim) und die Strafe trifft nicht nur den König, sie erfasst vor allem auch seine Berater und die ganze antibabylonische Partei in Jerusalem, die Feststellungen, Urteile und Bestrafungen *verlangen Zeit*. Ein gutes Parallel-Beispiel dafür bietet der genaue Bericht der Bibel bei der Zerstörung Jerusalems: da vergeht zwischen der Einnahme der Stadt und der Durchführung der Bestrafungen bis zur Zerstörung der Stadt *ein voller Monat* (2 R xxv 3. 8., korrigiert durch Jer. lii 6. 12). Das ist durchaus verständlich; denn die Urteile und Strafen werden nicht pauschaliter verhängt, sondern nach sorgfältiger Untersuchung der politischen Verhältnisse und Erfassung der schuldigen Personen, wie wir wieder aus dem Bericht von 586 sehen, und noch klarer aus dem Schicksal Jeremias (Jer. xxxix 11-xl 6). „Gerechtigkeit" heisst hier: politisches Interesse Babylons. — Auch die Auswahl und Einsetzung des neuen Königs — die wichtigste Handlung für die Sicherung Babylons! — verlangt eine sehr eingehende Untersuchung der politischen Strömungen und der Personen. Nicht umsonst kommt Nebukadnezar dazu persönlich nach Jerusalem. Er schaltet die Familie Jojakims ganz aus und wählt den politisch unbelasteten jüngsten Bruder Jojakims (15 Jahre jünger als dieser), Sohn des Babylon-Freundes Josia.

Das Zweite ist die Aufbringung des „schweren Tributs" [1]), den Nebukadnezar Juda auferlegt. Auch das braucht Zeit. Die 400 oder 500 Silber-Talente (so hoch muss man die Summe beim Vergleich mit dem milderen Fall 2 R xx iii 33 schätzen) liegen ja nicht einfach zur Zahlung bereit, sondern sie müssen *vom neuen König* aufgebracht werden. Auch dafür haben wir eine gute Parallele bei der Einsetzung Jojakims durch Necho II. anstelle des abgesetzten Joaḥaz im Jahre 609 (s.d. eb. zit. Stelle). Hier muss der Ägypter-Schützling Jojakim den Tribut (200 Talente) für die abtretende *pro-babylonische Partei* durch eine progressive Vermögens-Umlage aufbringen. Das ist keine Sache von Tagen, sondern von Wochen auch im Falle Zedekias, selbst wenn ein Teil der Summe aus den Tempel-Kleinodien genommen wurde.

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[1]) „Schwerer Tribut" ist der Straf-Tribut, der wegen feindseligen oder zweideutigen Verhaltens einmalig auferlegt wird (so auch durch Neb. 604 Chronik B.M. 21946 Obv. Z. 17). Der „leichtere" Tribut ist der reguläre Vasallen-Tribut.

Vor allem erforderte die Organisierung des gewaltigen *Exulanten-Transports* eine sehr erhebliche Zeit. Es kommt hier nicht darauf an, wie lange die Karawane unterwegs war (die um ein Vielfaches kleinere, also beweglichere des Esra, brauchte für den Weg zurück 4 Monate, Es vii 9). Wichtig ist nur, dass die Vorbereitung dieser förmlichen Völker-Wanderung, die Beschaffung der Nahrungsmittel und der Tragetiere (diese Verbannten der Oberschicht durften bewegliche Habe mitnehmen, gingen als Wohlhabende und kamen 538 als Wohlhabende zurück) eine sehr erhebliche Zeit in Anspruch nahm. Man muss sich die Dinge real vorstellen. Dieser Abmarsch war das letzte Glied in der Kette der Geschehnisse. Ohne Zweifel war der Zug durch eine starke militärische Abteilung gesichert, und aus diesem Grunde war sicher auch der verbannte König Jojachin in diesem Zuge.

Nach alledem dürfen wir als sicher annehmen, obwohl der babylonische Bericht in seiner lapidaren Kürze dies alles dem Kriegszug des 7. Jahres anfügt, dass *das Ende der Aktion sich über den* 1. *Nisan hinaus in das* 8. *Jahr Nebukadnezars erstreckte* [1]). Da die babylonische Chronik für das 8. Jahr des König nur *einen* Kriegszug im nächsten Winter notiert, hätte der Abtransport dahin noch schlechter gepasst als ans Ende des 7. Jahres.

Es gilt nun, für unsere Annahme weitere Beweise zu erbringen, und diese können, da wir vorläufig keine babylonischen Zeugnisse über die Zerstörung Jerusalems haben, nur durch die Heranziehung der biblischen Nachrichten gewonnen werden.

ad 2). Wir mustern zuerst die biblischen Aussagen über Jojachin, in 2 R und 2 Chr. Die *Dauer seiner Regierung* ist 2 R xxiv 8 mit „drei Monaten" angegeben, in 2 Chr xxxvi 9 mit „3 Monaten und 10 Tagen". In diesem Fall kann wohl kaum ein Zweifel sein, dass die genaue Zahl zuverlässiger ist als die abgerundete. Bestätigt wird diese Vermutung dadurch, dass auch Josephus (Ant. x 6) die gleiche Zahl 3 Mon. 10 Tage bringt.

Die meisten Autoren, so schon WISEMAN (*l.c.*, 5. 33), rechnen als Ende der Regierung Jojachins den Tag der Einnahme Jerusalems, den 2. Adar (= 16. III.) 597 [2]), und das ist ja das Nächstliegende [3]).

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[1]) So auch E. VOGT, *Suppl. to VT.* IV, 1956, S. 94.

[2]) VOGT dagegen (*l.c.*, S. 94) sagt: „er war zwar gefangen, blieb aber solange König, bis er in die Verbannung geführt . . . wurde.

[3]) Daraus würde folgen, dass der Tod Jojakims am 22 Ḥeswan erfolgte, also bereits *bevor Nebukadnezar seine Truppen aufbot*, zu einer Expedition, die doch offenbar gegen die Tributverweigerung Jojakims gerichtet war.

Bei dieser Sachlage ist von besonderem Interesse, was die Berichte über den Abtransport Jojachins erzählen. Nachdem 2 R xxiv 12 berichtet hat: „da ging Jojachin, König von Juda, zum König von Babel hinaus [1]), er und seine Mutter, seine Minister, seine Vornehmen und seine Hofbeamten", fährt er fort: „und es nahm ihn der König von Babel *im* 8. *Jahre seiner Regierung*". Er „nahm" kann nur bedeuten, dass er ihn in Gewahrsam nahm und nach Babel abtransportierte, wie in V. 15 ausdrücklich nachgeholt wird. Das Auffälligste aber ist die Zeitangabe: im 8. Jahre seiner (Neb. 's) Regierung, also *nach dem* 1. *Nisan* (14. *IV.*) 597. Das ist nicht ein Fehler einer ungenauen Quelle, sondern genau das, was wir oben als wahrscheinlich angenommen haben.

Der Parallel-Bericht des Chronisten (2 Chr xxxvi 10) erzählt zunächst nichts von einer Einschliessung Jerusalems unter Jojachin; statt dessen bringt er vorher (V. 6) eine in sich unwahrscheinliche Geschichte, nach der Nebukadnezar schon bei Lebzeiten Jojakims (des Vaters) gegen diesen gezogen wäre und ihn in Ketten nach Babel gebracht hätte [2]). Dann aber fährt der Chronist fort: „und bei der *Wiederkehr des Jahres* (*lᵉtšwḫt*) sandte König Nebukadnezar und brachte ihn nach Babel samt den Prachtgeschirren des Gotteshauses und machte Zidqiahu seinen Bruder (!) zum König über Juda und Jerusalem." Abgesehen von dem kleinen Irrtum, dass Zedekia nicht der Bruder sondern der Oheim Jojachins war, berichtet der Chronist im Grunde genau dasselbe, was das Königsbuch erzählt. Denn die „Wiederkehr" des Jahres kann gar nichts anderes bedeuten, als dass nach dem Ende des alten Jahres der Anfang eines neuen kommt [3]), der Vorgang also ins 8. Jahr Nebukadnezars gehört [4]). *Die beiden Berichte in* 2 *R und* 2 *Chr stützen und erklären sich gegenseitig.*

Wenn dieser Schluss richtig ist, muss also das 8. Jahr Nebukadnezars als das *Königsjahr des Jojachin* gezählt worden sein. Darauf werden wir bald zurückkommen.

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[1]) Also freiwillig und offenbar, ohne dass eine förmliche Belagerung der Stadt begonnen hatte!

[2]) Das hätte die babylonische Chronik gewiss der Erwähnung für wert gehalten! — Josephus erzählt eine ähnliche Geschichte; aber da er psychologisch erklären will, warum dann überhaupt Jojachin erst zur Regierung gelangte, wird sie noch unverständlicher.

[3]) Dagegen bedeutet "Umschwung des Jahres" (*tᵉkwpt*) Ex xxxiv 22 die Zeit unmittelbar *vor* dem Ende des Jahres, wie durch die Parallel-Stelle Ex xxiii 16 (*ṣᵉt*) erwiesen wird.

[4]) So auch E. Vogt *l.c.*, S. 94, Anm. 1.

Zunächst wollen wir jetzt die übrigen Zeitangaben der Bibel mit unserer Annahme vergleichen, dass Jojachin im 8. Jahr des Nebukadnezar nach Babel gebracht wurde, und wollen sehen, ob sie untereinander übereinstimmen.

Für die Zerstörung Jerusalems ist 2 R xxv 8 als Zeit das *19. Jahr* Nebukadnezars angegeben. Das ist mit Sicherheit das Jahr 586/85. Gleichzeitig wird 2 R xxv 2 festgestellt, dass es das 11. Jahr des Zedekia war. Die beiden biblischen Angaben stimmen also nur dann überein, wenn das 1. Jahr des Zedekia 596/95 war, das vorhergehende 597/96 sein „Anfangs-Jahr", d.h. dass sein Beginn nach dem 1. Nisan 597 *als Königsjahr des Jojachin gerechnet* wurde, wie wir oben behauptet haben. — Wird dagegen als Jahr der Zerstörung Jerusalems das Jahr 587 angenommen, so muss man nicht nur die Angabe über die Wegführung Jojachins im 8. Jahr Neb.'s ablehnen, sondern auch die zweite über die Zerstörung Jerusalems im 19. Jahr Neb.s'. Damit sollte man schon deswegen vorsichtig sein, weil diese Notiz an sich für die judäische Rechnung unnötig, also unverdächtig ist. Gewiss hat der Verfasser der Notiz sich auf eine Angabe der babylonischen Chronik gestützt, was sich vielleicht einmal in Zukunft erweisen wird.

Die Angabe, dass die Zerstörung Jerusalems im 19. Jahre Neb.s' erfolgte, bringt auch die zweite, parallele, aber in Einzelheiten abweichende Rezension des gleichen Berichtes in Jer lii 12.

Der Bericht von 2 Chr xxxvi gibt keine Datierung nach Jahren Neb.'s, sodass er hier nicht zu verwerten ist.

Zu erwähnen ist hier noch die interessante und gewiss auf eine gute Quelle gestützte Nachricht Jer lii 28-30 über 3 weitere Exilierungen während der Regierung Nebukadnezars, die sonst nirgends erwähnt sind. Sie sind alle drei nach Jahren Nebukadnezars datiert.

Die erste, im Jahre 7, Judäer, 3023; hier sind offenbar, wie bei den anderen ausdrücklich gesagt, „Seelen" gemeint, nicht nur die Männer, und zwar aus der Landschaft im Gegensatz zu Jerusalem. Diese fand also sicher *vor* der Besetzung Jerusalems statt. —

Die zweite „im 18. Jahre Neb.'s, aus Jerusalem, Seelen 832". Auch diese *vor* der Einnahme der Stadt, also wohl Überläufer. —

Die dritte „im 23. Jahr Neb.'s, Judäer, Seelen 745." Das wäre 582/81. Die Veranlassung ist unbekannt. Es handelt sich bei allen diesen Deportationen um zusätzliche, neben den beiden grossen von 597 und 586. Wenn für irgend eine von ihnen einmal eine Notiz

in der Bab. Chronik gefunden wird, werden danach alle anderen Daten bestimmt werden können.

Es ergibt sich aus dieser Zusammenstellung der biblischen Nachrichten, dass sie sehr gut untereinander übereinstimmen, dass sie keinerlei Widerspruch gegen unsere Annahme von der Zerstörung Jerusalems im Jahre 586 enthalten, ja dass sie im Gegenteil starke Momente zu ihrer Bekräftigung bringen.

Jetzt ist noch die Frage zu beantworten, wie es möglich sein kann, dass man die Herrschaft Jojachims noch über den 1. Nisan hinaus rechnete, obwohl er schon am 2. Adar — mindestens einen Monat vorher — gefangen genommen und vielleicht auch sofort abgesetzt wurde. Da wir es hier mit judäischen und nicht mit babylonischen Quellen zu tun haben, muss zunächst festgestellt werden, dass für die Einstellung der Berichterstatter zur Regierung Jojachins nicht die staatsrechtlichen oder auch nur die tatsächlichen Verhältnisse massgebend waren, sondern judäische und dynastische Gefühle. Für sie war Zedekia, mindestens zuerst, ein vom Eroberer gewaltsam eingesetzter Usurpator. Wenn es richtig ist, dass Jojachin erst geraume Zeit nach seiner Gefangennahme ins Exil nach Babel abgeführt wurde, so haben ihn eben die judäisch-biblischen Quellen bis zu diesem Termin als rechtmässigen König angesehen — bis ins achte Jahr Nebukadnezars hinein.

Dass dies nicht nur eine gedankliche Konstruktion ist, dafür haben wir in den biblischen Quellen eine Fülle von starken Bestätigungen. Die älteste, sehr drastische, ist der dramatische Zusammenstoss Jeremias mit dem Propheten Hanania ben ʿAzzur (Jer xxviii) im 4. Jahr des Zedekia (nach meiner Annahme ist dies das Jahr 593 92). Noch zu dieser Zeit kann in Jerusalem ein Prophet öffentlich auftreten und weissagen (v. 3-4): „In noch zwei Jahren werde . . . ich den Jehojachin ben Jehojakim, *König von Juda*, und die ganze Galut Juda's, die nach Babel kamen, an diesen Ort zurückführen! ist Jahwehs Spruch." Dem kann man nicht entgegenhalten, dass er ja ein „falscher Prophet" war (denn das entscheidet ja erst die Nachwelt); im Gegenteil, die „falschen" Propheten waren besonders darauf bedacht, dem Volk nach dem Munde zu sprechen. Das deutet mit Sicherheit darauf hin, dass mit Hanania ein starker Teil der Bevölkerung noch immer in Jojachin seinen rechtmässigen Herrscher sah [1]).

[1]) In den von Weidner veröffentlichten Tontafeln mit Verpflegungsrationen für Jojachin („Yaukin") und seine Familie aus der gleichen Zeit, ca. 592, wird er

Ganz das Gleiche und aus der gleichen Zeit lehrt uns der berühmte Brief des Propheten Jeremia an die Verbannten in Babel (Jer xxix), aus dem klar hervorgeht, dass auch in der babylonischen Gola eine starke, von Propheten geführte Bewegung bestand, die auf die Zurückführung Jojachins hinarbeitete, diesen also weiter als ihren legitimen Herrscher ansah.

Aber noch weit überzeugender geht dies aus dem Buche des Propheten Ezechiel hervor. Dieser Prophet hat für die Judäer in Babylonien eine besondere Aera eingeführt, nach der er, in seiner pedantisch-minutiösen Weise, alle seine Gesichte und Prophezeiungen datiert: im x-ten Jahre der Gefangenschaft Jojachins. Auch er sieht also, und zwar bis zu seiner letzten Kundgebung im Jahre 571, in Jojachin seinen legitimen Herrscher und nennt ihn bei der ersten Einführung dieser Zeitrechnung (Ez i 3) ausdrücklich „König Jojachin" [1]). Als „erstes Jahr der Gefangenschaft" können wir unbedenklich 597/96 annehmen, da hier nicht, wie bei den Königsjahren, ein fester Brauch ein Jahr vom 1. Nisan an verlangt. Dies wäre dann nach unserer Rechnung gleichzusetzen dem „Anfang der Regierung Zedekias". Nur so fällt das „zwölfte Jahr der Gefangenschaft" (Ez. xxxiii 21) mit dem „11. Jahr Zedekias" (2 R xxv 2) für die Zerstörung Jerusalems zusammen.

Wir können diese Datierungs-Epoche Ezechiels bis zum 27. Jahre (571) verfolgen. — Noch tiefer hinab führen uns zwei gleichlautende Stellen am Ende von 2 R xxv und von Jer lii, die von der Freilassung Jojachins durch Amil-Marduk „im 37. Jahre der Verbannung Jojachins" berichten. Wir sehen hieraus, dass diese Aera des Ezechiel auch von anderer Seite rezipiert worden ist.

Aus allen diesen Belegen geht deutlich hervor, dass an dem Königtum Jojachins als dem legitimen lange Zeit festgehalten wurde. Dann aber ist es durchaus glaubhaft, dass das „achte Jahr Nebukadnezars" in 2 R xxiv 12 nicht auf einem Fehler beruht, sondern die

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ebenfalls dreimal als „König" bezeichnet. ALBRIGHT (in *The Biblical Archeologist* 1942, pp. 49-55) folgert daraus, dass er damals noch nicht im Gefängnis sass, und hält es sogar für möglich, dass Nebukadnezar sich noch 592 nicht endgültig für Zedekia oder Jojachin entschieden hatte; ich möchte lieber sagen, dass er ihn entweder als Geisel oder als eventuellen Gegenkönig für Zedekias Wohlverhalten in Bereitschaft hielt.

[1]) Leider liefern uns die hier gegebenen Datierungen keine Entscheidung unserer Frage nach dem Jahr der Zerstörung Jerusalems, da im Buche Ezechiel, so weit ich sehe, kein bestimmtes Ereignis genannt ist, das sich durch die Babylonische Chronik zeitlich festlegen liesse.

genauere Konstatierung eines in der Babylonischen Chronik zu kurz berichteten Tatbestandes gibt. Bevor eine (sehr notwendige!) neue Ausgrabung in den Beständen des British Museum uns vielleicht doch noch das entscheidende „missing link" 593-557 zu Tage fördert, sind wir berechtigt, *an dem Datum* 586 *für die Zerstörung Jerusalems festzuhalten.*

WEST-SEMITIC CURSES AND THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGINS OF HEBREW LAW [1])

BY

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INTRODUCTION

In his study, *Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts*, [2]) the late Professor

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[1]) The substance of this study was presented in the form of a paper read before the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis held in New York City in December, 1959.

Abbreviations of Akkadian sources except for *PRU* (= *Palais royal d'Ugarit*), are those employed in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*. Other abbreviations: AfO = *Archiv für Orientforschung*; AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; ANET² = *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. James B. PRITCHARD, ed., 2d ed., Princeton, 1955; Bab. Laws = G.R. DRIVER and John C. MILES, Kt., *The Babylonian Laws*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1955; BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; BDB = F. BROWN, S. R. DRIVER and C. A. BRIGGS, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford, 1952; Bibl. Arch. = *Biblical Archaeologist*; CAD = *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*; CBQ = *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*; CIS = *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*; Dictionary = Marcus JASTROW, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 2 vols, New York, 1950; Dictionnaire = Charles-F. JEAN, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest*, Leiden, 1954; DN('s) = Divine name(s); *Ephemeris* = Mark LIDZBARSKI, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 3 Parts, Giessen, 1900-1915; GAG = W. VON SODEN, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*. „Analecta Orientalia," No. 33, Roma, 1952; GKC = *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. ed. E. KAUTZSCH (trans. A. E. COWLEY; 2d ed.), London, 1910; Grammar = Zellig S. HARRIS, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, "American Oriental Series," No. 8, New Haven, 1936; Grammatik = Johannes FRIEDRICH, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*. „Analecta Orientalia," No. 32. Roma, 1951; Handbuch = Mark LIDZBARSKI, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898; HUCA = *Hebrew Union College Annual*; IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal*; JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; JCS = *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*; JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*; JPOS = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*; Lexicon = Ludwig KOEHLER und Walter BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon in veteris testamenti libros*, Leiden, 1953; MAD = I. J. GELB, *Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary*, 3 vols, Chicago, 1952-1957; MVAG = *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*; PEQ = *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*; RA = *Revue d'Assyriologie*; Sam'al = Benno LANDSBERGER, *Sam'al: Studien zur Entdeckung der Ruinenstaette Karatepe*. „Veröffentlichungen der Türkischen historischen Gesellschaft," VII. Ser., Nr. 16. Ankara, 1948; Textbook = G. A. COOKE, *A Textbook of North-Semitic inscriptions* (Oxford: 1903) UM = C.H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Manual*. „Analecta Orientalia," No. 35. Roma, 1955; ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*; ZAW = *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

[2]) *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I (München, 1953), 278-332 (originally published as a separate monograph in 1934).

Albrecht ALT distinguished two major traditions in Hebrew law. This distinction was based on whether the law was stated categorically or conditionally. Categorically formulated law, termed apodictic, most readily recognized in the Decalogue, has the classic form, "Thou shalt (not)...!"; conditionally formulated law, termed casuistic, has the classic form, "When/If... then...."[1]) ALT expressed the opinion (*ibid.*, pp. 294 ff.) that Hebrew casuistic law had been borrowed from, or was at least based upon Canaanite proto-types, while Hebrew apodictic law was original and unique in Israel. This opinion, heartily endorsed by W. F. ALBRIGHT [2]), was inspired by the observation that the conditional statement is the most frequently encountered style of juristic formulation in the ancient Near East; whereas law, enunciated in categorical terms, appeared to be peculiar to the Hebrew Bible.

The theory did not go unchallenged. Professor Benno LANDSBERGER, for example, expressed doubt concerning the significance placed upon the distinction by ALT, and suggested, instead, that the variations in form had been motivated by what he termed, "the living, sermonic style" [3]). More specific criticism was advanced by I. RAPAPORT [4]) and T. J. MEEK [5]), who pointed out that, though rare, and by no means as frequent as in the Old Testament, categorical legal statements are nevertheless to be found in other law codes of the ancient Near East as well, and that the criterion of style alone, therefore, could not be enlisted to determine which enactments in the Old Testament were uniquely Israelite. This, in turn, was countered with an observation by George E. MENDENHALL that the categorically formulated laws to which (RAPAPORT and) MEEK referred were not strictly parallel in form, since they were expressed in the third person, rather than as among Hebrew laws—particularly those of the Decalogue—in the second. He was able, nevertheless, to support the general conclusion of the non-uniqueness of Hebrew

[1]) For examples of apodictic legislation see Ex. xx 2-17, xxiii 6-9, 14-17; Lev. xviii 6-23; Deut. v 7-21, etc.; for examples of casuistic legislation see Ex. xxi 7 ff.; Lev. xx 10 ff.; Deut. xix 4 ff., etc.

[2]) Review of *Die Ursprünge*, in *JBL*, LV (1936), 164-69 particularly pp. 167 f.; idem, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (2d ed.; New York, 1957), p. 268.

[3]) B. LANDSBERGER, „Die babylonischen Termini fur Gesetz und Recht," *Symbolae ad iura orientis...Paulo Koschaker dedicatae* (Leiden, 1939), p. 223, n. 19.

[4]) " 'The Origins of Hebrew Law'," *PEQ* (October 1941), p. 166.

[5]) *Hebrew Origins* (rev. ed.; New York, 1950), p. 72; and in *ANET*², p. 183, n. 24.

apodictic legislation by illustrating this legal style with an example from a Hittite treaty [1]).

To clarify the problem we may note the following: (1) the argument concerns the origin (whether native or foreign) of Israelite legal forms; (2) the Hebrew collections of laws are separated from other Near Eastern "codes" and "covenants" not only geographically, temporally, and culturally, but linguistically; (3) if, therefore, the style of Hebrew legislation, whether apodictic or casuistic, is dependent upon general Near Eastern formulations it must have found its way into the Hebrew corpus, as ALT has argued for Israelite casuistic law [2]), via Canaanite legal form; and (4) no formal body of Canaanite law has as yet come to light [3]).

The problem of the origin of Israelite legal style resolves itself, then, into the question of whether or not the formulations of casuistic and apodictic laws can be duplicated in Canaanite. Unless and until this be settled it matters little how many or how close are the parallels that are urged from other sources, for they can neither affirm nor deny, prove nor disprove the hypothesis of ALT which presupposes, for casuistic law at least, an allegedly non-existent, Canaanite literary-legal form for the origin or basis of Israelite law.

Formulations, identical in every major respect of form and, we believe, function, with Old Testament forms of law, however, do

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[1]) "Ancient Oriental and Biblical Law," *Bibl. Arch.* XVII (No. 2; 1954), 30. Apodictic laws, expressed in the third person, occur; e.g., Deut. xxii 5.

[2]) „Die Ursprünge," *Kleine Schriften*, I, pp. 295 ff.

[3]) This is not quite true. Two bodies of Canaanite legal enactments, though not originating in Canaan itself, are indeed extant. These are (1) the „Marseilles Tariff" (text: *CIS*, I, 165; latest translation: F. ROSENTHAL in *ANET*², pp. 502 f.) and (2) the "Carthage Tariff" (the text, in several copies, is fragmentary. See the reconstruction of a portion of it by J.-B. CHABOT, „Mélanges épigraphiques," *Journal Asiatique*, XVII [sér. xi; 1921], 183. The fragment with which we are particularly concerned was published by CHABOT, *ibid.*, p. 180. Latest translation: F. ROSENTHAL in *ANET*², p. 503.). The texts are collections of temple rules regulating the priests' awards.

The question which must be raised is whether any of these enactments is identical in form with any Hebrew law, and in fact we may point to several. In the „Marseilles Tariff" (*CIS*, I, 165), l. 20 we read, KL KHN ʾŠ YQḤ MŠʾT BDṢ LʾŠ ŠT BPS Z WNʿN[š...], "Any priest who shall take payment contrary to that set down in this table shall be fined [...]"; and in the "Carthage Tariff," (*Journ. As.*, XVII, 183), ll. 13, 14 and 15 respectively, KL KHN ʾŠ YQḤ [...], "Any priest who shall take [...]"; KL BʿL ZBḤ ʾŠ [...], "Any sacrificer who [shall...]"; and KL ʾDM ʾŠ YMKR [...], "Any man who shall sell [...]". The form of these may be compared with Lev. xxii 3, *kol ʾiš ʾᵃšer yiqrab... wᵉnikrᵉtā hannepeš hahî...*, "Any man who shall approach... that person shall be cut off...."

in fact exist. These are to be found among the West-Semitic inscriptional curses. As imprecations occurring in inscriptions from the ancient world generally, these tend to be formal, most often literary, and, there is reason to believe, traditional [1]). By the term curse, then ("imprecation", "malediction", and "curse" are here used interchangeably), we understand not the interjectory exclamation, the profane oath, or blasphemy, but rather the deliberate, considered expression of a wish that evil befall another [2]).

Inscriptional curses are leveled at the one who may in the future alter the inscription. From this perspective the curses serve as prohibitions, protecting the monument by threatening divine punishment for malfeasance. It is this prohibitive-protective function which invests the curse with a legal air [3]), and which invites comparison of the literary forms of law and imprecation.

The West-Semitic texts from which the curses here studied derive, date from the pre-Christian era and include the Phoenician-Punic, extra-Biblical Hebrew, and Aramaic monumental inscriptions [4]). They have been grouped into "Commemorative", "Funerary", and "Votive", though strict lines often cannot be drawn. The Biblical laws with which the curses are compared are found primarily in the great collections of legal enactments [5]), while others may be found scattered throughout the various narratives [6]).

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[1]) See below, p. 142, n. 3.

[2]) Cf., *inter alia*, H. LESÊTRE, „Malédiction, Maudire," *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, publié par F. VIGOUROUX, IV (1912), col. 617; S.A.B. MERCER, "The Malediction in Cuneiform Inscriptions," *JAOS*, XXXIV (1915), 282.

[3]) T. H. GASTER, *Thespis: Ritual Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1950), p. 304, appears to have recognized the possibility of such a relationship when, concerning one particular curse, he remarked that it "...may be regarded as amounting almost to a legal formula."

[4]) The curses of the treaty between BR G'YH, king of KTK, and MTʿ-'L, king of 'RPD, recently republished by A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré* („Extrait des mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres," Tome XV; Paris, 1958), have not been included because it is felt that the curses in this text are best examined in the light of other treaty curses. The curse protecting the inscription, however, is treated below.

[5]) For an enumeration and analysis of the various so-called "codes," see R. H. PFEIFFER, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1941), pp. 210 ff.

[6]) E.g., Gen. ix 6; 1 Sam. ii 13; Dan. iii 4-6, 10-11, vi 8, 13; Ezra vi 11-12, etc.

THE TEXTS

I. Commemorative Inscriptions

A. *Kilamuwa* [1])

13 . . . ומי . בבנ 14 י אש . [2]) ישב . תחתן . ויזק . בספר ז . משכבם . אל יכבד . לבעררם . ובערר 15 ם . אל יכבד . למשכבם ומי . ישחת . הספר ז . ישחת . ראש . בעל . צמד . אש . לגבר 16 וישחת . ראש . בעל חמן . אש . לבמה . ורכבאל . בעל . בת .

13 . . . And whoever (is *the* son) among my sons [3]) 14 who shall reign (*lit.*: sit) in my stead, and shall demolish [4]) this inscription, may the MŠKBM not *honor* the B'RRM, and may the B'RRM 15 not *honor* the MŠKBM [5])! And whoever shall mutilate this inscription, may B'L

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[1]) Text: *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, IV („Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen," Heft XIV; Berlin, 1911), 375. Partial bibliography: CROSS and FREEDMAN, *Early Hebrew Orthography* ("Americal Oriental Series," Vol. 36; New Haven, 1952), pp. 11 f. Supplementary bibliography and latest translation: F. ROSENTHAL in *ANET*², p. 500.

[2]) See the writer's study, "On the Etymology of the Phoenician Particle אש," *JNES*, XVI (1957), 124-27. For the meaning of the expression cf. 1 Kings v 19.

[3]) This is an example of what in Biblical Hebrew has been termed the *Beth essentiae*, followed by a noun in plural number. The idiom in Hebrew serves to isolate intensively, as, e.g., in Ps. liv 6, *ʾadōnāy bᵉsômᵉkê napšî*, where the phrase does not mean simply, "The Lord is among those who support me (my soul/life)," but rather, as recognized by most commentators, "The Lord is (*the* supporter) among the supporters of me (my soul/life)"; or again, in Judg. xi 35, where Jephthah exclaims to his daughter, *wᵉʾatt hāyît bᵉʿókrāy*, "And you have become (*the* troubler) among my troublers." Cf. *GKC*, § 119 *i*; *BDB*, 88 f. (under I 7); C. F. BURNEY, *The Book of Judges* (2d ed.; London, 1920), p. 321; KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon*, p. 103.

[4]) As has been recognized by most, the root of the verb is NZQ, "to suffer injury," in the causative stem, "to damage, to injure," (FRIEDRICH, *Grammatik*, § 151, "jif."; cf. LANDSBERGER, *Sam'al*, pp. 52 f.). The root appears in Biblical and later Aramaic, and in Biblical Hebrew as a noun, *nezeq* (Est. vii 4), presumably as an Aramaic loan word. (C. C. TORREY in *JAOS*, XXXV [1915], 368 f., however, considers the stem to be *qal*.)

If the stem is causative, the appearance of the B, in the phrase, WYZQ B-SPR Z, is somewhat difficult, and may presuppose an omission of, e.g., ŠM, "(my) name," so that it would then read, WYZQ < ŠM > B-SPR Z, "And shall (e)rase < my name > from this inscription." See, however, the remarks of TORREY, *JAOS*, XXXV, 368 f.

[5]) From the appearance of the first critical study of this text the terms MŠKBM and B'RRM have remained enigmatic. For suggestions as to their meaning and the role each may have played in the society see M. LIDZBARSKI, *Ephemeris*, III, 233-36; C. C. TORREY, *JAOS*, XXXV, 367 f.; W. F. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS*, VI (1926), 84 f.; A. POEBEL, *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen*. . . (1932), p. 36, n. 5, p. 38, nn. 3-4; H. L. GINSBERG, *AJSL*, L (1933), 2 f.; A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Les Araméens* (Paris, 1949), pp. 45, 50, n. 34; B. LANDSBERGER, *Sam'al*, pp. 55 f., nn. 137, 140; E. A. SPEISER, *JAOS*, LXXV (1955), 164. Until these terms are found in other,

ṣMD of (*lit.*: the one belonging to) GBR, mutilate (his) head! 16 And may BʿL ḤMN of BMH, and Rākib-ʾIl, the lord of the dynasty, [1]) mutilate (his) head!

B. *Azitawada* [2])

12 ואם מלך במלכם ורזן ברזנם אם א 13 דם אש אדם שם אש ימח שם אזתו 14 ד
בשער ז ושת שם אם אף יחמד אי 15 ת הקרת ז ויסע השער ז אש פעל א 16 זתוד
ויפעל לשער זר ושת שם עלי 17 אם בחמדת יסע אם בשנאת וברע יסע 18 השער ז
ומח בעל שמם ואל קן ארץ 19 ושמש עלם וכל דר בן אלם אית הממלכת הא ואית
המלך הא ואית (iv) 1 אדם הא אש אדם שם

12 And if a king among kings, or prince among princes, [3]) if a man, 13 who is a man of renown [4]) shall expunge the name of *Azitawada*

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clearer contexts final judgment on their significance must be reserved. It may be urged, however, that the verb KBD (in *piʿel*) be understood in this text to mean "to pay, to enrich." Note that in Biblical Hebrew, KBD in *qal* can mean "to be rich, wealthy," as, e.g., in Gen. xiii 2, *wᵉʾabram kābēd mᵉʾōd bammiqne bakkesep ûbazzāhāb*, "And Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver and in gold," and that the *piʿel* frequently serves as the causative of an intransitive verb (cf. A. POEBEL, *Studies in Akkadian Grammar* ["Assyriological Studies," No. 9; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939], p. 68; and A. GOETZE in *JAOS*, LXII [1943], 5 f.). That KBD in *piʿēl* actually does have the meaning "to pay, to enrich" in Hebrew, see, e.g., Num. xxii 17, where *kî kabbēd ʾᵉkabbedᵉkā* means "I will certainly pay thee well," rather than "...honor thee greatly," as the following verse, containing the reply, clearly confirms: "If Balak would give me his house filled with silver and gold...." Moreover, the meaning "to pay" for KBD in *piʿēl* appears now to be attested in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Cf. *PRU*, III, No. 16.251, ll. 10-12, *ù* ᵐ*Ša-wi-it-te-nu* 1 *me-at* KUG.GI LUGAL EN-*šu uk-tab-bi-id*, "And Š. paid (or, less likely, 'was paid [by]') the king, his lord, one hundred (shekels of) gold."

[1]) The epithet recurs in later Punic inscriptions, there written BL BT (cf. André BERTHIER et René CHARLIER, *Le sanctuaire punique d'el-Hofra à Constantine* [Paris, 1955], I, 27 (text no. 25), l. 2; II, Pl. VII, D). A list with the terms *bʿl bt*, each followed by a geographic (?) designation is extant from Ugarit (*UM*, Text No. 14, ll. 2 ff.). Cf. also (*l*)*bʿlt b*(*h*)*t*(*m*) (*UM*, Text No. 1, 1. 21; No. 3, l. 37; No. 33, l. 7).

[2]) Latest translation and bibliography: F. ROSENTHAL in *ANET*², pp. 499 f. Add S. YEIVIN in *Leshonenu*, XXI (1956-1957), 265-68, with bibliography on pp. 269 f.

[3]) This introductory formula (cf. also the introduction to the curse in the *Aḥiram* inscription, below) illustrates an aspect of the literary-traditional quality present in these texts, for, as Albrecht ALT in *Die Welt des Orients*, I (1949), 283, has pointed out, the parallelism of MLK(M) + RZN(M) recurs with some frequency in Biblical Hebrew poetry: Judg. v 3; Hab. i 10; Ps. ii 2; Prov. viii 15, xiv 28, xxxi 4.

[4]) With ALT, *ibid.*, comparison must be drawn to Gen. vi 4. Since, in the Biblical passage, *ʾanšê šēm* is set in apposition with *gibbôrîm*, "mighty men," the expression "man men of name" must mean "man men of renown," and not "... an ordinary human being without titles of any sort" (F. ROSENTHAL in *ANET*², p. 500, n. 6). In support of our contention we may compare Akkadian

14 from [1]) this gate and shall set (his own) name (in its place), if, *moreover*, [2]) he covet 15 this city and usurp this gate which 16 *Azitawada* has made by making (*lit.*: and shall make) for the gate a *corona* [3]) and set (his) name upon it, 17 whether he do so (*lit.*: usurp) covetously, or antagonistically and maliciously he usurp 18 this gate, then may B'L ŠMM (the lord of heaven) and 'L QN 'RṢ ('Il, *creator* [4]) of earth), 19 and ŠMŠ 'LM (the everlasting sun) [5]) and all the generation of the sons of the gods expunge that sovereign, and that king, and (iv) 1 that man who is a man of renown!

(OB, Mari), *a-wi-il šu-mi-im*, "man of name," (*ARM*, I, No. 90 [rev.] 22). Here, though the context is somewhat broken, it is clear that the reference is to someone of notable standing.

[1]) On the meaning "from" for the Phoenician preposition B, cf. W. F. ALBRIGHT in *JAOS*, LXVII (1947), 158, n. 42, and N. SARNA in *JBL*, LXXVIII (1959), 310 f. That as it is in combination with the verb MḤY, the preposition B must have the meaning "from," cf. Hebrew *m^eḥenî nā' mis-sipr^ekā*, "wipe me, pray, from your book" (Ex. xxxii 32); *'emḥennû mis-siprî*, "I will wipe him from my book" (Ex. xxxii 33); *yimmāḥû mis-sēper ḥayyîm*, "Let them be wiped from the book of life" (Ps. lxix 29); *etc.*

[2]) *Lit.*: "if even." The combination in this sequence is otherwise unknown to me. Cf. the *Ešmun'azar* inscription, *CIS*, I, No. 3, l. 6, 'P 'M, "even if."

[3]) Cf. Hebrew *zēr*, "molding"; Aramaic *zîrā'*, *zêr*, "circlet." The context demands an architectural element.

[4]) As all have recognized, this may be compared with Hebrew *'ēl 'elyôn qônê šāmayim wā'āreṣ* (Gen. xiv 19, 22). Although the meaning "creator" for the Hebrew (and Phoenician) participle, *qônê*, has not been demonstrated, a meaning "to fashion, to create" for the verb in "Canaanite" appears now well on its way toward being firmly established. For arguments in support of a meaning "to create" for Hebrew and Ugaritic QNY, see W. F. ALBRIGHT in *BASOR*, No. 94 (1944), p. 34, n. 21; and H. L. GINSBERG in *BASOR*, No. 98 (1945), p. 22, n. 68. For arguments against this meaning see G. LEVI DELLA VIDA in *JBL*, LXIII (1944), 1, n. 1.

Strong evidence in support of such meaning in Phoenician appears now on an object referred to as a SMR of *Kilamuwa*. The text was first published in *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli V* („Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen," XV; Berlin: 1943), Pl. XLVII and p. 102; subsequently by H. T. BOSSERT and H. ÇAMBEL in *Karatepe: A Preliminary Report on a New Hittite Site* ("Publications of the Institute for Research in Ancient Oriental Civilizations", No. 1; Istanbul, 1946), Pl. XIII; again by A. DUPONT-SOMMER in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, cxxxiii (1947), 19-33; and again by Kurt GALLING in *BASOR*, No. 119 (1950), pp. 15-18. Latest translation: F. ROSENTHAL in *ANET*², p. 501.

[5]) Contrary to ALT's opinion (*Die Welt des Orients*, I [1949], 384), the epithet, ŠMŠ 'LM, "the everlasting sun", is not "encountered here for the first time". It is known from the Tell el-Amarna correspondence, albeit in Akkadian guise, where, in a letter from Abimilki to the Egyptian Pharaoh (*EA*, No. 155, ll. 6, 47), the phrase occurs, *šarru ᵈŠamaš dārîtu*, "the king is the everlasting sun."

C. *Sfire* I [1])

16 . . . ומן 17 ל־יצר מלי ספרא זי בנצבא זנה 18 ויאמר אהלד מן מלו 19 ה׳ או
אהפך טבתא ואשם 20 [ל]לחית ביום זי יעב 21 [ד] כן יהפכו אלהן אש 22 א [ה]א
וביתה וכל זי [ל] 23 ה׳ וישמו תחתיתה [ל] 24 [ע]ליתה ואל ירת שר 25 [ ]ה אשם

16 . . . And whoever 17 shall not protect the words of the composition which is (inscribed) on this stele, 18 but shall say, "I will detract [2]) from [its] word(s)," 19 or, "I will overturn the good and set (down) 20 evil"; [3]) on the day he shall do 21 so, may the gods overturn that man, 22 and his house, and everything that [belongs to] 23 [him!! And may they turn him upside-down (*lit.*: set his lower [part] for his upper [part])! 24 And may his [. . .] not inherit 25 a name!

D. *Zakir* [4])

16 מן · יהגע · אית · אש[. . .] 17 [. . .] · זכר · מלך · חמ[ת · ול] 18 עש · מן · נצבא ·
זנה [·] ומן 19 [י]הגע · נצבא · זנה · מן [ק] 20 [ד]ם · אלור · ויהנסנה · מ[ן] 21 [אש]רה ·
או · מן · ישלח · ב[ה] 22 [ידה · ל . . .]ת[ה][. . .] 23 [. . . בע]ל שמין · וא[ל] 24 [ור ·
ו . . .] ושמש · ושהר 25 [. . .] · ואל[ה]י · שמי[ן ·] 26 [ואלה]י · ארק · ובעל ע[. . .]
27 [יהגעו / יהנסו · אית ·] אשא · ואית 28 [. . .]ש[ ]שה · [. . .]

16 Whoever shall cast down [. . .] [5]) 17 [. . . of] *Zakir*, king of Hama[th and *La*-] 18 *'aš* from this stele, or whoever 19 shall destroy this stele from [be-] 20 fore *'Iluwer*, or shall remove it [from] 21 its [place], or whoever shall stretch forth against [it his hand to. . . [6]) it, . . .] 23 [. . . May B'L ŠMYN (the lord of heaven) and *'I*[*lu*-] 24 [*wer*, and. . .] and ŠMŠ and ŠHR 25 [and. . .] and the gods of heaven 26 [and

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[1]) Text, translation and commentary: A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré* („Extrait des mémoires. . . Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres", tome XV, 1958), pp. 87-95 and Pls. XV-XVI. The closely related and very similar curse appearing on "Stèle II" (*ibid.*, p. 117 and Pls. XXV-XXVI) has not been included because the introductory formula, with which we are primarily concerned, has not been preserved, and because the remainder of the text is too mutilated for connected translation.

[2]) With DUPONT-SOMMER (*ibid.*, pp. 92 f.) we would locate the root of this form in *LWD. We would compare it, however, with Mishnaic Hebrew LWZ, "to slander, to pervert" (JASTROW *Dictionary*, II, 696).

[3]) See p. 148, n. 4, below.

[4]) Text: H. POGNON, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mesopotamie, et de la région de Mossoul* (Paris, 1907), Pls. X and XXXVI. Bibliography: CROSS and FREEDMAN, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, pp. 21 f. Latest translation: F. ROSENTHAL in *ANET*², pp. 501 f.

[5]) For suggestions as to possible reconstructions of this line, see TORREY, *JAOS*, XXXV, 363.

[6]) For this reconstruction cf. Ezra vi 12, *kol melek w'ʿam di yišlaḥ yᵊdēh lᵊhaśnāyā lᵊḥabbālā. . . .*

the god]s of earth, and Bʿl-ʿ[...] 27 [cast down/remove] the... [1]) and 28 [...] his...!

E. *Yeḥawmilk* [2])

11 . . . כל ממלכת וכל אדם אש יסף לפעל מלאכת עלת מז 12 בח זן [ועלת פת]ח
חרץ זן ועלת ערפת זא שם אנך יחומלך 13 מלך גבל [. . .] · על מלאכת הא ואם
אבל תשת שם אתך ואם תס 14 ר מ[לא]כת זא [ות]סב את] · · · מזבח מן] יסדה עלת
מקם ז [. . .] 15 [. . .]תרו תסר[. . .] הרבת בעלת גבל אית האדם הא וזרעו 16 את
פן כל אלן ג[בל]

11 . . . Any sovereign or any man who shall continue to do work upon 12 this altar [and upon] this golden [engr]aving, and upon this portico, my name, [3]) "*Yeḥawmilk*, 13 king of Byblos", [*do you put with you(rs)*] upon that work. And if you do not put my name with you(rs), and if you [*re-*] 14 [*move*] this [wo]rk [*or disp*]*lace* [. . . *the altar from*] its foundation at this place [*and*. . .] 15 [. . .], may the Lady, the Mistress of Byblos, *remove* [*and displace* (?)] that man and his seed 16 from before all the gods of By[blos]!

F. *Ṣelem-šezib* [4])

12 . . . וגבר 13 זי יחבל סותא זא אלהי תימא 14 ינסחוהי וזרעה ושמה מן אנפי 15 תימא

12 . . . And the man 13 who shall damage this stele, may the gods of Têma' 14 tear out him, his seed and his name from before Têma'!

G. Dnl [5])

2 ומן זי את תן . . .] 3 [. . .]לה בעל שמין 4 רבא שהר ושמש 5 ולזרעא זי לה

2 And whoever you are (who) shall [. . .] 3-5 [may] the great Bʿl

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[1]) In addition to the epigraphic difficulties attendant upon it, the reconstruction, "[...deprive him of h]ead and [...and] his root..." (e.g., F. Rosenthal in *ANET*², p. 502), fails to take sufficiently into account the fact that the regular sequence in Semitic parallelism is "root" // "head". Cf. p. 150, n. 2. The form ʾš', if it is not fragmentary, probably has its referent in ʾš[...] of line 16.

[2]) Text: *CIS*, I, 1 plus the fragment published in *Fouilles de Byblos*, I (Paris, 1939), Pl. XXIX. Latest translation and bibliography: F. Rosenthal in *ANET*², p. 502.

[3]) For this expression and its interpretation see A. Dupont-Sommer in *Semitica*, III (1950), 41 f. In addition to the examples cited there, note *CIS*, I, 3785, l. 8, py ʾnk.

[4]) Text: *CIS*, II, 113. Translation and commentary: Cooke, *Textbook*, pp. 195-99.

[5]) Text, translation and commentary: James A. Montgomery in *JAOS*, XXVIII (1907), 164-67; cf. also the discussion and suggested improvements in reading by C. C. Torrey in *ZA*, XXVI (1912), 90 f.

ŠMYN (or, BʿL ŠMYN, the master), ŠHR and ŠMŠ [...] him (or, his) [...] [1]) and his seed! [2])

H. NNŠT [3])

3 . . . ומן ביש 4 יעבד עם פתכר זנה 5 ויבעה לה שהר ושמש

3 . . . And whoever 4 shall abuse (*lit.*: work wickedness with) this image [4]) [1]may ŠHR and ŠMŠ interrogate him! [5])

II. Funerary Inscriptions [6])

A. *Aḥiram* [7])

. . . ואל · מלך · במלכם · וסכן · בס < כ > נם · ותמא · מחנת · עלי · גבל · ויגל · ארן · זן · תחתסף · חטר · משפטה · תהתפך · כסא · מלכה · ונחת · תברח · על · גבל · והא · ימח ספרה · ן . . .]

. . . And if a king among kings, or a prefect among prefects . . . [8])

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[1]) On the basis of the facsimiles presented by MONTGOMERY (*ibid.*), it is not possible either to accept or reject TORREY's readings.

[2]) See p. 147 n. 4, below.

[3]) Text, translation and commentary: C. C. TORREY in *JAOS* XXXV (Vol. for 1915), 370-74.

[4]) TORREY, *ibid.*, p. 372, notes this as a Persian loanword, known principally from classical Syriac, and translates "image". The word is found also in the Targums where, in Isa. viii 21, Amos v 26, and Zeph. i 5, it translates Hebrew MLK(W), MLKKM and MLKM, respectively. (Noted by M. JASTROW, *Dictionary*, II, 1254 b.)

[5]) If this understanding of the verb BʿY is correct we may have here a parallel to the curse appearing on a text from Ugarit, written in Akkadian. The text (*PRU*, III, No. 16.157) records the transfer of certain property to a son, and the curse, 11. 25-28, reads: *ù ša uš-bal-ki-it ni-id-na an-na-a* ᵈIM EN HUR.SAG *Ḫa-zi li-iš-al-šu*, "And he who shall annul this gift, may the Storm-god, the lord of Mount Casius interrogate him!" The significance of the punishment may perhaps be explained by reference to *PRU*, III, No. 17.143, l. 29, and Ps. xxxv 11. Or, perhaps, there may be reference here to a practice of formal interrogation accompanied by physical abuse. For the Egyptian practice cf. John A. WILSON, *The Burden of Egypt* (Chicago, 1951), p. 285.

[6]) On the subject generally, see André PARROT, *Malédictions et violations de tombes* (Paris, 1939).

[7]) Text: *Syria*, V (1924), 137. Latest translation and bibliography: F. ROSENTHAL in *ANET*², p. 504. Add CROSS and FREEDMAN, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, pp. 13 f.; and Arthur MENTZ, *Beiträge zur Deutung der phönizischen Inschriften* („Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes", Band XXIX; Leipzig, 1944), pp. 5-13.

[8]) If the phrase, WTMʾ MHNT, does indeed continue the sequence, some such meaning as *commander*, *officer*, or the like for TMʾ, is clearly required by the context. In 1925 C.C. TORREY in *JAOS*, XLV, 273, suggested that this word be understood as a *qattāl* formation from a root equivalent to Akkadian *tamū*, "to speak". By analogy to Arabic *ʾamīr*, "commander," from Arabic *ʾamara*, he proposed a similar meaning for TMʾ, and looked upon it as a probable loanword from Akka-

arise (in) [1]) Byblos and shall uncover this sarcophagus, may the scepter of his judicial authority be stripped away, the throne of his dominion be overturned! [2]) And may peace flee from Byblos! And as for him (*lit.*: and he), may his inscription be expunged! [...]

B. *Agbar* [3])

8 ... מן את תעשק 9 ותהנסני שהר ונכל ונשך יהבאשו 10 ממתתה ואחרתה תאבד

8 ...And whoever you are (who) shall wrong 9 and remove me, may šHR and NKL and NšK make odious 10 his [4]) death, [5]) and may his future [6]) perish!

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dian. This went unchallenged (though modified, to some extent, by W. F. Albright in *JPOS*, VI [1926], 80 f.) and in Z.S. Harris' *Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, p. 155, the form is assigned the meaning, "commander", and declared, without question, a "loanword from Akk. *tamū*". Unlike Arabic *'amīr*, "commander", from *'amara*, "to speak with command", Akkadian *tamā'um*, *tamû*, a secondary form from Old Akkadian *wamā'um*, "to swear," (Gelb, *MAD*, III, 43, 297) means "to swear". Cf. simply von Soden, *GAG*, § 105 c and j. The form *tamû* with the meaning "commander" is unattested in Akkadian and highly improbable. Accordingly, Torrey's suggestion must be abandoned.

Unconvincing also is Mentz' reading (*Beiträge*, p. 7), tm', which he renders, „die Ganzheit der Küste".

[1]) Albright proposes restoring an omission by haplography, ʿly < ʿl > gbl, to be interpreted, "attacks Byblus", (*JAOS*, LXVII [1947], 155 f. and n. 20; followed by K. Galling in *Die Welt des Orients*, I [1950], 423). Aside, however, from the dubious "field commander", (see pp. 146 f, n. 8), there appears to be no reason for the introduction of a military element; nor is it at all clear what relationship, if any, need necessarily exist between an investment of Byblos and the violation of the injunction against opening the sarcophagus. Indeed, the curse appearing further on, "may peace flee from Byblos", if thus correctly understood, makes little sense if the offender is held to be one who is in the process of attacking Byblos. It appears best to let the text stand and to render, "(If a king...) arise in Byblos..." (as we have), or, "...come to Byblos..." (cf. Gen. xxxv 1, 3).

[2]) The parallel of this curse, Ugaritic, *l-yhpk ks'a mlkk l-yṯbr ḫṭ mṯpṭk*, (*UM*, text no. 49, VI, ll. 28-29), "He ('Il) will indeed overturn the throne of thy dominion, he will indeed break the scepter of thy judicial authority!", noted by nearly all, does not warrant translating the verb hsp by "to break" (Albright, in *JAOS*, LXVII, 156); cf. Aramaic ḥsp, "to peel", Akkadian *ḫasāpu*, "to pluck out, to tear off", (cf. *CAD*, VI, 122). Close, but not precise parallels of this curse exist in Akkadian. Cf. Wiseman, *Alalakh*, No. 2, l. 79, (DN's) GIŠgu.za-*šu ù* GIŠp[a]-*šu li-iš-bal-kat-šu*, "May (DN's) overthrow for him his throne and his [*scepter*]!"; Luckenbill, *Annals*, col. vi, ll. 82-83, (DN's) GIŠpa *ù* GIŠgu.za *li-kim-šu-ma*, "May (DN's) take away from him (his) scepter and throne!"

[3]) Text: Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, Taf. XXV. Latest translation and bibliography: F. Rosenthal in *ANET*², p. 505. Add C. C. Torrey in *ZA*, XXVI (1912), 90.

[4]) On the change from 2d to 3d person see the very pertinent remarks of Torrey in *ZA*, XXVI, 81 f., and in *JAOS*, LVII, 405 f. Cf. also our remarks below.

[5]) Cf. Hebrew mmwty(m), Jer. xvi 4; and Targumic Aramaic, mmwt' (Cooke, *Textbook*, p. 191).

[6]) The term has been taken to mean "posterity", e.g. by Charles-F. Jean, *Dictionnaire*, I, 25 (see under 'ḥr VI), and earlier by Cooke, *Textbook*, p. 191.

C. *Sin-zer-ibni* [1])

5 מן את 6 תהנס צלמא 7 זנה וארצתא 8 מן אשרה 9 שהר ושמש ונכל ונשך יסחו
10 שמך ואשרך מן חין ומות לחה 11 יכטלוך ויהאבדו זרעך

5 Whoever you are 6 (who) shall remove this 7 image and couch [2])
8 from its place, 9 may šHR and šMš and NKL and NšK tear out 10 your
name and *remainder* [3]) of life! And (with an evil [4]) death 11 may
they kill [5]) you! And may they cause your seed to perish!

D. *Tabnit* [6])

3 . . . מי את כל אדם אש תפק [7]) אית הארן ז אל אל ת 4 פתח עלתי ואל תרגזן . . .

Note, however, that the identity of ʾḤR (ʾḤRH), and the form currently under discussion, ʾḤRT(H), is in no way certain. Furthermore, the term for "descendants" in the imprecations is most often ZRʿ, "seed", and, on occasion, šM, "name". Our own suggested translation of ʾḤRT, the ambiguous "future", however, is no more certain. It may, perhaps, be compared with Ugaritic *ʾuḫryt*, as in the passage 2 Aqht VI, ll. 35-37 (see the exposition of the passage by H. L. GINSBERG in *BASOR*, No. 98 [1945], pp. 21 f.). The passage reads, *mt . ʾuḫryt . mh . yqḥ | mh . yqḥ mt . ʾaṯryt | spsg . ysḳ [l]rʾiš | ḥrṣ lẓr . qdqdy*. GINSBERG's translation (*ANET*², p. 151) follows, "Further life—how can mortal attain it? / How can mortal attain life enduring? / Glaze will be poured [on] my head, / *Plaster* upon my pate (/And I'll die as everyone dies, / I too shall assuredly die.)"

Rightly, in our opinion, GINSBERG compared Ugaritic *ʾuḫryt* with Hebrew *ʾaḥrît*, and translated the parallel term *ʾaṯryt* in accord with the demands of (context and) parallelism. (May this perhaps explain YSḤW šMK wʾšRK of text no. II C? See p. 148, n. 3.)

[1]) Text: LIDSBARSKI, *Handbuch*, Taf. XXV, 1; p. 445. Latest translation: A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Les Araméens* (Paris, 1949), p. 116.

[2]) Cf. COOKE, *Textbook*, pp. 187 f.

[3]) Apparently we must reckon with a play on words (cf. l. 8). For similar puns cf., e.g., Ps. cxxxvii 5, and the explanation of GASTER, *Thespis*, p. 448.

Looking for the referent of the pun, we may note that the composition of this text is closely contemporary with that of ʾGBR (No. II B), and that the form ʾḤRT(H) found in that text was explained by reference to the Ugaritic text, 2 Aqht, VI, ll. 35-37, with its form *ʾuḫryt* meaning "future" or the like (pp. 11f., n. 6). It is interesting to note the parallelism in that text of *ʾuḫryt* // *ʾaṯryt*. Note also the comparison of Ugaritic *ʾaṯryt* and Arabic *ʾuṯrah*, "what is left over, remains", proposed by ALBRIGHT in *BASOR*, No. 94, p. 33, n. 18). We would suggest that the form under discussion be compared with Ugaritic *ʾaṯryt* and that it has a similar meaning.

[4]) Cf. J. A. FITZMYER, in *CBQ*, XX (1958), 453. The forms approximating this in the Elephantine papyri, cited by FITZMYER, however, are inadequate to determine the meaning since they appear after names of persons and may, conceivably, be titles totally unrelated to our form. For discussions of this word not cited by FITZMYER, see the references in G. R. DRIVER, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1954), p. 19 b.

[5]) Note the dissimilation of emphatics, on which see H. L. GINSBERG in *AJSL*, LII (1936), 96.

[6]) Text: LIDZBARSKI, *Handbuch*, Taf. IV. Latest translation and bibliography: F. ROSENTHAL in *ANET*², p. 505. Add C. C. TORREY, *ZA*, XXVI (1912), 79-83.

[7]) A difficult construction (cf. COOKE, *Textbook*, p. 28). Its quality of being

6 . . . ואם פת 7 ח תפתח עלתי ורגז תרגזן אל ינל זרע בחים תחת שמ 8 ש ומשכב את רפאם

3 . . . Whoever you are—any man who—shall discover [1]) this sarcophagus, do not, do not 4 open my lid, [2]) and do not disturb me! . . . 6 . . . But if you do indeed 7 open my lid and do indeed disturb me, may he [3]) not (be)get [4]) seed (while) among the living under the sun, 8 or burial-place with the shades!

E. *Ešmunʿazar* [5]).

6 . . . כ כל ממלכת ו 7 כל אדם אש יפתח עלת משכב ז אם אש ישא אית חלת משכבי אם אש יעמסן במ 8 שכב ז אל יכן לם משכב את רפאם ואל יקבר בקבר ואל יכן לם בן וזרע 9 תחתנם ויסגרנם האלנם הקדשם ממלכ>ת< אדר אש משל בנם לק 10 צתנם אית ממלכת אם אדם הא אש יפתח עלת משכב ז אם אש ישא אית 11 חלת ז ואית זרע ממל<כ>ת הא אם אדמם המת אל יכן לם שרש למט ו 12 פר למעל

6 . . . When any sovereign or 7 any man who shall open the lid of this burail-place, if someone shall take away the casket [6]) of my burial-place, if someone shall carry [7]) it from [8]) this 8 burial-place, may they not have a burial-place with the shades, nor be buried in a grave! And may they not have child and seed 9 in their stead! And may

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labored may be the result of a (deliberate?) confusion of styles. See below.

[1]) See p. 148, n. 7.

[2]) Cf. J. - G. Février, "Sur le mot *ʿLT* en phénicien et en punique", *Semitica*, V (1955), 59-62.

[3]) See the references p. 147, n. 4.

[4]) As C. C. Torrey has convincingly argued (*ZA*, XXVI, 80; and *JAOS*, LVII [1937], 405), there is little justification in emending this otherwise scripturally flawless text to read ʾL Y<K>N L<K> (e.g., Cooke, *Textbook*, p. 26; Rosenthal in *ANET*², p. 505). For the reconstructed root NWL, Torrey cites Arabic *nawala*, "to obtain, to attain", and notes that the forms NWLW (Ezra vi 11) and NWLY (Dan. ii 5; iii 29) were rendered in Greek by "confiscation". (Cf. also, perhaps, the admittedly difficult and uncertain KNLTK [Isa. xxxiii 1] and MNLM [Job xv 29].)

May Ugaritic Akkadian, LÚ*na-ḫa-li* be compared? Note that in each case where the *n.* figures (*PRU*, III, Nos. 15.89, 15.122, 15.141, 15.145, 15.168, 15.Y, 16.86, 16.141, 16.174, 16.248, 16.262), property is "transferred" (cf. E. A. Speiser in *JAOS*, LXXV [1955], 160) *from* him to another. For the difference in the middle radical, note that in Arabic the noun from *nawala* is not the expected **nawl*, but *nayl*.

[5]) Text: *CIS*, I, 3. Latest translation and bibliography: F. Rosenthal in *ANET*², p. 505. Add C. C. Torrey, *ZA*, XXVI (1912), 83-86.

[6]) In addition to the cognates cited by Cooke, *Textbook*, p. 33, Arabic *ḫillat*, "box, case", and Harris, *Grammar*, p. 101, South Arabian HLT, "casket", (on which, however, see G. Ryckmans in *Le Muséon*, LXXI [1958], 127), cf. also Akkadian (Neo-Babylonian) *ḫallatu*, "(a kind of) basket", (*CAD*, VI, 44 b).

[7]) Cf. the similar parallelism of ʿMS // NŠʾ in Isa. xlvi 3.

[8]) Cf. above, p. 143, n. 1.

the holy gods deliver them to a mighty king, one who shall rule [1]) over them to 10 cut them off—the sovereign, or that man, the one who shall open the lid of this burial-place, or the one who shall take away 11 this casket—and the seed of that sovereign or those men! May they not have root below or 12 fruit above! [2]).

F. *Mane bar Kumli* [3]).

4 . . . ומן זי על סתונה זנה או 5 מערתא או לדרחתא לקבל זי פרבר למערתא 6 זנה אחר (?) מן זי יחבל או יפרך מנדעם אחר (?) 7 ארתמו זי ككו ואפששי תרבצה ביתה 8 קנינה טין ומין ומנדעמתה יבדרונה ויפתה

4 . . . And whoever—concerning this stele, or 5 the mausoleum, or concerning the pillar in front of the fore-court of this 6 mausoleum . . . [4])—whoever shall destroy or shall damage anything at all . . . 7 may *Artemis* of KLW and (of) the Ephesians, his garden, his house, 8 his property—his watered-ground and water—and everything that is his, scatter and . . . it!

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[1]) For the use in Hebrew of a participle to express the future see *GKC*, § 116 *p*.

[2]) For similar parallels of "root" // "fruit" in the Old Textament, though not in curses, cf. 2 Kings xix 30 (= Isa. xxxvii 31), Isa. xiv 29, Ezek. xvii 9, and Hos. ix 16. The punishment imprecated upon the offender is his total annihilation. In other West Semitic texts a similar imprecation is expressed in more violent terms (cf. above I E [ŠLMŠZB], l. 14, and *UM*, 1 Aqht, ll. 159-60), where the offender, as here, is metaphorically regarded as a plant, whose root is to be torn out and whose seed (= progeny) is to be removed. His identity, thereby, is to be destroyed.

This parallelism in the West-Semitic texts may help elucidate the curse appearing as a standard formula in Old Akkadian inscriptions and, in various forms, frequently thereafter, DN's *išdēšu lissuḫū u zera'šu lilqutū*, "May DN's tear out his foundations and pick up his seed!" The phrase, *zera'šu lilqutū*, "May they (DN's) pick up his seed!" has been explained as an image of birds picking up the fallen grain (H. G. GÜTERBOCK in *ZA*, XLII [1934], 8, n. 2). The gods who are called upon to "pick up" the grain, however, are the same as those who are invoked to "tear out" the foundations; and rather than birds, we would see in the phrase an image of the harvester or gleaner. (For the Hebrew cognate, LQṬ, "to pick up", with specific reference to harvest, cf. Ruth ii 2 *et passim*).

[3]) Text: Enno LITTMANN, *Sardis* ("Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis", Vol. VI; Leyden, 1916), Frontispiece and p. 23. Latest translation, bibliography and commentary: Paul KAHLE und Ferdinand SOMMER, „Die lydisch-aramäische Bilingue", *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, I (1930), 18 ff.

[4]) On the form 'HR(D) see the discussions of LITTMANN, *Sardis*, VI, 29; C. C. TORREY in *AJSL*, XXXIV (1918), 195; KAHLE and SOMMER in *Kleinas. Forsch.*, I, 48 ff.

G. [...]YHW [1]).

זאות] [קברת . . .] ו[הו אשר על הבית · איו פה] כסף · ו[זה]ב [כי]אם עצמתו
ועצמ[ת] אמתה [את]ה · ארור האד[ם] אשר ויפתח] אל[ת] זאת]

This is [the tomb of. . . -]YHW, who is over the house. There is [*here*] no silver or gold—(nothing) [but] [his bones] and the bone[s] of his hand-maid [with] him. Cursed be [2]) the man who shall [open] this!

III. (Punic) Votive Inscriptions

A. ŠPṬ BN BNDM(L)QRT [3])

5 . . . וכל אדם אש גנב 6 ת [4]) ־מתנת ז נכסת תנת 7 [פ]ן בעל

6 . . . And any man who shall steal [5]) 6 7 this gift, TNT PN BʿL shall slaughter! [6])

B. BʿL ʿZR [7])

7 . . . ו 1 כל אש לגנ 2 ב ת־אבן ז בעל 3 חמן יקציא

7 . . . And 1 anyone who shall steal [8]) 2 this stone, may BʿL 3 HMN cut him [9]) off!

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[1]) Text, translation and commentary: N. AVIGAD, "The Epitaph of a Royal Steward from Siloam Village", *IEJ*, III (1953), 137-52, and Pls. 8-10.

[2]) The *qal* passive participle of the root ʾRR. For a comprehensive study of this form see S. BLANK, "The Curse, Blasphemy, the Spell and the Oath", *HUCA*, XXIII (1950-1951), Part I, 73-95; J. SCHARBERT, " 'Fluchen' und 'Segnen' im Alten Testament", *Biblica*, XXXIX (1958), 5-8; and the writer's unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, "Curse Motifs in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East", (Department of Oriental Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago, 1959), pp. 232-242. The most frequent curse form in the Hebrew Bible, it is attested in extra-Biblical, pre-Christian sources only (to my knowledge) in the text under discussion and in the so-called "Manual of Discipline", *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* (New Haven, 1951), II, col. ii, ll. 5-12. In view of its frequency in the Old Testament, and of its restriction to Hebrew sources, this curse form may be recognized as characteristically and specifically Hebrew.

[3]) Text, latest translation, commentary and bibliography: *CIS*, I, 3783.

[4]) On T as the accusative particle see J. - B. CHABOT in *Le Muséon*, XXXVII (1924), 155; HARRIS, *Grammar*, p. 76 (under ʾYT); FRIEDRICH, *Grammatik*, § 255.

[5]) Read the active participle (cf. Hebrew *gôneb*, Ex. xxi 16; Deut. xxiv 7; Zach. v 3). On the use of the participle to express the future in Hebrew, cf. *GKC*, § 116 *p*.

[6]) As noted by CHABOT in *Le Muséon*, XXXVII, 161, it is necessary to read this form as a feminine active participle. The verb is not used in Biblical Hebrew, but appears in the Targums, and is common in Akkadian. Cf., perhaps, the curse in the inscription of Yaḫdun-Lim, king of Mari (*Syria*, XXXII [1955], 11, col. v, 11. 29-30), *ᵈBunini. . .napištašu likkis*, "May Bunini. . .cut his throat!" and that in *BBSt*, No. VI, col. ii, l. 57.

[7]) Text, latest translation, commentary and bibliography: *CIS* I 3784.

[8]) On the use of the infinitive to express the future in Hebrew see *GKC*, § 114 *h-k*.

[9]) On the use of -ʾ for the 3d person masculine singular pronominal suffix see CHABOT in *Le Muséon*, XXXVII, 155; and FRIEDRICH, *Grammatik*, § 112.

C. Knmy [1]).

6 . . . וכ 7 ל אש לסר ת־אב 8 ן ז בי פי אנך ו 9 בי פי אדם בש 10 מי ושפט תנת פן 11 בעל ברח אדם הא

6-7 . . . And anyone who shall remove [2]) this 8 stone—*without* my (express) command (*lit.*: mouth), or 9 *without* the (express) command of a man in 10 my name [3])—may TNT PN BʿL pass judgment [4]) 11 against the soul of that man!

D. [. . .] [5]).

1+? . . . ו[כל] א 2+? דם אש לסר ת 3+? מתנת ז ושפט 4+? תנת פן בעל 5+? ברח אדם הא

?+1 . . . And [any] ?+2 man who shall remove ?+3 this gift, ?+4 may TNT PN BʿL pass judgment ?+5 against the soul of that man!

E. Ṣlḥ bn brk [6]).

4 . . . ואש יר 5 גז ת־מתנת ז וקב<ב>ת 6 תנת פן בעל

4 . . . And the one who shall dis- 5-6 turb this gift, may TNT PN BʿL curse! [7]).

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[1]) Text, latest translation, commentary and bibliography: *CIS*, I, 3785.

[2]) Infinitive construct of SWR in the causative stem. Cf. Friedrich, *Grammatik*, §§ 166, 169. On the form cf. also *GKC*, §§ 53 *q* and 72 *z*.

[3]) For other views see Mark Lidzbarski in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, XLIX (1924), col. 286; Chabot in *Le Muséon*, XXXVII, 155 f. The writer recognizes the difficulty of the form BY, but sees little else that can be done with it. Cf. Friedrich, *Grammatik*, §§ 258 *d* and 320, 3. If our understanding is correct, we may perhaps compare this with Hebrew *bᵉmô pî* (Job xvi 5, xix 16) for form, and 2 Chr. xxxvi 22 for meaning. Cf. also Akkadian (OB, Mari) *ša i-na pi-i a-bi-ka*, "which, at the command of thy father..." (*ARM*, II, No. 39, l. 48). On the combination, PY ʾNK, cf. the YHWMLK inscription, text no. I D, l. 12, ŠM ʾNK.

[4]) Read the 3d person feminine singular perfect with *waw* conversive. For a parallel use of BRḤ, cf. Mal. ii 15, 16; Eccl. viii 8.

[5]) Text translation and commentary: *CIS*, I, 4937. For the various forms see the comments on the preceding texts.

[6]) Text, translation and commentary: *CIS*, I, 4945.

[7]) In seeking to explain the form, we may note the existence in Hebrew of the roots QBB and NQB. The subject of the verb being the goddess, TNT PN BʿL, the final *taw* precludes an identification with the 3d person feminine singular perfect. Identifying the form with the infinitive of NQB does not commend itself either. In all probability, therefore, we are to recognize in this form a feminine active participle (cf. text no. III A, l. 6, and p. 151, n. 9) and must emend the text to read WQB·ʾB ·T (cf. the masculine active participle of a *mediae geminatae* verb in Punic MDD [*CIS*, I, 349: 5; cf. Friedrich, *Grammatik*, § 164], and Hebrew *nôdedet* [Prov. xxvii 8]), the omission of B having occurred by reason of haplography.

COMPARISON OF CURSE AND LEGAL FORMULATIONS

If the introductory phrases of the curses in the Aramaic inscriptions are considered first, for the purpose of comparing these with legal formulations, we are faced immediately with the problem of the lack of any corpus of laws written in Aramaic in the Old Testament. Yet the books of Daniel and Ezra contain, within their Aramaic sections, royal decrees tantamount to laws [1]), and it is with these, primarily, that comparison may be made.

In the tomb inscription belonging to *Mane bar Kumli*, text no. II F, the introduction reads, WMN ZY YḤBL, "And whoever shall destroy". Similarly, in the inscription of DNL, the „Guzneh Boundary Stone", text no. I G, we read, MN ZY ʾT T ⌈...⌉, "Whoever you are shall....". The form is exactly paralleled in the royal edict recorded in Dan. iii 6, 11, *ûman di lâʾ yippēl*, "And whoever shall not fall down (and worship, shall be cast into the midst of a burning, fiery furnace!)". The closely parallel introductory formula, (W)MN plus the imperfect, is found in the inscriptions of *Zakir*, text no. I D, l. 16, MN YŠLḤ, "Whoever shall stretch forth"; of MNŠT, text no. I H, ll. 3-4, WMN... YʿBD, "And whoever shall do (harm)"; of *Sin-zêr-ibni*, text no. II C, ll. 5-6, MN ʾT THNS, "Whoever you are shall remove"; of *Agbar*, text no. II B, l. 8, MN ʾT TʿŠQ, "Whoever you are shall wrong"; and note also the curse protecting the inscription containing the stipulations of the treaty between *Matiʿ-ʾIl* and *Bar-Gaʾya*, text no. I C, ll. 16-17, WMN L-YṢR, "And whoever shall not protect".

The introduction to the curse in the inscription of *Ṣelemšezib*, text no. I F, ll. 12-13, WGBR ZY YḤBL, "And the man who shall destroy", has a formal parallel in Hebrew law, in Lev. xx 10, *wᵉʾîš ʾᵃšer yinʾap*, "And the man who shall commit adultery".

The classic formulation of Hebrew case law has the leading, or general case introduced by the particle *kî*, followed by a verb in the imperfect, with each of the secondary or subordinate cases introduced by (*wᵉ*)*ʾim*, followed by a verb in the imperfect. For example, Ex. xxii 9-11, "When (*kî*) a man gives an ass, or ox or sheep to his neighbour for safe-keeping, and it dies, or is hurt, or is driven away, with none witnessing, there shall be an oath of YHWH between the two of them. ... But if (*wᵉʾim*) it be stolen from him, he shall make restitution to its owner. If (*ʾim*) it be torn (by animals) he shall bring it forth

[1]) Cf. Dan. iii 4-6, 10-11, vi 8, 13; Ezra vi 11-12.

(as) evidence. He shall not make resitution (for) what is torn (by animals)".

This is paralleled exactly by the curse in the *Ešmun'azar* inscription, text no. II E, ll. 6-8, K KL MMLKT...'Š YPTḤ...'M 'Š YŠ'... 'M 'Š Y'MSN, "When any sovereign... shall open...if someone shall take away... if someone shall carry off". As in the Hebrew formulation, the initial case is introduced by K, followed by the imperfect, while each of the following, related cases is introduced by 'M, followed by the imperfect.

A closely related construction is that beginning simply with *'im*, followed by the imperfect; for example, Ex. xxii 24, with which compare the Karatepe inscription of *Azitawada*, text no. I B, ll. 12-13, W'M MLK...YMḤ, "And if a king... shall expunge"; the inscription of *Tabnit*, text no. II E, ll. 6-7, W'M PTḤ TPTḤ, "But if you do indeed open"; and the inscription of *Yehawmilk*, text no. I E, 1. 13, W'M 'BL TŠT... W'M TŚR, "And if you do not put... and if you shall *remove*". Compare also the *Ahiram* inscription, text no. II A, W'L MLK...'LY...WYGL, "And if a king...arise...and shall uncover". The first verb is a perfect. For a parallel use of the perfect in Hebrew law compare Ex. xxi 8.

The curse formula in the *Yehawmilk* inscription, text no. I E, l. 11, begins, KL MMLKT...'Š YSP, "Any sovereign... who shall continue", and is paralleled in form among Hebrew laws by Lev. xxii 3, *kol 'îš 'ašer yiqrab*, "Any man who shall draw near". Compare also Gen. iv 15, Lev. xvii 14, 1 Sam. ii 13; and in Aramaic: Dan. iii 10, vi 8, 13, and Ezra vi 11.

The Punic imprecations exhibit three, closely related constructions. That of ŠPṬ (*CIS*, I, 3783), text no. III A, l. 5, reads, KL 'DM 'Š GNB (Hebrew *gônēb*, i.e., an active participle), "Any man who steals", and is paralleled by 1 Sam. ii 13 (specifically designated a *mišpāṭ*), *kol 'îš zôbē'aḥ zebaḥ*, "Any man who offers a sacrifice". Compare also Lev. xvii 14, *kol 'ôkelāyw yikkārēt*, "Any one who eats of it (*lit.*: any of its eaters) shall be cut off", and Gen. iv 15.

The curses in the votive inscriptions of B'L'ZR (*CIS*, I, 3784), text no. III B, of KNMY (*CIS*, I, 3785), text no. III C, and of *CIS*, I, 4937, text no. III D, are alike in their use of KL ('DM) 'Š followed by the infinitive construct with L. No precise parallel to this use of the infinitive construct in Hebrew law is extant, but compare, perhaps, Lev. xxv 14 where, following a finite verb, an infinitive absolute of another verb is employed much as the infinitive construct is used

in these Punic texts. The parallels from Hebrew and "Canaanite" law to the introductory KL (ʾDM) ʾš have been cited above.

The introduction to the curse in the votive inscription of ṢLḤ BN BRK (*CIS*, I, 4945), text no. III E, reads, wʾš YRGZ, and may be compared with Lev. xx 10 (-21), *wᵉʾîš ʾᵃšer yinʾap*; Lev. xxiv 17, *wᵉʾîš kî yakke*; and Deut. xix 5, *waʾᵃšer yābôʾ*.

The curse in the epitaph of the Hebrew prefect, [...]YHW, text no. II G, ʾRWR HʾD[M] ʾŠR ⌈YPTḤ⌉ ʾ[T] ZʾT⌉, "Cursed be the man who shall open this!" has most close counterparts in those laws found in Deut. xxvii 15 (-26), *ʾārûr hāʾîš ʾᵃšer yaʿᵃśe pesel*, "Cursed be the man who shall make a graven image!"

The introduction to the curse found in the *Kilamuwa* inscription, text no. I A, ll. 13-14, WMY... YŠB...WYZQ, "And whoever... shall sit...and shall demolish", and l. 15, WMY YŠḤT, "And whoever shall mutilate", is unparalleled in Phoenician and Hebrew legal formulation[1]) It may be favorably compared, however, with the relatively very common Aramaic curse and legal formula, WMN (ZY) plus an imperfect (see above). Though highly uncertain, it appears likely, in view of the probable Aramean origin of *Kilamuwa bar Ḥayaʾ* (note the use of the Aramaic patronymic, *bar*, "son of", in an otherwise entirely Phoenician composition), and the lack of any clear-cut parallel in Hebrew or Phoenician legal form, that the formula is a literal translation from Aramaic.

The formula is employed in another, later, Phoenician imprecation: *Tabnit*, text no. II D, l. 3. Here, however, as we have noted (above, pp. 148 f., n. 7), the construction is admittedly difficult and, in general, regarded as hopeless, though emendations have been offered. The text reads, MY ʾT KL ʾDM ʾŠ TPQ, "Whoever you are—any man who—shall (2d person) discover...". In the light of the observations made in the previous paragraph, we may see in MY ʾT...TPQ, "Whoever you are (who) shall discover" a translation of the by now familiar Aramaic formula. The remaining phrase, KL ʾDM ʾŠ, "Any man who", is readily recognized as a regular Phoenician-Punic curse and legal introductory formula. (See above.) We can only conclude that their combination, syntactically indefensible, was considered (for reasons unknown) essential, and that the text represents a confluence of Aramaic and Phoenician usage.

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[1]) This use of MY, with the meaning, "whoever", in Hebrew occurs, e.g., in Deut. xx 5-7, but the passage is not an exception, since it can in no way be construed as law.

CONCLUSIONS

Imprecations in the West-Semitic inscriptions may now be acknowledged to have been formulated along precisely the same lines, most often with the precise formulaic wording, as casuistic legal regulations. Thus far, then, the theory that the casuistic style of Hebrew legislation was at home among the inhabitants of the Syria-Phoenicia-Palestine coast and hinterland has found textual support. The corollary to this proposition, however, that the apodictic style of Hebrew legislation was original and unique in Israel must, on the basis of the very same evidence, be deemed inexact. The prohibition in the inscription of *Tabnit*, text no. II D, ll. 3-4 and 5-6, ʾL ʾL TPTḤ (...WʾL TRGZN), "Do not, do not open (... and do not disturb me)!" is on the same order as the apodictically formulated prohibition in, for example, Lev. x 9, *yayin wᵉšēkār ʾal tēštt*, "Wine and beer you shall not drink (...when you enter the tent of meeting)!" That this is a legal prohibition may be inferred from the fact that it is termed, *ḥuqqat ʿôlām*, "an eternal statute". It may also be compared with the classic apodictic legal formulations in the Decalogue; for example, Ex. xx 13 (= Deut. v 17), *lôʾ tirṣāḥ*, "Thou shalt not murder!" The uniqueness, if not the originality, in Israel of apodictic legal style, even that set in the second person singular, [1]) therefore, can no longer be upheld.

Since both casuistic and apodictic formulations are found in the West-Semitic inscriptions, whatever may have been the significance of the distinction between these styles, found in Hebrew law, it cannot have been a matter of the place of origin. Moreover, since casuistic formulations in the Old Testament are used primarily, but not exclusively, for civil law, and apodictic formulations primarily, but not exclusively, for ritual law [2]), neither can the significance be located in any consideration of matters of content. If a significance exists it must be sought elsewhere than in subject matter or in provenance.

Whether the imprecatory and prohibitive styles found in the West-Semitic inscriptions served as models for, or were, instead,

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[1]) For other apodictically formulated prohibitions set in the 3d (and 2d) person singular, see the *Ešmunʿazar* inscription, *CIS*, I, 3, ll. 4-6.

[2]) For examples of civil law set in apodictic style see Ex. xxiii 1-3; for examples of ritual law set in casuistic style see Lev. v 21 ff.

dependent upon casuistic and apodictic legal formulations; or whether, as we tend to believe, the two are generically identical, the correspondence in form between these, as, it is hoped, has now been satisfactorily demonstrated, is exact. Assessment of the full import this observation may have for the study of Biblical law lies beyond the scope of the present inquiry.

We may point out incidentally, however, that recognition of the legal orientation of West-Semitic maledictions permits us to retain the traditional text of Ex. xxi 2. This verse, now generally emended by scholars, reads, *kî tiqne ʿebed ʿibrî šēš šānîm yaʿᵃbōd*, "When you buy an *ʿibrî* slave, six years shall he serve". Because a continuation of this law in Ex. xxi 4, and the apodosis of another sub-clause of it in Ex. xxi 6 are set in the third person (*ʾim ʾᵃdônāyw yitten-lô ʾiššā*, "If *his* master shall have given him a wife," and *wᵉhiggîšô ʾᵃdônāyw ʾel hāʾᵉlohîm*, "then *his* master shall bring him to the *gods*" [1]), rather than as in Ex. xxi 2, in the second person, the text has been called into question. Julian MORGENSTERN, for example, declared the verse to be "undoubtedly editorial" [2]; and Albrecht ALT emended the text to read, *kî yimmākēr ʾîš ʿibrî*, which he translated, "If a Hebrew man sell himself" [3]). The change from second to third person, however, is known among the West-Semitic curses. We may recall the boundary stone of DNL, text no. I G, ll. 2-5, WMN ZY ʾT T[...] DN's...WLZRʿ ZY LH, "And whoever you are (who) shall (= 2d person)... may DN's...his seed!"; the funerary inscription of *Agbar*, text no. II B, ll. 8-9, MN ʾT TʿŠQ...DN's YHBʾŠ MMTTH, "Whoever you are (who) shall do wrong (= 2d person)... may DN's make his death odious!"; that of *Tabnit*, text no. II D, ll. 6-7, WʾM PTḤ TPTḤ ʿLTY...ʾL YNL ZRʿ, "But if you do indeed open my (sarcophagus) lid...may he not get seed!"; and the inscription of *Yehawmilk*, text no. I E, ll. 13-15, WʾM ʾBL TŠT ŠM ʾTK... [...] DN ʾYT HʾDM Hʾ WZRʿW, "But if you do not put my name with you(rs)... may DN [...] that man and his seed!" [4]) However seemingly illogical, the change from second to third person in West-Semitic maledictions is sufficiently well attested to be recognized as a feature of imprecatory style, and to support the validity of this stylistic phenomenon in Hebrew law [5]).

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[1]) See Anne E. DRAFFKORN in *JBL*, LXXVI (1957), 216-224.
[2]) In *HUCA*, VII (1930), 38.
[3]) In „Die Ursprünge", *Kleine Schriften*, I, 291 and n. 2.
[4]) See the references in p. 147, n. 4, above.
[5]) Cf. further Lev. i 2 ff.

The significance of the correspondence between conditional curse and casuistic legal formulations for an understanding of the nature of imprecation in the West-Semitic inscriptions lies in the recognition of the difference between these two most closely related forms of prohibition. Each is promulgated in an attempt at protecting a given situation; and each pronounces punishment(s) upon the infractor commensurate, in some manner, with the gravity of the violation. In legal enactments power to execute punishment for infraction is sought, presumably, in a properly constituted, certainly human, governmental agency; in imprecations, doubtless because of the inadequacy of human detective measures, appeal is made to supernatural agency.

THE GIBEONITES, THE NETHINIM AND THE SONS OF SOLOMON'S SERVANTS

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The aim of this article is to assemble the main features of the history of a Canaanite community whose fate was bound up with that of Israel. This community first emerges during the wars of Canaan, and disappears in the obscure period after Nehemiah. Its life-span thus virtually coincides with the history of Biblical Israel. During this long period the nature of the community in question underwent profound changes; nevertheless, it can be shown that its history forms a continuous whole which throws light on some social processes at work in Israel during the Biblical period [1]). In this history, the following three main turning-points can be distinguished: Joshua's wars, the reign of Solomon, and the Return from Exile. Each of these turning-points marks a social and juridical change in the status of the community, as will be shown in the following pages.

I

As is well known, the Gibeonites are first mentioned in the half-legendary story in Josh. ix 3-27 which describes how they managed to "pull the wool" over the Israelites' eyes and thus escaped the physical annihilation of the "ban" (*ḥerem*). The first fact to emerge from this story is that they were of *Hivite* stock (Josh. ix 7; cf. *ibid.* xi 19). In Gen. xxxiv 2 the Hivites are mentioned as the lords of the city of Shechem. In this same chapter (vv. 14-24) there is a passing reference to the fact that they were uncircumcised, in which respect they no doubt resembled all the other Canaanite peoples. At the same time, Hivite settlements are also mentioned "under Hermon in the land of Mizpah" (Josh. xi 3), on Mount Lebanon

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[1]) With respect to the discussion given below, cf. Prof. E. KAUFMANN's view in *Tôledôth Ha'emûnah Hayyiśra'elith*, Vol. I., pp. 636, 647-649 (Hebrew). In certain, and some important, details his view differs from the writer's.

(Ju. iii 3) and in the district of Tyre and Sidon (2 Sa. xxiv 6-7) [1]). It follows from this that the territory of the Hivites was not continuous, but consisted of a number of separate and dispersed enclaves, like those belonging to some other Canaanite peoples, all of which together made of pre-Israelite Canaan an ethnic and territorial patchwork. Those Hivites who, according to the Biblical tradition, were subjugated by Joshua, constituted only *one*, and that perhaps the southernmost, enclave of this people.

The above-mentioned story, as is known, also marks out the precise extent of this southern Hivite enclave by the four cities specified by P: "Gibeon, and Chephirah, and Beeroth, and Kiryath-Yearim" (Josh. ix 17). Gibeon is the tell which stands within the confines of the modern village of el-Jîb; Chephirah is Tell-Kefireh above the village of Qatnah; the site of Kiryath-Yearim is the hill Deir el-Azhar beside the village of Abu Ghosh (Qaryat el-'Anab); while Beeroth is apparently to be identified with el-Bîreh. It thus may be that even this particular Hivite enclave was itself not territorially continuous, since Beeroth, if the above-mentioned identification be correct, was considerably removed from the block formed by the other cities [2]). On the other hand, it should be borne in mind

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[1]) In Gen. xxxiv 2 and Josh. ix 7 the LXX, as is well known, read "the Horite" instead of "the Hivite", while in Josh. xi 3 some mss. of the LXX replace "Hivite" by "Hittite". However, the racial connection of the Gibeonites with the Hivites is confirmed by Josh. xi 19; and the picture drawn above is not affected in essentials by variant readings.

[2]) While there is no doubt about the sites of Chephirah and Kiryath-Yearim, those of the other two Gibeonite cities have caused a long controversy between German and American scholars. E. Robinson was the first modern scholar to identify Gibeon with el-Jib and Beeroth with el-Bireh. The proposal for Gibeon, which has been upheld especially by W. F. Albright, seems now to have been confirmed beyond doubt by the results of the excavations carried out at el-Jib under the direction of J. B. Pritchard. In spite of this evidence, Elliger still tries to uphold Alt's last view that Gibeon is to be sought at el-Bireh, or even Ramallah, while Beeroth is to be sought at el-Jib; cf. A. Alt, "Neue Erwaegungen über die Lage von Mizpah, Ataroth, Beeroth und Gibeon", *ZDPV* 69 (1953), pp. 17-27; K. Elliger, "Beeroth und Gibeon", *ibid.* 73 (1957), pp. 128-132. Cf. now J. B. Pritchard, "Gibeon's History in the Light of Excavation", *VT Supp.* VII, 1960, pp. 1—4. As for Beeroth, its location at el-Bireh should present no real problem, ever since, in 1926, E. Grant ("Ramallah: Signs of Early Occupation etc.", *PEFQSt*, 1926, p. 186) "picked up very early pottery around Ras el-Tahūneh", in the Northern part of el-Bireh, and thus removed any solid objection to the assumption that the site was occupied in the Bronze and Iron Ages. In deciding this matter, territorial continuance is not an *a priori* necessity: Beeroth might have been included in the federation of Hivite cities, although rather far to the north of all the others. In a somewhat similar way, in

that in the pre-Israelite period there were actually no occupied sites between el-Jîb and el-Bîreh.

A further fact that emerges from this story is that the Israelite conquerors made these Hivites "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of the Lord" (Josh. ix 27; cf. v. 23). The precise altar is not specified in the story which is, in its present form, a hotchpotch of Deuteronomistic and Priestly redactions. However, it would appear that, at least in the earliest form of the story, the altar referred to was *not* that of the Temple at Jerusalem. But when we ask at precisely what sanctuary or "high place" (*bamah*) of the period *before* the establishment of the Temple at Jerusalem non-Israelites were employed as "hewers of wood and drawers of water", our sources fail us. Presumably such a "provincial" high place must have been close to the border of these aliens, or even within their territory. For, if they had been displaced from their own land they might very well have been preserved as a distinctive community or class, but would probably quickly have lost their distinctive *name* — "Gibeonites" (as indeed happened subsequently). It is thus possible that at this stage of their history they performed their office at the great high place of Gibeon upon which Solomon himself still used to sacrifice "a thousand burnt offerings" (1 Ki. iii 4) [1]). Needless to say, the office in question was not connected with the actual (i.e. priestly) ritual, but was of the most menial kind, hardly distinguishable from slavery—that of "hewers of wood and drawers of water".

Apparently, then, these four Gibeonite cities had become essentially Israelite as early as the latter part of the period of the Judges. The descendants of those Hivites now constituted a kind of local minority in their cities, being employed at the great high place within their own confines. Their disappearance as a distinct ethnic and territorial group occurred in the reign of Saul. By that time they appear already as devotees of Yahweh and speak with righteous indignation of Saul's attempt to destroy them (2 Sa. xxi 2-6). That Saul did not succeed in his design is evident from the fact that, after his death, the Gibeonites were still in existence and demanded to be requited

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later times, when considered one of the cities of Benjamin, it formed a bulge into the territory of Ephraim, as indicated in 2 Sa. iv 2: "for Beeroth also is reckoned to Benjamin" (i.e., in spite of its being surrounded by non-Benjaminite territory!)

[1]) For a similar conjecture cf. e.g. R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1 Band, 5 und 6 Auflage, S. 430-432. But his arguments differ somewhat from the writer's.

with the blood of his family. Nevertheless, his persecutions must at least have had the effect of finally uprooting them from their cities and dispersing them throughout the kingdom.

II

A second act of enslaving the descendants of the Canaanite population was made in Solomon's reign. This time it was not only the Gibeonites who were affected, but "all the people who were left of the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites, who were not of the people of Israel". All these peoples were reduced to slavery: "Their descendants who were left after them in the land . . . these Solomon made a forced levy of slaves (*mas 'obed*)" (1 Ki. ix 20-21). This new class had no clearly defined ethnic character. It consisted of a medley of mixed stocks all thrown together by fate into a common melting-pot where they were formed into a distinct social entity. Indeed, they are not given any specific ethnonational name, but simply designated by the very general expression, "all the people who were left etc." This new class evidently included what remained of the Gibeonites.

These newly enslaved peoples, together with Tyrian sailors, presumably manned the ships that Solomon sent from Ezion-geber to Ophir, the land of gold (1 Ki. ix 26-28). Such ocean-going vessels (as distinct from the smaller coastal or river shipping) in those times could usually be manned only by slaves. These slaves of Solomon's were presumably likewise put to work in forced-labour gangs in the copper-mines and smelting furnaces of Eilath and the Arabah. These undertakings, in which the death-rate was high and regard for human life scant, could not depend for their principal labour force on free citizens [1]). The Canaanite slaves must also have erected many of Solomon's cities and installations. By contrast, the Biblical text testifies that "of the people of Israel Solomon made no slaves" (*ibid.* 22).

It is worth while to digress here for a brief examination of the forms of slavery instituted in Solomon's reign, in order to remove certain apparent inconsistencies which have a bearing on our subject. For elsewhere it is stated (1 Ki. v 27-28, English Versions 13-14) that

[1]) For working conditions in the smelting furnaces of Eilath cf. N. Glueck, "The Third Season of Excavations at Tell El-Kheleifeh", *BASOR* 79 (1940) pp. 4-5. The outlines of forced-labour compounds can still be distinguished close to some of the ancient smelting furnaces in the Arabah.

Solomon did enslave Israelites and this has set several scholars combing the text in question for additions, redactions and the like [1]).

The Hebrew terms *mas* and *mas ʿobed*, though very similar in meaning, are not identical. While in the language of poetry and folk-story they may be used indiscriminately, there is nonetheless a clear juridical distinction between them. The addition of the epithet *ʿobed* has a qualifying, restrictive force and denotes a *special* kind of *mas*. *Mas*, as known, means "forced labour". But there was another type of *permanent*, lifelong forced labour which was tantamount to slavery and this is what is meant by *mas ʿobed* [2]). This latter was the plight of the Canaanites; the Israelites were used by Solomon only for the *mas* and not for the *mas ʿobed*. The Israelite *mas* consisted of the thirty thousand men whom Solomon did not reduce to slavery but forced to work "in relays: they would be a month in Lebanon, and two months at his home (*bebêthô*, i.e. at Solomon's home)" (1 Ki. v 28, English Versions 14). It would seem that at the end of this period of three months they *returned to their homes*, their places being taken by another thirty thousand conscripts. However that may be, it should be obvious that the *mas* was in no sense the same as permanent enslavement. It is inconceivable that, in the clannish regime of the time, thousands of Israelites should have been reduced to outright

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[1]) There is almost general agreement amongst the critics that the text of 1 Ki. v 27 cannot be reconciled with what is written *ibid.* ix 15-22 and that, moreover, each of these sections is the work of several hands. Cf. e.g. J. A. MONTGOMERY, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, 1951, pp. 137, 205, 209-210.

[2]) The distinction between *mas* and *mas ʿobed* was correctly made by I. MENDELSOHN, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East*, New York 1948, p. 97. However, I cannot accept his assumption that, with regard to *the Canaanites*, the term *mas* did not signify forced labour, but only a compulsory financial levy (as in modern Hebrew). His assumption is not borne out by the verses on which he bases it (*ibid.*, n. 35). Even the statement in Est. x 1 is to be interpreted as meaning not that Ahasuerus imposed a tax on his kingdom, but that he obliged every one of his subject peoples to provide a given quota of forced labour. A financial levy is differently expressed in Biblical Hebrew; cf. 2 Ki. xv 20, xxiii 35. MENDELSOHN apparently had to resort to this assumption (that *mas* in several instances means merely a financial levy) in support of the statements made elsewhere in his book (*ibid.*, pp. 96, 149) that, in the absence of any central authority, public slaves and the corvée were unknown in Israel in the period of the Judges. In fact, in regard to this very period, we may draw the opposite conclusion. Evidently single tribes and even large clans were able to subjugate Canaanite cities to their service. Or else we must admit that those passages in Joshua and Judges in which *mas* is mentioned with regard to the Canaanites, actually refer to the time of Solomon.

slavery—for no crime or indebtedness—without this giving rise to immediate and violent repercussions [1]).

In addition to the forced labour exacted from the Israelites, Solomon had another one hundred and fifty thousand conscripted workers: "seventy thousand burden-bearers, and eighty thousand hewers of stone in the hill country" all under the supervision of "three thousand three hundred chief officers" (1 Ki. v 29-30, English Version 15-16) [2]). This was apparently a less harsh form of forced labour than the *mas*. The controller of the *mas* was Adoniram the son of Abda (*ibid.* iv 6; v 14; cf. 2 Sa. xx 24) who was killed in the revolt of the northern tribes under Rehoboam (1 Ki. xii 18), while the "chief officers" (*hannisabim*) were under the command of Azariah the son of Nathan (*ibid.* iv 5).

Thus there were three main categories of forced labour in Solomon's kingdom, decreasing in order of harshness as follows: permanent forced labour (*mas 'obed*), to which only the Canaanites were liable, temporary forced labour (*mas*), and "the people that wrought in the work" (*ha'am ha'ôśim bamelakhah*) under the "chief officers". The Canaanites were in the lowest category of all.

III

Since Solomon reduced the Canaanites to slavery before the building of the Temple, it is clear that this was not the purpose for which their forced labour was originally required. But, once the Temple had been erected, it would seem that some of the Canaanite slaves were transferred to its service (again, not as officiants in the

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[1]) The words uttered by Samuel in his description of "the manner of the king"—"and you shall be his slaves" (1 Sa. viii 17)—are simply the climax of a list of threats; and indeed, the real point of Samuel's warning is not that the king will take himself slaves from amongst the Israelites, but that he will (beside the temporary corvée labour) appoint officials for his own aggrandisement. Even the exalted official who stood in the king's presence could be called "his slave". Similarly, in 1 Ki. ix 22, immediately after the words "of the people of Israel Solomon made no slaves", we read: "they were the soldiers and *his slaves* (i.e. his officials, as RSV renders it) and his commanders and his captains etc." As for the usual *mas*, i.e. the temporary corvée labour, which could be imposed by the king on his subjects, cf. also I. Mendelsohn, "Samuel's Denunciation of Kingship in the Light of the Akkadian Documents from Ugarit", *BASOR*, 143 (1956), pp. 21-22.

[2]) According to another tradition (1 Ki. ix 23) "five hundred and fifty". In 2 Chron. ii 17-18 the number of the "overseers" is given as "three thousand six hundred", and all these workers are turned into "aliens" (*gerim*). As this is all part of the Chronicler's tendentious whitewashing of a righteous king, the detail is clearly unhistorical.

priestly ritual, but merely as "hewers of wood and drawers of water"). Their descendants are the "Nethinim" mentioned in Ezra-Nehemiah (Ezr. vii 7, viii 17 et al.). The appellation "Nethinim" has no ethnic or national significance (which accords well with the fact that Solomon's Canaanite slaves had no distinctive ethnic character), but simply connotes the social rank and "functional" status of its bearers. As they are mentioned together with the Priests, the Levites, the singers and the porters, we may assume that, like all these other groups, they too formed a class to which some particular part of the intricate Temple service was assigned, the only difference being that the task assigned to them was of the lowest order and those who performed it were of Canaanite descent [1]).

From the description given here it follows that the "Gibeonites" and the "Nethinim" were not identical. Many modern scholars (like the Talmudic *halacha* before them) [2]) take the view that these two names are simply variant appellations for one and the same group of people who served in the Temple of Jerusalem as slaves. In fact, the two terms belong to two different periods of time and denote two different communities which, though historically related, were nonetheless quite distinct. The first term, "Gibeonites", has an ethno-territorial significance, while the second, "Nethinim", is purely "functional". The first denotes a tribal community of fairly homogeneous character, dwelling in "its cities" and firmly rooted in its soil, even though it has been subjugated by the dominant

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[1]) In the Massoretic text of the Book of Chronicles the Nethinim are mentioned only once (1 Chron. ix 2). But they apparently also appeared in the original version of 2 Chron. xxxv 3: "And he said to the Levites who taught all Israel etc." Here for the Massoretic reading המבונים (*qere* המביניים) we should evidently read הנתינים, as is made almost certain by comparison with the parallel passage in 1 Esdras i 3: καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς Λευίταις ἱεροδούλοις τοῦ Ἰσραηλ, where ἱεροδούλοις is the term regularly used to translate "Nethinim" in the LXX and in Josephus. — According to Ezr. viii 20 the Nethinim were appointed "for the service of the Levites" (AV) by David himself. This is the Chronicler's note who, in the typical way of harmonizing history with his preconception, attributes to David the organization of all the Levitical offices. But it is at least a further confirmation that the "Nethinim" are parallel with all the other Levitical classes, and the term as such has no racial or ethnic significance. Incidentally, the above verse is usually interpreted to mean that David made the Nethinim the attendants of the Levites. In fact, the plain meaning of the text is that he set them apart to do *the work* of the Levites, i.e. that he assigned to them the tasks performed by the Levites (cf. also the parallel passage in 1 Esdras viii 48). Does this verse provide any evidence about one of the sources from which the postexilic Levitical class was drawn? Cf. also 2 Chron. xxxv 3 mentioned above.

[2]) Yebamoth 78b-79a; cf. also below p. 167, n. 3.

Israelites; the second is applied to a conglomeration of ethnically heterogeneous slaves who had been welded into a distinctive social entity only by the harsh necessity of their common fate. In short, the community designated by the name "Gibeonites" belonged mainly to the pre-Jerusalemite period, whereas the existence of the "Nethinim" was entirely bound up with that of the Temple at Jerusalem. At the same time, we concede that the descendants of the Gibeonites were apparently absorbed into the group which, in the literary records of the Second Temple, is called Nethinim.

Ezekiel, too, refers to the Nethinim, in his own peculiar way. Though he does not mention them by this name (Ez. xliv 6-10), his statements are in such complete accord with the brief glimpses of them provided by other sources that he must certainly have had the very same class in mind. According to his description a) they are "aliens" (*benê nekhar*) employed in the Temple; b) their duties are not connected with the actual ritual but—in the Priestly phraseology used by this prophet—consist of "keeping the charge (of the Temple)" (*ibid.* 8; according to the conceptions of P this is one of the duties of the Levites, and indeed Ezekiel demands that it should be assigned to them); c) they are "uncircumcized in heart and uncircumcized in flesh" (*ibid.* 7, 9). The first part of this expression is a Deuteronomistic metaphor (cf. Deut. x 16, xxx 6), but the second would seem to indicate that the Nethinim actually were lax in the matter of circumcision. Though we are here concerned with the period before the Jewish religious-ceremonial proselytization was instituted, the prophet's charge is nonetheless surprising, since converts to the Israelite religion were not free from undergoing circumcision even then. Apparently, as generations passed, all kinds of new racial elements, drawn mainly from captives and prisoners, joined the ranks of the Nethinim and it was some time before they fully adopted the practice of circumcision. But even so, it can hardly be supposed that these new elements were the majority. In this matter the prophet must have expressed himself in the highly coloured language natural to his extreme dogmatism, for we know that at least at the time of the Return, no shadow of doubt was cast upon the Jewishness of the Nethinim.

Besides the Canaanites who were transferred to the service of the Temple and became "Nethinim", there were other royal slaves who were put to work outside the Temple. Their descendants are the Sons of Solomon's Servants (*benê ʿabdê Shelomoh*) mentioned in Ezra-

Nehemiah. These two groups were racially indistinguishable and differed only in their place of service—the Nethinim inside the Temple, the others outside it. The family names contained in the lists of returning exiles (Ezr. ii 43-58; Neh. vii 46-60) show that the two groups had the same "national" character. Most of their names are patently non-Israelite, in striking contrast to the names borne by the members of all the other groups of exiles. Moreover, these two groups are listed together and their total number is given as a single unit parallel to the total number of each of the other groups [1]).

In the rebuilt Jerusalem of Nehemiah's day the Nethinim had a special quarter of their own. They dwelt "in Ophel, unto the place opposite the Water Gate to the east, and the projecting tower" (Neh. iii 26; cf. *ibid.* 31, xi 21). We thus have here one of the ironies of history: these descendants of the Canaanites, against whom the Israelite tribes had centuries before fought a Holy War, might now have taken part even in the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem (cf. *ibid.* iii 26, RSV) [2]). That is the last we hear of the Nethinim. In the Talmud they appear as a subject for halachic disputation, but not as a living historical entity [3]). It might be that they merged with

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[1]) Joseph Jacobs, a forgotten scholar of the last century, was of the opinion that the difference between the Gibeonites and the Nethinim lay in the fact that the latter were the descendants of slaves consecrated to the Temple service, while the former were not necessarily Temple-slaves (quoted by Graf W. W. Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des Alttestamentlichen Priestertums*, Leipzig 1889, p. 146, n. 2.). According to our opinion, there was indeed some such distinguishing status, only it differentiated the Nethinim from the Sons of Solomon's Servants and not from the Gibeonites. Graf Baudissin himself (*loc. cit.* and p. 274), of course, like most scholars, holds that the Nethinim were identical with the Gibeonites mentioned in the Book of Joshua.

[2]) There were also "Gibeonites" amongst the rebuilders of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. iii 7), only *these* Gibeonites are in every respect genealogically pure Israelites settled at Gibeon.

[3]) The statement in the Talmud that, in the time of R. Judah *Hannaśi*, "they sought to allow the Nethinim" (ביקשו להתיר נתינים, i.e. to come into the community = to marry into it), but found no way of doing so (Yebamoth 79b), does not, of course, imply that the Nethinim still existed as such. The passage is simply an attempt to solve a theoretical problem by the methods of Rabbinical disputation. In Qiddushin 70b various villages in Babylonia are assigned "genealogical" tables: "Rab Judah said: 'Gobai are Gibeonites, Dorenonitha — dwellings of Nethinim'" (גובאי גבעונאי, דורנוניתא דראי נתינאי). If we accept these genealogies as genuine, it will follow that the Gibeonites continued to exist as a distinct community at least till the end of the 3rd Century A.D. However, these genealogies are based on nothing more than on *popular etymology*. They can have no more historical validity than the story that follows them: "Pashḥur ben Immer...had 400 slaves all of whom insinuated themselves into the priesthood. Every brazen-faced priest is of their number". To this Abaye adds: "They all dwell within

the Levites; at any rate, during the Second Commonwealth they cease to exist as a distinct class and disappear from the stage of history.

IV

This discussion would not be complete, if it did not offer an answer to the decisive two-fold question which it has posed: How was this Canaanite community able to preserve its social distinctness throughout so many centuries, only to disappear finally in the time of the Second Temple?

The explanation is, after all, quite simple. It is to be found, in the writer's opinion, in the special juridical status of the slavery imposed on these Canaanites, i.e. in their being *Temple slaves*. The important point here is not their slave status as such, for "ordinary" slaves could obtain their release and thus change their status. As against this, the Temple slaves had no juridical or practical possibility of shaking off their slavery. Of the various ways in which a slave might obtain his emancipation in the Ancient Orient—by buying it himself, by being ransomed by one of his kinsmen, by being adopted as a son by his master, and the like—not a single one was available to temple slaves [1]). Hence our Canaanite community, being regarded as Temple property, was imprisoned within an invisible, but impregnable, legal wall which effectively compelled it to preserve its distinctive social status throughout the centuries (as was also true, by and large, of the royal slaves). In religion and culture they were quite indistinguishable from the Israelites, but socially they were not permitted to break through the wall which surrounded them.

In the time of the Second Temple, however, a change occurred. After the Return from Exile, these "Canaanites" were no longer regarded as *slaves* of the Temple, but as *ministrants* in it, enjoying a status similar to that of those other bodies, which officiated in the Temple. Their emancipation from the Temple slavery was not obtained by any regular legal process (for such a possibility did not exist), but resulted from the decisive transformation of Israelite society produced by the threefold upheaval of the Destruction of

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the wall in Nehardea" (כולהו יתבן בשורה דבנהרדעא); according to other versions: "In Sura and in Nehardea" (בסורא ובנהרדעא). Cf., however, E. KAUFMANN's view, *loc. cit.* (above, p. 159, n. 1).

[1]) On the whole subject, see MENDELSOHN, *op. cit.* (above, p. 163, n. 2), pp. 74 ff. On the impossibility of emancipation for temple slaves, see *ibid.*, p. 104.

the Temple, the Exile and the Return. At the same time, there being no further solid basis for their existence as a distinct community, they henceforth merged with relative ease into the Jewish nation and ceased to exist as a historical entity.

POSTSCRIPT

After this article had been set in print I chanced upon the rare book by Joseph JACOBS (mentioned above, p. 167, note 1), *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*, New York 1894, which is a collection of his articles on Biblical matters, including his article "The Nethinim" (pp. 104-122). On perusing the entire article I found that JACOBS' view was not given above with sufficient accuracy. Although he assumed that the Nethinim were not identical with the Gibeonites (as described by Talmudic exegesis) but were their descendants, as also stated by us, his main thesis is altogether different. He presumes that the Nethinim were simply the descendants of the sacred prostitutes attached to the Temple of Jerusalem before the Exile. This conclusion appears over-hasty to me, especially since actually it is based only on an ambiguous examination of the family names of the Nethinim who returned to Palestine with Zerubabel and Ezra. The translation ἱεροδούλοι common in LXX and Josephus is merely a Hellenistic concept (= the ministers of lascivious rites in the temples of Aphrodite) applied to explain a Biblical term, and does not in any way bear evidence as to the actual extraction of the Nethinim. In JACOBS' explanation, moreover, no real distinction is made between the status and historical background of the Nethinim and that of the Sons of Solomon's Servants. Contrary to JACOBS' view I tend to accept the opinion of HERZFELD (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, II, ii, 243; cited by him there) that during the return of the Babylonian Exiles there is no evidence of marriage with Nethinim being prohibited. This prohibition exists only in the legal speculations of the Talmudic *halakha*.

"ON EVERY HIGH HILL AND UNDER EVERY GREEN TREE"

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The phrase "on every high hill and under every green tree", or its variants, referring to the location of fertility cult practices, occurs sixteen times in the OT. A complete listing of the passages in which the phrase occurs has been available at least as long ago as S. R. DRIVER [1]), but I find no detailed analysis of the variations, nor any attempt to discern literary dependence. The phrase has typically been referred to as a Deuteronomic set-phrase [2]), and that is all. What is proposed here is a detailed analysis of the occurrences of the phrase, with (I believe) noteworthy results. My thesis is that it was Jeremiah who "standardized" the phrase in the form in which is occurs in Je ii 20.

The passage are as follows.

Dt xii 2	על–ההרים הרמים	on the high (*hārāmîm*) mountains,
	ועל–הגבעות	and on the hills,
	ותחת כל–עץ רענן	and under every green tree;
1 K xiv 23	על כל–גבעה גבהה	on every high (*gh·bhōhâ*) hill,
	ותחת כל–עץ רענן	and under every green tree;
2 K xvi 4	בבמות	at the high places,
	ועל הגבעות	and on the hills,
	ותחת כל–עץ רענן	and under every green tree;
2 K xvii 10	על כל–גבעה גבהה	on every high (*gh·bhōhâ*) hill,
	ותחת כל–עץ רענן	and under every green tree;
Is xxx 25	על–כל–הר גבה	on every high (*gābhō·h*) mountain,
	ועל כל–גבעה נשאה	and on every lofty (*niśśā'â*) hill;

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[1]) See, for example, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary of Deuteronomy* (ICC; 1895), p. 139, and *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1897, Meridian Library reprint 1956), p. 202.

[2]) Cf. Paul VOLZ, *Der Prophet Jeremia* (KAT, Leipzig, 1928), p. 23, note 1; John BRIGHT, "The Date of the Prose Sermons of Jeremiah", *JBL* 70 (1951), p. 35: Appendix B, No. 2.

Is lvii 5, 7	תחת כל–עץ רענן	under every green tree,
	. . . . .	. . . . .
	על הר–גבה ונשא	on a high (*gābhōᵃh*) and lofty (*niśśā'*) mountain;
Is lxv 7	על–ההרים	on the mountains,
	ועל–הגבעות	and on the hills;
Je ii 20	על–כל–גבעה גבהה	on every high (*gᵉbhōhâ*) hill,
	ותחת כל–עץ רענן	and under every green tree;
Je iii 6	על–כל–הר גבה	on every high (*gābhōᵃh*) mountain,
	ואל–תחת כל–עץ רענן	and (to) under every green tree;
Je iii 13	תחת כל–עץ רענן	under every green tree;
Je xvii 2	על–עץ רענן	on [*sic*!] a green tree,
	על גבעות הגבהות	on the high (*haggᵉbhōhôth*) hills;
Ez vi 13	אל כל–גבעה רמה	to every high (*rāmâ*) hill,
	בכל ראשי ההרים	at all the tops of the mountains,
	ותחת כל–עץ רענן	and under every green tree,
	ותחת כל–אלה עבתה	and under every leafy oak;
Ez xx 28	כל–גבעה רמה	every high (*rāmâ*) hill,
	וכל–עץ עבת	and every leafy tree;
Ez xxxiv 6	בכל–ההרים	at all the mountains,
	ועל כל–גבעה רמה	and on every high (*rāmâ*) hill;
Ho iv 13	על–ראשי ההרים יזבחו	on the tops of the mountains they sacrifice,
	ועל–הגבעות יקטרו	and on the hills they make offerings,
	תחת אלן ולבנה	under oak, and poplar,
	ואלה כי טוב צלה	and terebith, because their shade is good;
2 Ch xxviii 4	בבמות	at the high places,
	ועל–הגבעות	and on the hills,
	ותחת כל–עץ רענן	and under every green tree.

To these we should also add Ez xviii 6, 11, 15, xxii 9, which have אל ההרים (or על ההרים) unqualified.

We may summarize the characteristics of these passages:

(1) as to the number of items in the phrase —

three ("mountain", "hill", "tree" referred to either generically or specifically or both): Dt xii 2; Ez vi 13 (reversing the order of "mountain" and "hill"); Ho iv 13;

two — "hill" and "tree": 1 K xiv 23, 2 K xvi 4 = 2 Ch xxviii 4 (adding "high places"), 2 K xvii 10, Je ii 20, xvii 2 (reversing the order), Ez xx 28;
"mountain" and "tree": Je iii 6;
"mountain" and "hill": Is xxx 25, lxv 7, Ez xxxiv 6;
one only — "tree": Je iii 13.
Is lvii 5, 7 form a special instance, "tree" appearing in verse 5 and "mountain" in verse 7; these should be seen together.

(2) as to the form of the word "mountain" — *hehārîm* alone: Dt xii 2, Is lxv 7; *rāʾšê hehārîm*: Ez vi 13, Ho iv 13; *kol-hehārîm*: Ez xxxiv 6; *har* alone: Is lvii 7; *kol-har*: Is xxx 25, Je iii 6.

(3) as to the form of the word "hill" — *haggibhʿôth*: Dt xii 2, 2 K xvi 4 = 2 Ch xxviii 4, Is lxv 7, Ho iv 13; *kol-gibhʿâ*: 1 K xiv 23, 2 K xvii 10, Is xxx 25, Je ii 20, Ez vi 13, xx 28, xxxiv 6; *gibhʿôth*: Je xvii 2.

(4) as to the adjective meaning "high" —
(a) with "mountain" — *hārāmîm*: Dt xii 2; *gābhōah*: Is xxx 25, lvii 7, Je iii 6; *niśśāʾ*: Is lvii 7;
(b) with "hill" — *rāmâ*: Ez vi 13, xx 28, xxxiv 6; *gᵉbhōhā*: 1 K xiv 23, 2 K xvii 10, Je ii 20; *haggᵉbhōhôth*: Je xvii 2; *niśśāʾâ*: Is xxx 25.

The only noteworthy variations in the Versions are the following:

(1) Je xvii 1-4 is lacking in a number of LXX MSS.; the passage is doubtless secondary (there are internal evidences for this conclusion as well; see below).

(2) Ez vi 13 has a text problem, as is evidenced by the LXX. LXX_B reads "on every high hill and under a green tree"; LXX_A and all minuscules read "on every high hill and at all the tops of the mountains and under a green tree", though the added phrase was marked by Origen with an asterisk. Cooke [1]) suggests that the MT represents a conflated text; see below.

(3) The occurrence of the preposition אל in the MT of Ez vi 13, as well as xviii 6, 11, and xxii 9 has been corrected to על in every case in the Peshiṭta and in every case but one (xviii 6) in the Targum. Note that the MT in xviii 15 reads על.

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[1]) G. A. Cooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel* (ICC. 1936), pp. 74-75.

Now how are we to sort out all these passages? We begin by noting that 1 K xiv 23, 2 K xvii 10, and Je ii 20 are identical in wording. Let us deal first with Je ii 20.

The commentators have had a wide variety of opinion regarding the phrase under discussion as it appears in Je ii 20. DUHM [1]) wished to excise גבהה as dittographic, overloading the meter. Since he preserved the adjective רענן in the next phrase, his argument regarding meter is unconvincing, and, as we shall see, it is precisely the assonance in גבעה גבהה which leads us to our conviction of its genuineness. VOLZ [2]) omits the whole phrase from ii 20 since it is a ready formula (eine geläufige Formel). But what if it should be original here? RUDOLPH [3]) preserves it (I believe quite rightly) without arguing for its retention.

Three considerations point to the genuineness of the phrase here. First and foremost, it does fit into the context (VOLZ has to resort to massive emendation to get a readable text without the phrase). There is no reason from *internal* evidence to excise it here; that it is secondary or late elsewhere is no *a priori* argument for its nongenuineness here. Second, as I have already suggested, the assonance of גבעה גבהה is what we might expect of Jeremiah, who played with words (and, as we shall see, was the first to juxtapose this noun and this adjective). Third, and most convincing, there are many cases in which a set phrase in the prose portions of the book of Jeremiah and/or in the Deuteronomic revision of Kings and elsewhere has a prototype in the genuine poetic oracles of Jeremiah [4]). We have such a case here. The phrase belongs where we find it in the MT, and it is genuine to Jeremiah.

In contrast, the occurrence of this phrase in 1 K xiv 23 and 2 K xvii 10 is due to the Deuteronomic editorship of Kings. 1 K xiv 21-24 is the standard editorial notice for the accession of a new king, while 2 K xvii 10 comes at the beginning of a Deuteronomic homily on the fall of the Northern Kingdom [5]). We may take it, then, that

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[1]) Bernhard DUHM, *Das Buch Jeremia* (KHAT, Tübingen, 1901), p. 24.

[2]) *Loc. cit.*

[3]) Wilhelm RUDOLPH, *Jeremia* (HAT, Tübingen, 1958), p. 16.

[4]) For two examples of prototype and copies containing the verb שוב, see my dissertation *The Root Šûbh in the Old Testament* (Leiden, 1958), pp. 131-2, 134; there are many more such instances of prototype and copies, some of which are discussed in *JBL*, 79, 4, 1960.

[5]) See the standard commentaries, most recently, the *Interpreter's Bible* III (New York, 1954), *ad loc.*

these two passages where written subsequent to, and are dependent on, the original phraseology of Je ii 20.

The adjective גבה is used in the collection of phrases under discussion only otherwise with forms of הר, 'mountain', in Is xxx 25 lvii 7, Je iii 6. Je iii 6, part of a prose passage, is widely recognized to be part of the secondary intrusion on iii 1-5, 19 ff. Is lvii 7 is of course Trito-Isaianic; Is xxx 25 takes the high-mountain-green-tree imagery and incorporates it into a late eschatological prophecy [1]). Note that these later uses of גבה in the phraseology lost the assonance by associating it with הר rather than with גבעה. Note also that the adjective נשא, which occurs alongside גבה in Is xxx 25, lvii 7 is part of the vocabulary of the Isaianic tradition; Isaiah of Jerusalem used it in the report of his call, vi 1, as well as in ii 12. We have here, then, in the latest strata of the book of Isaiah, a mingling of the vocabulary of the Jeremianic and of the Isaianic traditions.

We turn now to the two other passages in the book of Jeremiah. Je iii 13 contains only the phrase "under every green tree"; both Volz and Rudolph omit the phrase here as a gloss from verse 6, and verse 13 certainly has good parallelism without it.

As for Je xvii 2, we have already noted that the many LXX MSS omit verses 1-4. Since xvii 1-4 substantially repeats xv 12-14, we may well wonder whether xvii 1-4 is not secondary. Further than that, the only portion of xvii 1-4 which does *not* repeat xv 12-14 is verse 2, which contains our phrase; so that whether verses 1-4 are secondary or not, verse 2 surely is (so also Volz and Rudolph). The text is thoroughly corrupt in verse 2, with the impossible preposition על.

Now let us turn to the three passages in Ezekiel: vi 13, xx 28, xxxiv 6. We have seen that there is a longer and a shorter form of the LXX text of vi 13; Cooke has suggested that the original form of the text would have been "at all the tops of the mountains, and under every leafy oak" [2]). In any case, we see a dependence here on the Hosea passage (iv 13), which also contains ראשי ההרים "the tops of the mountains".

The word for "high" in the Ezekiel passages is רמה. (If "to every high hill" in vi 13 is unoriginal, it has been supplied from parallel passages in Ezekiel.) The only other passage outside Ezekiel which contains the participle רם is Dt xii 2 (though in this latter passage the form of רם modifies "mountains" rather than "hill").

[1]) Otto Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das AT* (Tübingen, 1956), p. 104.
[2]) *Op. cit.*

We may conclude that the prophet Ezekiel (or whoever wrote the passages in question) is indebted jointly to the Deuteronomy passage (in using a form of רם) and to the Hosea passage (in using ראשי ההרים), and, more subtly, to Je ii 20 (and/or to its imitators) for applying an adjective meaning "high" to the word "hill", an application occurring neither in the Deuteronomy passage nor in the Hosea passage. We have discovered nothing new, here, of course, since the date of Ezekiel is commonly assumed to be later than Hosea, Deuteronomy xii, and Jeremiah's poetic oracles; but it is reassuring to see justified by the dating of commentators on other grounds the kind of stemma of purely literary dependence which we are building up.

Now what about Dt xii 2? It is hazardous in our day to try to sustain any specific date for a passage of Deuteronomy, since VON RAD and others have cast aside the dates offered by the older commentators and have demonstrated the early character of much of the material.

Dt xii begins the Deuteronomic code (xii-xxvi) and on this basis would seem to be old and undatable. On the other hand, I am impressed by the argument of A. C. WELCH [1]), that Dt xii 1-7 was an *ad hoc* addition to the code made in order to carry through Josiah's policy of centralization of the cultus. Certainly what follows verses 1-7 is conceivable at an earlier time, but 1-7, as an introduction to the law code, is best understood as a seventh-century addition.

But there is a purely literary argument which we may pursue. We may accept the genuineness of Ho iv 13 (no reason for questioning it has come to my attention). Notice how easily Dt xii 2 may be explained as a prosaicized form of Ho iv 13, and thus dependent on it. Both of these passages share a threefold expression of "mountain", "hill" and *tree* named or expressed. Further, Hos iv 13 names three trees, translated in the Revised Standard Version as "oak, poplar, and terebith". Dt xii 2 seems to have compressed this expression into "every green tree". If this argument of literary dependence is valid, we have here a further bit of evidence that Dt xii 2 is to be dated in the seventh century, or at least after Hosea.

Then the prophet Jeremiah (in ii 20) extended the כל– from the "tree" phrase to the "hill" phrase, making the parallelism com-

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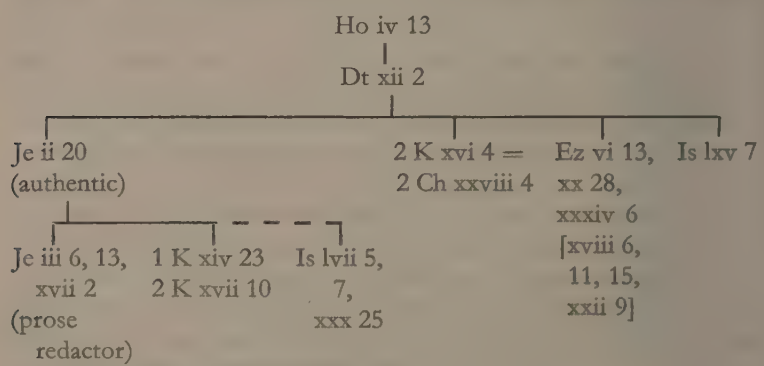
[1]) References to his *The Code of Deuteronomy* and *Jeremiah: His Time and His Work* are found in H. H. ROWLEY (ed.), *The Old Testament and Modern Study* (Oxford, 1951), p. 51.

plete. The line of influence, then, runs from Hosea to Dt xii 2 to Jeremiah. (We should also note in passing that if this argument is correct, we have some reassurance that the form of the Hosea text (or oral tradition!) current at the time Dt xii 2 was written also contained the names of three trees, and the emendation suggested by GARDNER [1]) is misguided.)

Only three passages remain to be mentioned. 2 K xvi 4 (= 2 Ch xxviii 4) is a simple elaboration dependent on Dt xii 2 but not on Jeremiah; verses 1-4 are the stereotyped Deuteronomic note of the accession of a king, this time of Ahaz [2]). Is lxv 7 is a simple parallelism of "mountain" and "hill" unqualified.

I am aware that one must beware of arguments based on literary dependence, since they tend often to be *argumenta a silentio*. We have such partial knowledge of the oral (and possibly of the written) tradition available to any given OT author. We are not always aware, either, of the extent to which a given phrase was a "common idiom" of the time. Nevertheless, because of the peculiar variety of phrasing which occurs in the passages we have discussed, I believe that it is possible with real confidence to set forth the following stemma.



[1]) Referred to in W. R. HARPER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea* (ICC, 1905), *ad loc.*

[2]) Cf. *Interpreter's Bible* III, *ad loc.*

THE OLD TESTAMENT USAGE OF NᵉŠĀMÂ

BY

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There is, in the Old Testament, a group of words which are usually translated in the English versions by such terms as 'life, soul, spirit, breath, wind', or less commonly 'person, body, mind' or 'heart'. It is probable that the various connotations of each of these rests ultimately on a primary meaning, 'to breathe' [1]). The two most common of these are *nepeš* and *rûᵃḥ*, both of which are accorded a very wide range of usage [2]), but much less frequently used is the word *nᵉšāmâ*, which might, on this account, be expected to have a more restricted application. It is clear that both *nepeš* and *rûᵃḥ* can be used of either man or beast as the case may require, and it has generally been assumed that *nᵉšāmâ* shares this indiscriminate application with them [3]). An examination of each individual occurrence of the word, however, suggests that this is not necessarily the case. While the root occurs in Post-Biblical Hebrew, Jewish-Aramaic, and Syriac, and is translated in the Septuagint by a variety of different words, it is proposed here to examine only the usage of the word in the Hebrew Old Testament, on the assumption that the Septuagint translators and the Rabbis held the same view of its meaning as is commonly held today on the strength of its apparent universal application in some of the verses discussed below, and are therefore unlikely to throw light on its Biblical usage. Accordingly, it will be well to proceed direct to the consideration of the Old Testament use of the word.

The word occurs in the Old Testament twenty-six times, once in

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[1]) D. Winton Thomas, "A Study of Hebrew Synonyms; verbs signifying "to breathe" ", *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, 10 (1935), pp. 310-14.

[2]) Recently examined in A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel*, (Cardiff, 1949), pp. 9-26 and 26-39 respectively.

[3]) E.g. F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, (Oxford), p. 679b; H. Wheeler Robinson in A. S. Peake ed., *The People and the Book*, (Oxford, 1925), pp. 357-60; Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual*, pp. 31-33; F. Baumgartel in G. Kittel (& G. Friedrich), *Theologisches Worterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, (Stuttgart, 1933-), VI, p. 362.

a verbal form, twenty-four times as a noun, and once in an Aramaic form [1]). These occurrences may be tabulated as follows:

ʾeššōm; Is. xlii 14.
nᵉšāmâ; Deut. xx 16, Josh. xi 11, 14, 1 Kings xv 29, xvii 17, Is. ii 22, xlii 5.
ûnᵉšāmâ; Dan. x 17.
hannᵉšāmâ; Josh. x 40, Ps. cl 6.
nišmaṯ; Gen. ii 7, vii 22, Is. xxx 33, Pr. xx 27.
wᵉnišmaṯ; Job xxvi 4, xxxii 8, xxxiii 4.
minnišmaṯ; 2 Sam. xxii 16, Ps. xviii 16, Job iv 9, xxxvii 10.
nišmāṯî; Job xxvii 3.
wᵉnišmāṯô; Job xxxiv 14.
ûnᵉšāmôṯ; Is. lvii 16.
nišmᵉṯāḵ (Aramaic); Dan. v 23.

The texts including the word may be divided into four groups, according as it is used of the breath of God, the breath imparted to man by God, the breath in man, and finally the cases where no specific indication is given on these points.

A. Breath of God:

1. 2 Sam. xxii 16. David praises God after his deliverance from Saul, 'Then the channels of the sea appeared, The foundations of the world were laid bare, By the rebuke of the Lord, At the blast of the breath of his nostrils (*minnišmaṯ rûᵊḥ ʾappô*)' [2]). (Cf. Ps. xviii 15).

2. Job iv 9. Eliphaz speaking, (8) '. . . they that plow iniquity, And sow trouble, reap the same. (9) By the breath of God they perish (*minnišmaṯ ʾᵉlôᵊḥ yôḇēḏû*), and by the blast of his anger are they consumed'.

3. Job xxxiv 14. Elihu speaking of God, 'If he set his heart upon man (*ʾim-yāśîm ʾēlāw libbô*), if he gather unto himself his spirit and his breath (*rûḥô wᵉnišmāṯô ʾēlāw yeʾᵉsōp*); (15) All flesh shall perish together (*yiḡwaʿ kol-bāśār yāḥaḏ*). And man shall turn again unto dust (*wᵉʾāḏām ʿal-ʿāpār yāšûḇ*).

This text presents a certain amount of difficulty. The majority of scholars prefer to read *yāšîḇ* for *yāśîm*, following the Septuagint and Syriac versions, and to delete *libbô* as an original marginal gloss

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[1]) S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae*, (1955 ed.) pp. 774, 1335.

[2]) Quotations from the R.V.

on verse 13, which found its way into the text by mistake [1]). According to this, verse 14 reads, 'If He cause His spirit to return to Him: and gather in His breath to Himself', the pronoun in each case referring to God. If the Massoretic text is allowed to stand, it can be read, "If He set His heart upon Himself . . .', but whichever of these views is followed, there seems to be no reason for inserting the word 'man', as the R.V. does, so that the verse may best be taken as speaking of the breath of God.

4. Job xxxvii 10. Elihu speaking, 'By the breath of God (*minnišmaṯ-'ēl*) ice is given, And the breadth of the waters is straightened'.

5. Ps. xviii 15 (M.T. xviii 16). David, (6) 'In my distress I called upon the Lord, And cried unto my God: He heard my voice out of his temple . . . (15) Then the channels of waters appeared, And the foundations of the world were laid bare, At thy rebuke, O Lord, At the blast of the breath of thy nostrils (*minnišmaṯ rûªḥ 'appeḵā*)'. (Cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 16).

6. Is. xxx 33. 'For a Topheth is prepared of old; yea for the king (of Assyria) it is made ready; he hath made it deep and large: the pile thereof is fire, and much wood; the breath of the Lord (*nišmaṯ YHWH*), like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it'.

7. Is. xlii 14. Change to first person, God speaking, 'I have long time holden my peace; I have been still and refrained myself; now will I cry out like a travailing woman; I will gasp and pant together (*'eššōm wᵉ'eš'aṗ yāḥaḏ*)'.

B. Breath imparted to man by God:

1. Gen. ii 7. 'And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life (*wayyippaḥ bᵉ'appāw nišmaṯ ḥayyîm*); and man became a living soul (*wayᵉhî hā'āḏām lᵉneṗeš ḥayyâ*)' [2]).

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[1]) E.g. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob erklärt*, (*K. H. C.*, Freiburg, 1897), p. 164; S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *The Book of Job*, (*I. C. C.*, Edinburgh, 1921), II, pp. 255-56; C. J. Ball, *The Book of Job*, (Oxford, 1922), p. 384; G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob*, (*H. A. T.*, Tübingen, 1952 ed.), p. 82.

[2]) It might be argued here that since the beasts are, like man, described as *neṗeš ḥayyâ* (e.g. Gen. i 30), their existence as such implies that they too have passed through the stage of having the breath of life breathed into their nostrils. Though this is a possible interpretation, it is not a necessary one, and it can only be used as an argument for a wider range of meaning, if the other occurences of the word seem to tend that way.

2. Job xxxii 8. Elihu, '(7) Days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom. (8) But there is a spirit in man, And the breath of the Almighty giveth them understanding (*w·nišmaṯ šadday t·ḇînēm*)' [1]).

3. Job xxxiii 4. Elihu, 'The Spirit of God hath made me, And the breath of the Almighty giveth me life (*w·nišmaṯ šadday t·ḥayyēnî*)'.

4. Is. xlii 5. 'Thus saith God the Lord, he that created the heavens and stretched them forth; he that spread abroad the earth and that which cometh out of it; he that giveth breath unto the people upon it (*nōṯēn n·šāmâ lā'ām 'ālêhā*), and spirit to them that walk therein (*w·rûₐḥ lahōl·ḵîm bāh*)'.

C. Breath in man:

1. 1 Kings xvii 17. 'And it came to pass after these things that the son of the woman, the mistress of the house, fell sick; and his sickness was so sore, that there was no breath left in him ('*aḏ ʾₐšer lō'-nôṯ·râ-bô n·šāmâ*)'.

2. Job xxvi 4. Job to Bildad, 'To whom hast thou uttered words? And whose spirit came forth from thee? (*w·nišmaṯ-mî yāṣ·'â mimmekkā*)'

3. Job xxvii 3. Job to Bildad, 'For my life is yet whole in me (*kî-ḵol-'ôḏ nišmāṯî ḇî*) [2]), And the spirit of God is in my nostrils'.

4. Pr. xx 27. 'The spirit of man is the lamp of the Lord (*nēr YHWH nišmaṯ 'āḏām*), Searching all the innermost parts of the belly'.

5. Is. ii 22. 'Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils (ʾₐšer *n·šāmâ b·'appô*): for wherein is he to be accounted of'.

6. Dan. v 23 Aramaic. Daniel to Balshazzar, '. . . and the God in whose hand thy breath is (*w·lē'lāhā' dî-nišm·ṭāḵ bîḏēh*), and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified'.

7. Dan. x 17. Daniel, describing a vision of an angel, '. . . for as for me, straightway there remained no strength in me, neither was there breath left in me (*ûn·šāmâ lō' niš'·râ-ḇî*)'.

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[1]) Driver and Gray read, 'But indeed it is the spirit in man, And the breath of the Almighty, which makes them understand', *w·nišmaṯ* being inserted in the interests of parallelism and rhythm, and the phrases 'in man' and 'of the Almighty' both qualifying the words 'spirit' (*rûₐḥ*) and 'breath' (*Job*, I, p. 280, II, p. 234). The A.V., following the Vulgate, gives 'the inspiration of the Almighty', its only use of the word 'inspiration' in the Old Testament. The R.V. does not use the word at all in the Old Testament.

[2]) Driver and Gray, 'For all my breath is still in me', (*Job*, I, p. 226, II, p. 184).

Of the twenty-six occurrences of the word, these three divisions account for eighteen or about 69%, though of course there is not necessarily any significance in this. Taken by themselves, these eighteen verses suggest that the word *nᵉšāmâ* describes the 'breath' of God, which he breathed into man at his creation, and which forms a vital element in the life of man. There is no suggestion in any of these verses that it is a feature shared by the lower animals, but clearly if any one of the eight verses in the fourth group indicates that the lower animals do share it, it can no longer be regarded as having any significance in the present context. It will be well therefore to examine this fourth group, to discover whether there is any such clear indication.

D. Remaining references:

1. Gen. vii 22. '(21) And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both fowl, and cattle, and beast, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man: (22) All in whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit of life, of all that was in the dry land, died (*wayyiḡwaʿ kol-bāśār hārōmēś ʿal-hāʾāreṣ bāʿôp̱ ûḇabbᵉhēmâ ûḇaḥayyâ ûḇᵉḵol-haššereṣ haššōrēṣ ʿal-hāʾāreṣ wᵉḵōl hāʾāḏām kōl ʾᵃšer nišmaṯ-rûᵃḥ ḥayyîm bᵉʾappāw mikkōl ʾᵃšer beḥārāḇâ mēṯû*)'.

This passage describes the effects of the flood of Noah, and at first sight it appears to say that all the animals and men, namely those in whom was the breath of life, perished. This is not, however, its necessary meaning. In verse 21, the use of the preposition *bᵉ* before the words for bird, beast, living thing, and swarming thing, show that these specify the constituents of the phrase, 'the creeping things upon the earth' [1]), which in its turn modifies the phrase 'all flesh'. It therefore seems reasonable to take, 'and every man', as distinct, and in fact as starting the next sentence [2]). If this is done, the passage *kōl ʾᵃšer nišmaṯ* . . ., in verse 22, will refer to *kōl hāʾāḏām* only, in verse 21, and not to the enumeration of other animals there. It is thus possible, though it cannot be pressed further than that, that the word *nᵉšāmâ* is used in this context to refer to man alone, and not to the lower animals [3]).

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[1]) E. Kautzsch, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, (2nd ed., Oxford, 1910), § 119 i.

[2]) As is done e.g. by J. Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis*, (*I.C.C.*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1930), p. 165, and A. R. Hulst in *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, 12 (1958), pp. 34-5, 68.

[3]) The omission of *rûᵃḥ* by the LXX and Vulgate does not affect the present argument.

2. Deut. xx 16. Moses transmitting God's instructions to the Israelites, having spoken of the cities which were not in the land assigned to them, goes on, 'But of the cities of these peoples, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth (*lō' ṯ·ḥayyeh kol-n·šāmâ*): (17) but thou shalt utterly destroy them; the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite and the Jebusite; as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee [1]): (18) that they teach you not to do after all their abominations, which they have done unto their gods; so should ye sin against the Lord your God'.

This verse should be considered in connection with the next three verses, from Joshua, which form part of the description of how these instructions were carried out. It may be noted however that the word *kōl* determines nothing in itself, as its scope depends on *n·šāmâ*, and the enumeration in verse 17 of those to be destroyed makes no mention of animals of any kind.

3. Josh. x 40. 'So Joshua smote all the land, the hill country, and the south, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings; he left none remaining: but he utterly destroyed all that breathed (*w·'ēṯ kol-hann·šāmâ heḥ·rîm*), as the Lord the God of Israel commanded'.

As in Deut xx 16 there is no mention of any animals as included among 'all that breathed'.

4. Josh. xi 11 and 14. '(10) And Joshua turned back at that time, and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword: for Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms. (11) And they smote all the souls (*'eṯ-kol-hannepeš*) that were therein with the edge of the sword, utterly destroying them: there was none left that breathed (*lō' nôṯar kol-n·šāmâ*): and he burnt Hazor with fire. (12) And all the cities of those kings, and all the kings of them, did Joshua take, and he smote them with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed them; as Moses the servant of the Lord commanded. (13) But as for the cities that stood on their mounds, Israel burned none of them, save Hazor only; that did Joshua burn. (14) And all the spoil of these cities, and the cattle (*w·habb·hēmâ*) the children of Israel took for a prey unto themselves; but every man they smote with the edge of the sword, until they had destroyed them, neither left they any that breathed (*lō' hiš'îrû kol-n·šāmâ*). (15) As the Lord

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[1]) All of these, except the Perizzites, being the descendants of Canaan as enumerated in Gen. x 15-18.

God commanded Moses his servant, so did Moses command Joshua: and so did Joshua; he left nothing undone of all that the Lord commanded Moses'.

In verse 11, as in the two previous verses quoted (Deut. xx 16 and Josh. x 40), there is no mention of any animal, though it might be maintained that the use of the word *nepeš* to refer to the beings of whom none were 'left that breathed' would support the view that animals were included (Cf. Gen. i 24). On the other hand, *nepeš* is frequently used in connection with men alone [1]), so no unequivocal indication is given in this verse. The statement in verse 14 is more suggestive however, since according to the text as it stands it is plain that the animals were not included in the phrase *kol-nᵉšāmâ*, for it is explicitly stated that the Israelites took the 'cattle' (*bᵉhēmâ*) as a prey. *Kol-nᵉšāmâ* therefore best refers to *raq 'eṯ-kol-hā'āḏām* alone.

The equivalent of *bᵉhēmâ* (κτηνος) is omitted in most of the major LXX manuscripts, namely Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, (this portion of Sinaiticus is missing) and in the Hexapla edition. The Masoretic text and the Vulgate include it. Of the two main possibilities on this point—that the word was a later insertion, or that it was original and later deleted—the second seems the more likely, because there would seem to be a better motive for deletion than for insertion. This motive could be that if the word *nᵉšāmâ* was regarded, as it is today, as applying to animals as well as men, the presence of the word for cattle among the things that were spared would appear to be a contradiction, and therefore to be deleted. This of course does not settle the matter, and the question is best left undecided, but even if the word was not in the original, there is no definite indication from the rest of the verse that animals were included in the meaning of the word *nᵉšāmâ*. These four verses therefore are indecisive, but it is clearly possible to take them in the limited sense.

5. 1 Kings xv 29. Concerning Baasha, 'And it came to pass that, as soon as he was king, he smote all the house of Jeroboam; he left not to Jeroboam any that breathed (*lō'-hiš'îr kol-nᵉšāmâ lᵉyāroḇ'ām*), until he had destroyed him (*'aḏ-hišmiḏô*):'

Here again there is no indication that animals are thought of as included in the meaning of the word, and in fact in the context (Cf. 1 Kings xvi 11), the likelihood is that they were not.

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[1]) See e.g. H. Wheeler Robinson in *The People and the Book*, pp. 355-6.

6. Ps. cl 6. 'Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord (*kōl hann*ᵉ*šāmâ t*ᵉ*hallēl yāh*). Praise ye the Lord.'

This, the last verse of the last Psalm in the Psalter, gives no clear indication on the point at issue, and as in the case of Deut. xx 16 (D, 2), it is not possible to tell, without knowing the application of *n*ᵉ*šāmâ*, whether *kōl* refers to all creatures or to humans alone. It is worth noting, however, in this Psalm, that the worshipper is called upon to praise the Lord in his sanctuary (v. 1), with the trumpet (v. 3), psaltery (v. 3), harp (v. 3), timbrel (v. 4), dance (v. 4), stringed instrument (v. 4), pipe (v. 4), and cymbals (v. 5), all of which obviously appertain to man. The other exhortations, to praise Him in the firmament of his power (v. 1), for his mighty acts and according to his excellent greatness (v. 2), have no necessary implication in them that they must apply to animals as well. In this connection, it is of interest that CALVIN, than whom there have been few more discerning commentators, after saying that *n*ᵉ*šāmâ* is a word that may be applied to every kind of living creature, goes on to say that he is lead to think that its use is here limited to man in view of its context in the Psalter, where the Psalmist has been addressing himself to the people who were conversant with the ceremonies of the Law, and now turns to men in general, intimating that the praises then restricted to Judea would in time come to be heard throughout the earth [1]). The matter is not conclusive however, and this must be regarded as a neutral witness.

7. Is. lvii 16. The words of God concerning man if he would only repent, '(15) For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones. (16) For I will not contend for ever, neither will I be always wroth: for the spirit should fail before me (*kî-rûᵃḥ millᵉpānay ya*ʿᵃ*ṭôp*), and the souls which I have made (*ûn*ᵉ*sāmôṯ* ʾᵃ*nî* ʿ*āśîṯî*). (17) For the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth and smote him . . .'

This verse is not explicit in applying *n*ᵉ*šāmâ* to man alone, but this seems the most likely sense in view of the context, which speaks of beings with a contrite and humble spirit, and possessing covetousness,

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[1]) *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, Eng. Trans. by The Rev. J. ANDERSON, (Edinburgh, 1849), Vol. V, pp. 320-21; Prof. BRIGGS in the *I.C.C.* also considers that *n*ᵉ*šāmâ* in this context refers to man alone, *The Book of Psalms*, (Edinburgh, 1909), II, p. 545.

designations which are scarcely likely to be applied to other than human beings [1]). The balance of probability is therefore that the word refers here to man alone.

In addition to the forms which have been considered so far there are three other occurences, which are usually assigned to the same root. These three all consist of the form *tinšemeṯ*, which occurs in Lev. xi 18, 30, and Deut. v 23, in lists of unclean birds. Professor G. R. DRIVER, in his recent study of the birds of the Old Testament [2]), endorses the generally accepted view in regard to this word that it comes from the root *nāšam*, 'pant', and is applied to the creature in question because of its heavy breathing [3]). On this and other grounds, he suggests that it may be the name of the little owl [4]). If this ascription to the root *nāšam* is certain, the question arises as to whether it does not show that the meaning of the word may include not only humans, but any animal as well, even going so low as unclean birds. Against this it may be argued that; first the connection of the roots is not certain, though it seems likely; and second, if they are admitted as connected, the form *tinšemeṯ* could have this meaning without affecting the meaning of the root. The prime support for this contention is the verb *bārā'*, which is acknowledged as applying exclusively to the creative acts of God when used in its primary stem, but which is used in the Pi'el, of the actions of men (e.g. Josh. xvii 15, Ez. xxi 24, xxiii 47).

Another matter which may be significant is the association of *nᵉšāmâ* in literary parallelism (Job. xxvii 3, [5]) xxxii 8, xxxiii 4, Is. xlii 5, lvii 16, Dan. x 17) or in grammatical qualification (Gen. ii 7, vii 22, Deut. xx 16, Josh. x 40, xi 11, 14, 2 Sam. xxii 16, 1 Kings xv 29, Ps. xviii 15, cl 6, Is. xlii 14, Dan. x 17) with other terms of more general application. While it might be held that the more general term imparts its significance to the more particular, it might equally be held that the association of the limited term gives its own colour to the whole passage in which it stands.

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[1]) In his commentary on Isaiah, Franz DELITZSCH regards this as applying to human souls, and even goes so far as to speak of it as doing so according to the uniform usage of the Old Testament, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, (Eng. Trans., Edinburgh, 1890), II, p. 352.

[2]) "Birds in the Old Testament", *PEQ*, (1955), pp. 5-20, 129-140.

[3]) L. KOEHLER has also recently maintained this view, *JSS*, 1 (1956), p. 15.

[4]) *PEQ*, (1955), pp. 15, 140.

[5]) JOHNSON would strengthen the identity in this parallel by translating the *waw* as 'Yea' rather than 'and', *The Vitality of the Individual*, p. 33.

In sum, therefore, out of twenty-six occasions of the use of *nᵉšāmâ* in the Old Testament, eighteen, or over two thirds of them, indicate that the word refers to the breath of God, or of man received from God. Of the remaining eight, none can be said unequivocaly to require the contrary. One probably, and six possibly, to put the matter at its very lowest, refer to the breath in man as distinct from the animals. The remaining one is neutral in its witness, so cannot be used on either side. Of the seven in question, it is at least as likely that they refer only to man as not, and the clear usage of the other eighteen would seem to support this limited sense. Added to this is the use of the word in Gen. ii 7, where God's creation of man is distinguished from that of the rest of the animal creation, by the act of breathing into his nostrils the breath of life. And the general context of the whole creation account would lead one to expect some particular and exclusive feature in the creation of man, who was made in God's image, and given dominion over all the animal creation.

None of these considerations settle the matter, but they make it a tenable view that the word *nᵉšāmâ*, and its related forms, may be used in the Old Testament to describe the breath of God, which, when imparted to man, made him unique among the animals.

References	*LXX*	*B.D.B. Meaning*	*Classification*
Gen. ii 7	πνοη	(Breath) of man	B, 1.
Gen. vii 22	πνοη	(breath) of man (?)	D, 1.
Deut. xx 16	ἐνπνειν	(breath) of everything	D, 2.
Josh. x 40	ἐνπνειν	(breath) of everything	D, 3.
Josh. xi 11	ἐνπνειν	(breath) of everything	D, 4.
Josh. xi 14	ἐνπνειν	(breath) of everything	D, 4.
II Sam. xxii 16	πνοη	(breath) of God	A, 1.
I K. xv 29	πνοη	(breath) of everything	D, 5.
I K. xvii 17	πνευμα	(breath) of man	C, 1.
Job iv 9	(προσταγμα)	(breath) of God	A, 2.
Job xxvi 4	πνοη	(breath) of God in man	C, 2.
Job xxvii 3	πνοη	(breath) of man	C, 3.
Job xxxii 8	πνοη	(breath) of God	B, 2.
Job xxxiii 4	πνοη	(breath) of God	B, 3.
Job xxxiv 14	πνευμα	(breath) of God in man	A, 3.
Job xxxvii 10	πνοη	(breath) of God	A, 4.
Ps. xviii 16	ἐμπνευσις	(breath) of God	A, 5.

Ps. cl 6	πνοη	(breath) of everything	D, 6.
Pr. xx 27	πνοη	(breath) of man	C, 4.
Is. ii 22	(ἀναπνοη)[a]	(breath) of man	C, 5.
Is. xxx 33	divergent	(breath) of God	A, 6.
Is. xlii 5	πνοη	(breath) of man	B, 4.
Is. xlii 14	divergent		A, 7.
Is. lvii 16	πνοη	(breath) of everything	D, 7.
Dan. v 23	πνευμα	'breath of life'	C, 6.
Dan. x 17	(πνευμα)[b]	(breath) of man	C, 7.

a. Most MSS exclude.
b. In most MSS.

OPHRA, EPHRON UND EPHRAIM

VON

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Greifswald

In einer vor kurzem erschienenen Untersuchung über eine judäische Landschaft Karmel vermutet A. JEPSEN, dem diese Studie zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres in Verehrung und Dankbarkeit zugeeignet sei, eine Entwicklung, derzufolge die gleichnamige, noch heute bekannte "Ortslage erst später ihren Namen nach der alten Landschaft bekommen" habe [1]). Eine derartige Übertragung bzw. Einflussnahme eines ursprünglichen Landschaftsnamens auf eine in jener Landschaft gelegene Ortschaft dürfte in ähnlicher Weise auch noch in einem anderen Fall aufzuzeigen sein, wodurch das schon zum Namen Karmel Ausgeführte vielleicht noch eine gewisse Bestätigung erfahren könnte.

Es handelt sich hierbei — um das Hauptergebnis der folgenden Erwägungen gleich vorauszunehmen — um die Übertragung des alten Landschafts- und Stammesnamens Ephraim [2]) auf die in dem heutigen eṭ-ṭaijibe, etwa 7 km nordöstlich bētīn, fortbestehende Ansiedlung israelitisch-jüdischer Zeit. Diese Behauptung mag auf den ersten Blick nicht neu und vielleicht auch nur wenig problematisch erscheinen. Indes stehen ihr bei näherem Zusehen verschiedene Probleme, die eng miteinander verbunden, bereits mehrfach erörtert und doch kaum endgültig entschieden sein dürften, im Wege. Schon die Frage, ob der Landschafts- oder der Ortsname das Primäre sei, wird unterschiedlich beantwortet [3]). Dann aber besteht auch hinsichtlich der Lokalisierung von Ephraim an der Stelle des heutigen

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[1]) A. JEPSEN, „Karmel, eine vergessene Landschaft?", *ZDPV* 75, 1959, S. 75.

[2]) Eine Ableitung des Stammesnamens vom Landschaftsnamen darf als allgemein anerkannt gelten und bedarf keiner weiteren Untersuchung; vgl. dazu E. MEYER, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 1906, S. 514 oder A. ALT, *PJB* 24, 1928, S. 35 und E. TÄUBLER, *Biblische Studien: Die Epoche der Richter*, 1958, S. 177 ff.

[3]) Vgl. W. F. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS* 3, 1923, S. 39 f.; *AASOR* 4, 1924, S. 133: "There can be no doubt that the district received its name from the town of Ephraim. .". Ebenso auch ALT, *PJB* 21, 1925, S. 31 Anm. 1; *PJB* 24, 1928, S. 35. Dagegen zuletzt TÄUBLER, *a.O.*, S. 178 bes. 180.

eṭ-ṭaijibe keineswegs Übereinstimmung, und dies wiederum liegt nicht zuletzt darin begründet, dass neben der Ortsbezeichnung Ephraim weitere, sehr ähnlich lautende hebräische wie griechische Namen stehen, die auf Grund des jeweiligen Textzusammenhangs ebenfalls in die Gegend nordöstlich von Bethel weisen. Schliesslich jedoch begegnen der Name Ephraim wie die analogen Formen auch an Stellen des AT, die nicht klar erkennen lassen, ob sie überhaupt eine im ephraimitischen Stammesgebiet gelegene Siedlung meinen, ja, ob sie sich auf eine Ortschaft oder einen anderen geographischen Begriff beziehen.

Bei dieser Sachlage erscheint es angebracht, von jenen beiden Namensformen auszugehen, die nach allgemeiner Annahme etymologisch engstens zusammengehören und deshalb bisher auch übereinstimmend für die gleiche Ortslage, et-ṭaijibe, in Anspruch genommen wurden: עָפְרָה (Jos. xviii 23; 1 Sam. xiii 17) und עֶפְרוֹן (2 Chr. xiii 19) [1]). Es bedarf hier keiner weiteren Begründung, dass beide Namen von der gleichen Wurzel gebildet sind und sich dabei lediglich durch eine zumal bei Ortsnamen im Hebräischen häufige Vertauschung der Endungen ה֫ und ון unterscheiden [2]). Dementsprechend urteilte auch bereits ALBRIGHT: "The name 'Efrôn is undoubtedly identical with 'Ofrah . . ." [3]). Aber auch der Textzusammenhang an den genannten Stellen führt deutlich zu dem gleichen Ergebnis. Nach 2 Chr. xiii 19 ist Ephron ebenso wie Bethel oder Jᵉšana eine grössere Ortschaft, der benachbarte kleinere Siedlungen angeschlossen sind. Eben dasselbe Bild gewinnt man aus 1 Sam. xiii 17 aber auch für Ophra, wenn es als Zielpunkt eines von Michmaś zweifellos nach Norden führenden Weges genannt wird [4]). Und zu beiden Notizen stimmt schliesslich auch die Lage des heutigen

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[1]) So bereits E. ROBINSON, *Palästina und die südlich angrenzenden Länder* II, 1841, S. 338. Ebenso G. DALMAN, *Orte und Wege Jesu*³, 1924, S. 231 ff.; ALBRIGHT, *AASOR* 4, 1924, S. 126; G. E. WRIGHT, *JBL* 75, 1956, S. 122; NOTH, *Das Buch Josua*², 1953, S. 111; RUDOLPH, *Chronikbücher*, 1955, S. 238; TÄUBLER, *a.O.*, S. 179. Zur sprachlichen Verbindung mit eṭ-ṭaijibe vgl. R. HARTMANN, *ZDMG* 65, 1911, S. 536 ff.; 70, 1916, S. 490.

[2]) Einen Parallelfall bieten die Ortsnamen גִּבְעָה und גִּבְעוֹן. Dienen die beiden Formen hier freilich zur Bezeichnung zweier verschiedener Ortschaften, so findet gelegentlich doch auch eine Vertauschung statt (vgl. Ri. xx 31) oder man setzt eine Kurzform גֶּבַע für גִּבְעָה ein (vgl. Ri. xx 10).

[3]) ALBRIGHT, *a.O.*, S. 126.

[4]) Vgl. dazu ALBRIGHT, *a.O.*, S. 117, auch HERTZBERG, *Die Samuelbücher* (*ATD* Teilband 10), 1956, S. 81.

eṭ-ṭaijibe ausgezeichnet, das, 869 m hoch gelegen[1]), das Gebiet zwischen bētīn, el-ʿaṣūr und dem Ostrand des Gebirges deutlich beherrscht. Unabhängig von dieser Identifikation besteht freilich die Möglichkeit, dass die Namen Ophra und Ephron nicht nebeneinander, sondern jeweils in verschiedenen Zeitabschnitten gebräuchlich waren, begegnet doch Ophra nur in Jos. und 1 Sam. — und hier in zweifellos vorexilischen Abschnitten[2]) —, während Ephron erst durch Chr. belegt ist.

Demgegenüber fällt sogleich auf, dass sich eine gleiche Identifizierung mit eṭ-ṭaijibe gerade für jene Namensform nicht durchgesetzt hat, die man vom Landschafts- und Stammesnamen Ephraim her hier an erster Stelle erwarten möchte, die Bezeichnung אֶפְרַיִם[3]). Warum nicht? Folgt man Albright und Alt, die an bereits früher geäusserte Zweifel von Thomsen[4]) und Guthe[5]) anknüpfen, so lassen sich vor allem zwei Gedankenlinien erkennen:

1) Man fasst mit dem hebräischen אפרים die griechische Form Ἐφράϊμ zusammen und folgert dann aus dem Textzusammenhang, in dem die griechische Form zumal in Joh. xi 54 und bei Eusebius steht, dass die Ortschaft Ephraim mit einer anderen Ortslage als eṭ-ṭaijibe in Verbindung gebracht werden müsse und schlägt dafür dann die Ruinenstätte von ʿēn-sāmie, etwa 5 km nordöstlich von eṭ-ṭaijibe, vor[6]);

2) Indem man einen etymologischen Unterschied zwischen עָפְרָה und אֶפְרַיִם anerkennt, glaubt man die Siedlung Ephraim nicht mit der Ortslage von eṭ-ṭaijibe, das sicher mit Ophra-Ephron zu identifizieren ist, gleichsetzen zu dürfen. Demgemäss wird man für Ephraim wieder auf eine andere Ortslage gewiesen, wobei sich ebenfalls ʿēn-sāmie als am besten geeignet anbietet[7]).

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[1]) Vgl. Dalman, *a.O.*, S. 233.

[2]) Jos. xviii 23 gehört zur josianischen Ortsliste (vgl. dazu Alt, *Kl. Schriften* II, 1953, S. 279 ff.); 1 Sam. xiii 17 dürfte kaum lange nach den berichteten Ereignissen abgefasst sein (vgl. Hertzberg, *a.O.*, S. 8).

[3]) Für eine Gleichsetzung traten vor allem Dalman, *a.O.* S., 232; Hertzberg, *a.O.*, S. 263 f.; Täubler, *a.O.*, S. 179 ff. und Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT*, 1959, S. 334 (§774-5) ein.

[4]) *ZDPV* 26, 1903, S. 174 f.

[5]) *MNDPV* 1911, S. 49 ff.

[6]) So Albright, *a.O.*, S. 127 ff.

[7]) So Alt, *PJB* 24, 1928, S. 32 ff.

Es ist nur logisch, dass sich jene Forscher, die auch den Namen Ephraim mit eṭ-ṭaijibe in Verbindung bringen wollten, nun gegen die ʿēn-sāmie-These, also die Annahme einer zweiten Siedlung für den Namenskomplex Ophra-Ephron-Ephraim, wenden mussten. DALMAN und TÄUBLER haben dies in m.E. überzeugender und erschöpfender Weise getan, so dass hier auf ihre Ausführungen verwiesen werden kann [1]). Wohl aber dürfte es, davon abgesehen, fruchtbar sein, der im Mittelpunkt aller Erwägungen stehenden Form Ephraim, zunächst in ihrer hebräischen Bildung אֶפְרַיִם, noch etwas genauer nachzugehen.

Bereits DALMAN erwog, ob nicht "Das mit Aleph anlautende Ephraim . . . ein . . . Schreibfehler für 'Ephrain . . ." sei [2]), während SIMONS von einer „unusual spelling" sprach [3]). Ist also ein Wechsel in Anlaut und Endung gegenüber עפרה – עפרון wirklich nur als reine Formverschiedenheit bzw. aus „lautlicher Verschiedenheit", wie TÄUBLER meinte [4]), zu erklären? Es dürfte wohl zutreffend sein, dass ein Übergang zu den Endungen ־ִין und ־ִים in Ortsnamen auf nachträglicher Zerdehnung der älteren Endungen ָן und ָם beruht [5]); das lässt gerade die Form עָפְרוֹן noch deutlich erkennen, wenn hier die Punktatoren עֶפְרַיִן lesen wollten (2 Chr. xiii 19). Nicht jedoch kann damit ohne weiteres ein Übergang von וֹן (in עפרוֹן) zu ־ִים (in אפרים) begründet werden [6]), und noch weniger dürfte sich auf diese Weise ein gleichzeitiger Wechsel im Anlaut von ע zu א verständlich machen lassen. Zumindest in vorchristlicher Zeit ist ein Austausch von ע durch א auf wenige Sonderfälle beschränkt, unter die עָפְרָה und אֶפְרַיִם m.E. nicht zu zählen sind [7]).

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[1]) DALMAN, *PJB* 21, 1925, S. 30 Anm. 5; *a.O.*, S. 232 f.; TÄUBLER, *a.O* , S. 183 ff.

[2]) DALMAN, *a.O.*, S. 232.

[3]) SIMONS, *a.O.*, S. 334.

[4]) TÄUBLER, *a.O.*, S. 179.

[5]) Vgl. GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH, *Hebräische Grammatik*[26], 1896, S. 240 (§ 88c).

[6]) Man vgl. hierzu nur hebr. שָׁמְרוֹן, das auch in der aram. Form שְׁמְרַיִן das ן beibehält. Überhaupt zeigt — soweit ich sehe — keine Form des Bibl.-Hebr. einen derartigen Wechsel von ן zu ם oder umgekehrt; vgl. K. G. KUHN, *Rückläufiges Hebräisches Wörterbuch*, 1958, s. ם und ן. Auch zwei so ähnlich lautende Namen wie יהוֹיכין und יהוֹיקים, lassen niemals einen Wechsel zwischen ן und ם erkennen.

[7]) Vgl. GESENIUS-BUHL, *Hebr. u. Aram. Handwörterbuch über das AT*[17], 1915 (1954), S. 554. אֶפֶר und עָפָר (vgl. KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 1953, S. 79 u. 723) können in diesem Zusammenhang nichts beweisen, da beide Worte einem im Hebr. beliebten Parallelismus dienen, ohne

Indes, sieht man von der griechischen Form 'Εφράϊμ, die in der Frage des Anlauts auch keine eindeutige Auskunft zu geben vermag, ab, so gibt es im AT und den Apokryphen überhaupt nur eine Stelle, die אפרים als Ortsbezeichnung zu verwenden scheint: 2 Sam. xiii 23. Doch gerade hier ist diese Schreibung nicht unangefochten und dementsprechend ist die Beziehung auf eine bestimmte Ortslage nicht gesichert. Ja, prüft man einmal alle Stellen nach, die Ephraim als Landschaft oder Stamm, als Staat oder Eigennamen meinen, so begegnet hier nicht ein einziges Beispiel, in dem umgekehrt die Schreibung עפרה oder עפרון statt אפרים gebraucht würde [1]). Und selbst in einem Abschnitt, der von dem gleichen Redaktor bzw. derselben Schule aufgenommen und geprägt wurde, stehen אפרים als Stammesname (Jos. xvi 4) und עפרה als Ortsbezeichnung (Jos. xviii 23) nebeneinander, obwohl man zumindest hier eine einheitliche Schreibung erwarten sollte, wenn schon die gleiche Namensform auch für eine Ortschaft gebräuchlich war [2]). Zugleich jedoch geht aus diesem Nebeneinander auch deutlich hervor, dass אפרים keine jüngere Weiterbildung der Namen עפרון–עפרה darstellen kann: Wie soll man es sonst erklären, dass אפרים als Stammes- bzw. Eigenname schon in Quellen begegnet, die zeitlich vor denen liegen, die noch עפרה als Ortsbezeichnung bieten [3])?

Diese Beobachtungen legen einen Ausweg nahe, den bereits Alt beschritt [4]). Liest nämlich eine der LXX angehörende Handschriftengruppe in 2 Sam. xiii 23 Γοφραιμ, so ist zu vermuten, dass hinter dem anlautenden Γ ein ע steht [5]) und somit ein ursprüngliches עפרים zu erschliessen ist. Dies aber eröffnete Alt die weitere Möglichkeit, diese Stelle auch mit einer anderen Ortslage, dem benjaminitisch-judäischen Grenzpunkt הַר עֶפְרוֹן (Jos. xv 9), in Verbindung zu bringen, genauer, mit einer in dessen Nachbarschaft angenommenen Siedlung gleichen Namens [6]).

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dabei jedoch genau dieselbe Bedeutung zu haben (vgl. dazu auch Procksch, *Die Genesis*[2·3], 1924, S. 124 und 441).

[1]) Der Jos. xv 9 genannte הר עפרון gehört nicht in diesen Zusammenhang; er bezeichnet einen Berg des benjaminitisch-judäischen Grenzgebiets.

[2]) Zur deuteronomistischen Bearbeitung des Abschnitts Jos. xiii 1-xxi 42 vgl. Noth, *Das Buch Josua*[2], 1953, S. 10.

[3]) Vgl. u.a. Jos. xvi 4 oder xvii 8 im System der Stammesgrenzen neben Jos. xviii 23 in der Ortsliste Judas (zur Datierung genauer Alt, *Kl. Schriften* I, 1953, S. 193 ff., bes. 201).

[4]) *PJB* 24, 1928, S. 13 ff.; 25, 1929, S. 11.

[5]) Vgl. analog Jos. xviii 24 Γόφνα für עפני.

[6]) *PJB* 22, 1926, S. 25, vor Alt ähnlich Dalman, *PJB* 9, 1913, S. 36. Aus

Dazu ist zunächst zu bemerken, dass bei Annahme der Lesung עפרים eine Verbindung zu עֶפְרוֹן = eṭ-ṭaijibe ebenso nahe liegen würde. Allein, für Alt spielt in diesem Zusammenhang eine weitere Gleichsetzung eine noch grössere Rolle. 2 Sam. xiii 23 versetzt Absaloms Schafschur nach „... בעל חצור אשר עם־אפרים ...". Gerade aus jenem Gebiet jedoch, das nach der Lage der benachbarten Grenzfixpunkte ungefähr für den Berg Ephron in Frage kommt [1]), ist auch eine chirbet ḥazzūr bezeugt [2]), die man dann wieder mit dem Ḥazor von Neh. xi 33 wie auch einem alten Heiligtum des Baal Ḥazor glaubt identifizieren zu dürfen. Dennoch scheitert dieses Verständnis von 2 Sam. xiii 23 m.E. an folgenden Erwägungen:

1) Auch bei Annahme der Lesung עפרים bleibt jener Sprung von der Endung ־ִים zu der Endung וֹן in עֶפְרוֹן;

2) In Jos. xv 9 ist von einem Berg Ephron die Rede, 2 Sam. xiii 23 spricht hingegen nur von Ephraim. Und bietet Jos. xv 9 vor הַר auch noch עָרֵי, so müsste dies doch zumindest als עִיר punktiert werden [3]). Dann aber fragt man, warum statt dieser Umschreibung nicht gleich der Ortsname genannt wurde, — wenn es hier überhaupt eine so benannte Ortschaft gab;

3) Bringt man Baal Ḥazor mit einer Siedlung Ḥazor in Verbindung, so bleibt es unverständlich, warum in 2 Sam. xiii 23 dennoch auf Ephraim zur genaueren Lagebestimmung verwiesen wird;

4) Die von Alt vorgeschlagenen Lokalisierungen von Baal Ḥazor und des Berges Ephron bedingen, dass die benjaminitisch-judäische Grenze zwischen der Menephtah-Quelle und Baala (= Kirjath Jearim) in einer unwahrscheinlich starken Ausbuchtung nach Norden verlaufen sein müsste [4]);

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einem Fehlen des Berges Ephron in der Grenzliste Jos. xviii 11ff. lassen sich gegen Albright *a.O.* S. 126 Anm. 2 keine Folgerungen ableiten, da diese Liste auf Jos. xv 1 ff. zurückgehen dürfte.

[1]) Vgl. Alt, *PJB* 22, 1926, S. 25: „Der...Berg Ephron muss... in dem hochragenden... Bergzug von en-nebi samwīl... über biddu...bis einschliesslich bāṭen es-saʿīde.." gesucht werden. Ebenso *PJB* 24, 1928, S. 14.

[2]) Genauer für die Gegend „... zwischen bēt ḥanīna und nebi samwīl..." (Alt, *PJB* 24, 1928, S. 14).

[3]) Vgl. Täubler, *a.O.* S. 182.

[4]) Dies gilt zumal dann, wenn Baala zur Zeit der Abfassung der Grenzliste Jos. xv 1 ff. noch nicht zum judäischen Stammesgebiet gehörte, die Grenze also südlich dieses Ortes verlief.

5) Schon KALLAI-KLEINMANN wies vor kurzem nach, dass der Berg Ephron mit dem Ḳaṣṭal-Berg, etwa 2 km westlich von kalōnie, zu identifizieren sei [1]), da nur so das benjaminitische Moza (Jos. xviii 26) = chirbet Bēt mizza noch nördlich der Grenzlinie zu liegen kommt.

Nimmt man das m.E. richtige Ergebnis von KALLAI-KLEINMANN auf, so wäre die benjaminitische Südgrenze südlicher verlaufen, als dies ALT vermutete. Das bedeutet jedoch, dass sie die alten Siedlungen bzw. Fluren von chirbet ḥazzūr und el-burdsch [2]) nicht berührt haben konnte und somit eine Verbindung zwischen dem Berg Ephron und Baal Ḥazor von 2 Sam. xiii 23 nicht hergestellt werden kann.

Wie aber ist dann der Text dieses Verses zu verstehen? Nach dem MT ist Baal Ḥazor עִם־אֶפְרַיִם zu lokalisieren. Sollte Ephraim dann hier nicht als Bezeichnung des Stammes zu verstehen sein? Ḥazor — und damit auch ein entsprechend benanntes Heiligtum [3]) — war ein häufiger begegnender Name [4]). Dann aber ist es nur zu verständlich, wenn man an nicht eindeutigen Stellen gelegentlich auch noch das Stammesgebiet hinzufügte [5]). Dabei kann die Präposition עִם, die im Zusammenhang von 2 Sam. xiii 23 allgemein mit 'bei' = 'apud' wiedergegeben wird, in Bezug auf eine Menge auch die Bedeutung 'unter', 'inmitten', 'in' haben [6]). Dieser Gebrauch geht aus Gen. xxiii 4, Jes. xxxviii 11 oder Psalm cxx 5 noch deutlich hervor [7]).

Somit hätte אפרים innerhalb des AT niemals zur Bezeichnung einer Ortschaft, sondern stets nur als Landschafts-, Stammes- oder Personenname gedient. Das Wort ist mit SCHULTHESS wohl richtig

[1]) *IEJ* 6, 1956, S. 186 ff.

[2]) Zur späteren Gleichsetzung mit el-burdsch vgl. ALT, *PJB* 25, 1929, S. 11; 28, 1932, S. 8 Anm. 3.

[3]) Zum Verständnis als Heiligtum vgl. TÄUBLER, *a.O.* S. 180.

[4]) Vgl. ausser Neh. xi 33 noch Jos. xi 1 u.ö.; Jos. xv 23; Jos. xv 25; Jer. xlix 33. Auch eine Verbindung mit 'Baal' begegnet häufiger; vgl. Ri. ix 27; 2 Sam. v 20.

[5]) Als Parallelen vgl. u.a. Ri. iv 6: Ḳedeš Naphtali; 1 Sam. xvii 12: Bethlehem Juda; 1 Sam. xiii 15: Gibea Benjamin; 2 Sam. vi 2: Baala(t) Juda. Aber auch 1 Kg iv 13: Ramoth Gilead und 1 Sam. xxx 27: Ramoth Negeb oder 1 Sam. xi 1 u.ö.: Jabeš Gilead gehören sachlich hierzu.

[6]) Vgl. GESENIUS-BUHL, *a.O.* S. 596 s. v. עִם. — Auch hier wird bereits 2 Sam. xiii 23 mit dem Stamm Ephraim in Verbindung gebracht, obwohl s.v. אפרים auch wieder an eine Ortschaft gedacht ist.

[7]) Der Hinweis von NOTH, *Geschichte Israels*², 1953, S. 60 Anm. 3 auf Gen. xxxv kann nicht als Gegenbeweis dienen, da die eine Bedeutung die andere nicht auszuschliessen braucht.

von einer Wurzel אגל = ‚Weideland' abzuleiten [1]) und hat mit den Namen עפרה und עפרון ursprünglich nichts zu tun.

In welcher Gegend des ephraimitischen Stammesgebiets das Heiligtum des Baal Ḥazor genauer zu suchen ist, lässt sich vom Text her nunmehr auch nicht näher bestimmen. Wohl aber dürfte schon wegen des Namensanklangs das Massiv von el-ʿaṣūr am ehesten dafür in Frage kommen [2]). Und damit würde dann auch die Deutung von Eissfeldt zu 2 Sam. xiii 34 zusammenstimmen, die als Fluchtweg der von Baal Ḥazor in die Davidsstadt eilenden Königssöhne einen aus dem Norden Jerusalems heranführenden Weg nahelegt [3]).

Indes, eine Untersuchung der mit den Namen Ophra, Ephron und Ephraim verbundenen Probleme würde unvollkommen sein, wollte man nicht auch die griechischen Namensformen in die Untersuchung einbeziehen. Auch hier handelt es sich um mehrere, einander sehr ähnliche Wortbildungen, die für eine Verbindung mit eṭ-ṭaijibe in Frage kommen:

1) Die Form Ἐφράϊμ, die Joh. xi 54; Josephus bell. jud. iv 9,9; Eusebius Onom. 86,1 und 90, 18 [4]) vorliegt;
2) Die Form Ἀφαίρεμα, die 1 Makk. xi 34 und Josephus ant. xiii 4,9 überliefert ist;
3) Die Schreibung Αἰφρ . . ., die sich Onom. 28,4 f. findet;
4) Der Name Ἐφραια, der im Madeba-Mosaik, Taf. vii 41 [5]) begegnet.

Daneben stehen:

5) Ἐφρών in Onom. 86,1 und Madeba-Mosaik Taf. vii 41 sowie
6) Ἀφρά in Onom. 28,4 f.

Hiervon geben sich die unter 5) und 6) aufgeführten Formen leicht als genaue Übertragungen der entsprechenden hebräischen Namen עֶפְרוֹן und עָפְרָה zu erkennen. Unter den verbleibenden vier Schreibungen scheint dann Εφραια die jüngste Form zu sein, da sie erst in dem wohl aus dem 6. Jhd. n. Chr. stammenden Madeba-Mosaik [6]) begegnet. Doch dabei ist dieses wiederum weithin von

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[1]) *ZAW* 30, 1910, S. 63.

[2]) So auch Dalman, *a.O.* S. 232; Albright, *a.O.* S. 127 ff.; Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* I, 1933, S. 372; II, 1938, S. 259 u.a. (Für die Bezeichnung des Berges vgl. Täubler, *a. O.* S. 180).

[3]) Eissfeldt bei Alt, *PJB* 22, 1926, S. 31 Anm. 3; dazu Hertzberg, *a.O.* S. 264.

[4]) Nach E. Klostermann, *Das Onomastikon*, 1904.

[5]) Nach Avi-Yonah, *The Madeba Mosaic Map*, 1954.

[6]) Vgl. Avi-Yonah, *a.O.* S. 18: "... between 542 and 565, and probably between 560 and 565...".

dem Onomastikon abhängig [1]), was auch gerade im vorliegenden Fall deutlich wird: Nennt das Mosaik Εφρων und Εφραια als Bezeichnungen derselben Siedlung nebeneinander, so tut dies in gleicher Weise Eusebius (Onom. 86,1) mit Εφρων [2]) und Εφραιμ, wobei jedoch die allgemein recht zuverlässige Übersetzung des Hieronymus letztere Form mit Efraea wiedergibt [3]). Mit Albright [4]) darf man daraus gewiss folgern, dass auch Eusebius Onom. 86,1 ursprünglich Εφραια schrieb; eine spätere Veränderung zu Εφραιμ lässt sich leicht aus dem Hinweis zu Εφραιμ in Onom. 90,19 verstehen, wo ausdrücklich auf Onom. 86,1 als Parallele verwiesen wird. Dann aber wäre, wie Eusebius mit den dem Ortsnamen vorangestellten Worten "και εστι νυν κωμη" bewusst betont, Εφραια die zu seiner Zeit übliche Bezeichnung für die Siedlung an der Stelle des heutigen eṭ-ṭaijibe gewesen. Und wie schrieb man diesen Namen im Jüdisch-Aramäischen? Bei seiner engen Verbindung zu der Form אַפְרָא wie dem אָפָר der Mischna [5]) liegt es nahe, hier an ein mit א anlautendes Wort zu denken.

Diese Annahme verstärkt sich, wenn man der Form Εφράϊμ nachgeht. Trotz der griechischen Schreibung ist eine hebräische Grundlage unverkennbar. Sowohl die Endung αιμ, die יִם entspricht, wie überhaupt der genaue Gleichklang mit der Landschafts- und Stammesbezeichnung und die völlige Übereinstimmung in der Schreibung mit deren Übersetzung in LXX machen diese deutlich. Freilich ist damit noch nicht entschieden, ob das anlautende E ein אֶ oder עֶ wiedergibt, zumal Eusebius auch עֶפְרוֹן durch Εφρων ausdrückt, also der Vokal für das griech. E entscheidend ist. Aber neben der Umschrift E = עֶ lassen sich auch für die Schreibung E = אֶ zahlreiche Beispiele beibringen [6]), und endlich ist eine Schreibung

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[1]) Vgl. Avi-Yonah, *a.O.* S. 30 f.

[2]) Trotz der Stellenbeigabe 'Jos. xv 9' ist eine Beziehung auf 2 Chr. xiii 19 deutlich. Dies ergibt schon die folgende Beziehung dieses Stichworts auf Ephraim wie der Hinweis auf dieses Stichwort s.v. Εφραιμ in Onom. 90,18.

[3]) Wenn Hieronymus andererseits in Onom. 90,18 Εφραιμ mit 'Efraim' wiedergibt, so dürfte dies darin begründet sein, dass es sich hier um die Übersetzung eines dem NT entnommenen Stichworts handelt, während es Onom. 86,1 um die Wiedergabe des νυν für Εφρων gebräuchlichen Namens geht.

[4]) Albright, *a.O.* S. 129. Zu Onom. 28,4 f. und der Übersetung 'Efraim' durch Hieronymus vgl. u. S. 10.

[5]) Vgl. Schulthess, *ZAW* 30, 1910, S. 63.

[6]) Vgl. Onom. 86,20: Ἐσθεμώ (Jos. xv 50) = אֶשְׁתְּמֹה oder Onom. 86,10: Ἐσσάν (Jos. xv 52) = אֶשְׁעָן.

עֶפְרַיִם mit anlautendem עֶ für eine der Ortslage von eṭ-ṭaijibe entsprechende Siedlung aus keiner biblischen oder anderen Quelle zu belegen [1]), während אֶפְרַיִם auch in der späteren jüdischen Literatur durchaus begegnet [2]). Somit ist es durchaus berechtigt, hinter der griech. Form Ἐφράϊμ das hebr. Wort אֶפְרַיִם zu sehen und dementsprechend das Aufkommen dieses Namens als Ortsname der alten Siedlung Ophra-Ephron von dem Landschafts- und Stammesnamen herzuleiten. Diese Siedlung gehörte — von kurzen Unterbrechungen abgesehen — immer zum ephraimitischen Stammesgebiet; ihre Lage auf dem Gebirge Ephraim bedarf keiner näheren Ausführung. Daneben mag freilich eine derartige Namensübertragung auch noch durch eine spätere Weiterbildung von Ephron, die durch das Ḳere zu 2 Chr. xiii 19 belegt ist, die Form עֶפְרֵין [3]), infolge ihres fast genauen Gleichklangs mit dem Stammesnamen erleichtert worden sein [4]). Gegenüber der Form Εφραια, die sich von Εφραιμ nur durch den anderen Auslaut auf -α unterscheidet, der hier wohl ursprünglich aramäisch ist [5]), dürfte Εφραιμ somit die ältere Bezeichnung sein [6]).

Neben dem zur Zeit des Eusebius gebräuchlichen Namen Εφραια steht indessen noch eine andere Form, von der Eusebius mit fast den gleichen Worten betont, dass sie die zu seiner Zeit übliche Benennung gewesen sei. Unter dem Stichwort Αφρα (Onom. 28,4), das schon auf Grund der Stellenangabe Jos. xviii 23 sicher mit Ophra — und somit

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[1]) Vgl. hierzu genauer DALMAN, *a.O.* S. 233. Das in diesem Zusammenhang gern angeführte Ephraim des Talmuds (vgl. LEVY, *Neuhebr.u.Chald. Wörterbuch* III, 1883, s.v. עפריים) kann hier nicht herangezogen werden. Es ist als עַפְרַיִים zu vokalisieren und bezieht sich stets auf die Jos. xix 19 genannte Siedlung חֲפָרַיִם, die LXX Ἀφεραιμ und Onom. 28,25 Αἰφραιμ schreiben. Die aus einigen LXX-Handschriften zu erschliessende Lesart עֶפְרַיִם zu 2 Sam. xiii 23 erklärt sich am besten aus einer frühzeitigen, falschen Verbindung mit der Ortslage von eṭ-ṭaijibe.

[2]) Vgl. LEVY, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch* I, 1876, s.v. אפרים.

[3]) Ein längeres Fortbestehen einer mit ע anlautenden Form עפרין ist auf jeden Fall anzunehmen, da sonst nicht verständlich wird, warum die Punktatoren als Kere zu 2 Chr. xiii 19 statt עפרין nicht gleich אפרים wählten.

[4]) Vgl. dazu auch o.S. 191. Dieser Schritt musste dadurch noch erleichtert werden, dass in späterer Zeit eine Unterscheidung zwischen ־ִים und ־ִין nicht mehr sehr genau genommen wurde (vgl. Onom. 18, 13 oder 30,26) und eine Abschwächung von ע zu א gebräuchlich wurde (vgl. DALMAN, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinensischen Aramäisch*², 1905, S. 57 ff.).

[5]) Vgl. BLASS-DEBRUNNER, *Grammatik des ntl.Griechisch* , 1954, S. 39 (§ 56,2).

[6]) Vgl. analog Ἀφραία zu Αἰφραιμ = חֲפָרַיִם (Onom. 28,26).

auch Ephron — zu identifizieren ist, führt er ein mit Αἰφρ beginnendes Wort auf. Das bedeutet, abgesehen von dem nicht mehr erhaltenen Wortende, bereits eine Abweichung sowohl von Εφραια wie Εφραιμ, ja, auch von der Übersetzung Efraim bei Hieronymus, da dieser Αι sonst mit Ae wiedergibt [1]). Andererseits kann man feststellen, dass im Onomastikon niemals anlautendes Sᵉgol, wie es Ephraim bzw. Ephraia erfordern, mit dem griechischen Diphthong Αι umschrieben wird [2]). Dabei kann freilich Αι auch durch A ersetzt werden, so dass hinter dem ι des Diphthongs nicht immer ein י stehen muss [3]). Dann aber darf man daran denken, dass das Wortfragment Αιφρ zu einer Form Αιφρειν (μ) (oder Αιφραιν) gehörte, wobei Eusebius dann nicht das vom Stammesnamen hergeleitete אֶפְרַיִם, sondern eine dem Ḳere zu 2 Chr. xiii 19 entsprechende Form עַפְרַיִן, wie sie für das Ephraim von Jos. xix 19 belegt ist [4]), vor Augen gehabt hätte. Die Übersetzung Efraim durch Hieronymus wäre dann bereits ein leichte, sachlich jedoch durchaus richtige Angleichung an seine sonst übliche Übersetzung für Εφραιμ.

Neben allen diesen griechischen Formen steht schliesslich noch eine Wortbildung, die schon im 1 Makk. (xi 34) begegnet, die eigentümliche Form 'Αφαίρεμα. Sie erscheint um so sonderbarer, als 1 Makk. wie 2 Makk. neben ihr — freilich zur Bezeichnung einer anderen Ortslage — auch noch die Form Εφρων kennen [5]). Wie aber kann diese „sonderbare Gräcisierung" [6]), die zweifellos auch eine alte Siedlung an der Stelle von eṭ-ṭaijibe meint [7]), dann genauer erklärt werden?

1 Makk. xi 34 gehört in den Zusammenhang einer Urkunde, genauer, eines Briefes des Seleukiden Demetrius II. an Jonathan. Mithin hat man — die Echtheit dieses Dokuments vorausgesetzt — an eine ursprünglich griechische Abfassung des Schreibens zu

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[1]) Vgl. u.a. Onom. 28,25: Aefraim für Αἰφραιμ.

[2]) Vgl. Onom. sub stoicheion A.

[3]) Vgl. u.a. Onom. 30,20 und 22, 23; 36,10 (auch 28,11 f.) und Jos. xix 19 (LXX) oder Onom. 30,26 f.

[4]) Vgl. Tosephta Menaḥoth 9,2. Wenn demgegenüber das Ḳere zu 2 Chr. xiii 19 anders punktiert ist, so erklärt sich dies leicht aus der Absicht der Punktatoren, einen h e b r. Text zu vokalisieren.

[5]) Vgl. 1 Makk. v 46 ff.; 2 Makk. xii 27. Auch dieses Ephron des ʿadschlūn wird heute eṭ-ṭaijibe genannt (vgl. Hölscher, *ZDPV* 29, 1906, S. 14 1 f.).

[6]) C. L. W. Grimm, *Kurzgefasstes exeg. Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des AT*, 3. Lief., 1853, S. 174.

[7]) Vgl. u.a. Dalman, *a.O.* S. 233.

denken [1]). Lag dann jedoch bereits in dem Original eine ungenaue Wiedergabe des entsprechenden hebräischen Ortsnamens vor, was bei einer Abfassung ausserhalb Palästinas und durch einen Nichjuden des königlichen Hofes durchaus nicht verwunderlich wäre, so konnte es durch zwei weitere Übersetzungsstufen hindurch [2]) sehr gut zu einer so eigentümlichen Form wie Αφαιρεμα kommen.

Indes, die Form ist gar nicht so sonderbar, wie es scheinen möchte. Man braucht zur Erklärung nur auf eine bekannte Parallele zu verweisen: Die Namen 'Ιεροσόλυμα und 'Ιερουσαλήμ. BLASS-DEBRUNNER bezeichnen erstere Form als stark hellenisiert [3]), und noch genauer meinte R. SCHULZ: „Dazu tauchte aber aus griechischen Quellen eine gräzisierte Übertragung auf, die in alttestamentliche Apokrypha . . . aufgenommen wurde, 'Ιεροσόλυμα" [4]). Dies aber entspricht genau der Situation, in der auch Αφαιρεμα steht. Ja, es ist darüber hinaus auch in seiner Bildung 'Ιεροσόλυμα m.E. sehr verwandt; nicht nur das auslautende — und hier wohl griechische [5]) — α ist beiden Formen gemeinsam, sondern wohl auch das Bestreben, zu einer Wortbildung zu kommen, mit der ein griechisch Sprechender einen Sinn zu verbinden wusste [6]). Und wie zur Bestätigung dieses Parallelismus begegnen die Formen Αφαιρεμα und 'Ιεροσόλυμα dann ja auch in der gleichen Urkunde 1 Makk. xi 30-37 nebeneinander (xi 34.35).

Sind die im Verlauf dieser Ausführungen angedeuteten Ergebnisse richtig, so bietet die alte Siedlung an der Stelle des heutigen eṭ-ṭaijibe ein anschauliches Beispiel dafür, wie eine israelitisch-jüdische Ortschaft durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch ihren Namen wandelte und zugleich im Grunde doch bewahrte, wie andere Namen im Laufe der Zeit hinzutraten und dabei doch nicht die Verbindung zum alten Namen verloren ging. Es ist kein beliebiges Durcheinander, in dem

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[1]) Vgl. K.-D. SCHUNCK, *Die Quellen des I. und II. Makkabäerbuches*, 1954, S. 32 ff.

[2]) Vgl. SCHUNCK, *a.O.* S. 8 ff.

[3]) BLASS-DEBRUNNER, *a.O.* S. 39 (§ 56,1).

[4]) R. SCHULZ, *ZNW* 11, 1910, S. 169 f. Zur Annahme auch theologischer Aspekte bei der Unterscheidung zwischen den beiden Formen vgl. W. SCHMAUCH, *Orte der Offenbarung u. der Offenbarungsort im NT*, 1956, S. 82 ff. Freilich dürfte dieser Gesichtspunkt im vorliegenden Fall ohne Einfluss sein.

[5]) Vgl. BLASS-DEBRUNNER, *a.O.* S. 39 (§ 56,2).

[6]) Vgl. den Anklang an 'Ιερός und Σόλυμοι in 'Ιεροσόλυμα. Sollte man dann bei Αφαιρεμα an ein Wort wie τὸ ἀφαίρεμα zu denken haben, das auch sonst den griechischen Übersetzern jener Zeit (vgl. besonders 1 Makk. xv 5, auch Ex. xxix 27 f.; Num. xv 19 u.ö., oder Aquila Ex. xxv 2) oder Josephus (ant. xiv 10, 12) bekannt ist?

die einzelnen Formen und Namen begegnen, sondern eine deutliche Folge, an deren Anfang Ophra und Ephron stehen und die über Ephrain und das hinzutretende Ephraim sowie die griechische Sonderbildung Aphairema bis zu Aphrᵉin und Ephraia, den letzten hier verfolgten Formen, führt. Schliesslich aber mag damit auch die schon oft gestellte Frage, ob Ephraim zuerst eine Landschaft oder einen Ort bezeichnet habe, eine neue Antwort gefunden haben: Ist Ephraim mit der Ortslage von eṭ-ṭaijibe zu verbinden und wurde dieser Name erst in nachexilischer Zeit auf die hier gelegene alte Ansiedlung übertragen, so kann es kaum zweifelhaft sein, dass der Name Ephraim zuerst an einer Landfläche des später ephraimitischen Stammesgebiets gehaftet hat, eben der Bedeutung 'Weideland' entsprechend, die man vom Jüdisch-Aramäischen und der Mischna-Sprache her als die Grundbedeutung der auch in Ephraim enthaltenen Wurzel אפר erschlossen hat.

INDICATIONS OF EDITORIAL ALTERATION AND ADAPTATION IN THE MASSORETIC TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT *)

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Today, in deliberate contrast to the exaggerated scepticism and arbitrariness of the last century, the starting point of every systematic approach to the textual problems of the Bible is a positive and careful evaluation of the Massoretic text. This evaluation tends to emphasize the conservative nature of the work of the Massoretes, and their vigilance in preserving the text. Undoubtedly there are elements of justice in this; there is, in those notes of the Massoretes that we have and the very nature of the Massoretic version, evidence of considerable conservatism in the transmission of the material. To give one chance example. It is difficult to explain the form of the Qere היצא (Gen. viii 17) except as a result of a tendency to preserve in their original form all the elements that reached the editors of the Massorah.

We may assume that the generally accepted opinion, that the term *Massorah* is derived from the root מס״ר, meaning to transmit from hand to hand and from generation to generation, has contributed to the emphasis on the conservative character of the work of the Massoretes. Even though this theory is widely accepted, it is not above doubt and even if the derivation is correct, it is questionable whether the root is used to call attention to the work of the editors of the Massorah in the above-mentioned sense [1]). In any event this aspect of the text appears only in the final stage of that long and

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*) This study is to be considered as a sequel to the present author's "Investigations on the transmission of the Massoretic text of the Bible, I", which appeared (in Hebrew with a summary in English) in *Tarbiẓ* 25, 1955-56, pp. 118 sqq.

[1]) מסרת Ez. xx 37 is derived from אס״ר by Aquila, Symmachus, Ibn Janaḥ, and David Qimḥi. Cp. also especially B. M. Lewin, *Taḥkemoni* II, Berlin 1911, pp. 13-30. Z. ben Ḥayyim, *Leshonēnu* 21, 1957, pp. 135-144, though deriving מסרת from מס״ר, maintains that its sense is counting and categorizing. [For a new theory see M. Gertner, "The Levites and the Masorah", *VT*, 10, 1960, 241].

complicated process which is the activity of the Massorah. It is the task of the textual researcher to penetrate from these later stages of transmission to the earlier stages of consolidation and formation.

These earlier stages, marked by a free and unbiased attitude towards the Bible text, for the greater part preceded the Ancient Versions (notably the Septuagint) and the texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls. They thus largely escape our cognizance. We can, however, catch some glimpses of them from the Chronicler's approach to the texts confronting him, as also from some Talmudic traditions. There is no doubt that in these stages which, in a sense, constitute the prehistory of the Massorah, the copyists did not confine themselves to the preservation of what was already there, but both corrected and invented. One of countless possible examples suffices to prove this. In T.B. Sanhedrin 103a we read: "Rabbi Yohanan said on the authority of Rabbi Shimon ben Yohai; What is meant by 'And he prayed ויחתר לו 'and an opening was made for him'? Should not rather ויעתר לו 'and He answered him' [1]) have been written? This teaches

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[1]) The interchange of laryngals is a very common phenomenon cp. lastly E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (Hebrew), 1959, pp. 398-407. For the particular interchange of ח and ע we have at our disposal instances from a great diversity of sources. Some of these instances are of a merely phonological character e.g. Is. xxxvii 30 MT שחיס DSIa שעיס; ib. liv 11 MT סערה DSIa סחורה; cp. Mekhilta *Bô* vii ad Ex. xii 13 ופסחתי עליכם, רבי יאשיה אומר אל תקרי ופסחתי אלא ופסעתי. On the habit of the Septuagint translators to transcribe ע by χ (קרית ארבע = Αρβωχ, עמרה = Χομορρα etc.) cp. Hieronymus' remark on Am. i 5 מבית עדן ἐξ ἀνδρῶν χαρραν. Daleth mediam nominis lit(t)eram Res arbitrantes et iuxta consuetudinem suam Ain primae Hebraicae lit(t)erae Chi praeponentes, and also Hieronymus' own apparent interchanging of חרב and ערב in his comment on Zeph. ii 14: praeterea quod et nos et LXX (κόρακες ἐν ταῖς πυλῶσιν αὐτῆς) similiter transtulimus corvus in superliminari, in Hebraeo ponitur Hareb quod secundum lectionis diversitatem vel *siccitas* vel *gladius* vel *corvus* accipitur. This last remark makes already apparent that many instances have a textcritical and exegetical bearing. 1 Sam. xvii 7 Kethib חץ, Qere (and rightly so) עץ; 2 Kings xx 13 וישמע עליהם חזקיהו whereas the parallel passage Is. xxxix 2 correctly reads וישמח. Is. lix 2 LXX ἐλεῆσαι translates משמוח (cp. *Tarbiẓ* 25, 1956, 130-131) whereas MT has משמוע; Ps. xcvii 11 זרע read זרח (LXX ἀνέτειλε). On Pr. xi 16 עריצים LXX ἀνδρεῖοι cp. below in the last part of this study. It seems to me almost certain that the solution of the *crux* in 2 Chr. xxxiv 6 *Kethib* בחר בתיהם, *Qerē* בחרבתיהם lies in reading בער בתיהם 'he destroyed their sanctuaries' cp. in the parallel relation 2 Kings xxiii 19 הסיר ... את כל בתי הבמות and ib. ואת כל השקוצים ... בער. Another *crux* DSD vii 7 ואל ימש ... איש דורש בתורה יומם ולילה תמיד על יפות איש לרעהו was solved by H. Yalon's correction חליפות for יפות *Kiryath Sepher* 28, 1952, 65; S. Lieberman (see *VT* 7, 1957, 406) compares Tos. Makkoth v 15 עליו רצועה (מתחלפין =) ולא היו מתעלפין. O. Betz' arguments, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung* etc., 1960, p. 19 note 4,

that the Holy One Blessed Be He, evading the Attribute of Justice, made a kind of opening for him in the heavens to receive his repentance". We have here a Midrash built on a reading of 2 Chron. xxxiii 13, known at least to Rabbi Shimon ben Yohai, which says of Menasseh son of Hezekiah, King of Judah, ויחתר לו, while the Massoretic version has ויעתר לו 'and He answered him' [1]). It follows from this that as late as the second century and even in the third, the transmitters of the text could alter a reading and adapt it to the demands of the context, subject-matter, and logic. We may assume that in earlier periods the approach to the text was even freer, and corrections, which took the form of actual textual revision, were more numerous. This does not allude to tendentious revisions, that is adapting texts to fit in with the religious views of the period of the revisers, but rather to attempts to make some sense of existing readings which even drastic alteration often failed to make completely acceptable. The comparison of parallel texts in the Bible, variants in the Ancient Versions, and sometimes an internal analysis of the Massoretic Version in its present form, reveal that we have before us the results of revision, without our being able in every case to restore with certainty the primary text as it came from the hands of its author.

It will be seen that many of these revisions grew out of a 'fertile misinterpretation' that lead to the text being understood in a new light often at variance with the intention of the original author. In addition we shall find examples in which our research is not confined to matters of textual criticism, but where the discernment of the various components that make up a particular text is involved.

I

The most convincing examples of revision are those found by comparing parallel texts. Psalms xiv and liii, for instance, are identical except for one verse in the middle of the psalm which had noticeably divergent forms. Ps. xiv 5-6, has: שם פחדו פחד כי אלהים בדור צדיק עצת עני תבישו כי ה׳ מחסהו, while Ps. liii 6 has: שם פחדו פחד לא היה פחד כי אלהים פזר עצמות חנך, הבישתה כי אלהים מאסם. It is very difficult to interpret either of the texts cited, and we cannot say which of

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with respect to this passage in DSD (against P. Wernberg-Møller *V* 3, 1953, 105) are unconvincing.

[1]) The same play of עתר and חתר in Genes. Rabba lxiii 5 on Gen. xxv 21; see Theodor's comments ad loc. — See Additional Note p. 220.

these psalms represents the more ancient text. The first (xiv) seems to describe the Lord as the avenger of the poor and oppressed, while the second (liii) addresses the Holy City after it has been besieged (חונך = חנך) and describes God as its deliverer [1]). However, it is clear, both from their place in these psalms and their graphic form, that behind these different descriptions lay one common text which we unfortunately cannot reconstruct. In any event, it appears that both descriptions represent a drastic revision of an incomprehensible text in an almost desperate effort to make some sense of it.

In the same way, we read in Ps. lxxi 3: היה לי לצור מעון לבוא תמיד צוית להושעני כי סלעי ומצודתי אתה. The first part of Psalm lxxi is identical with Psalm xxxi 1-4, and there we read (3-4): היה לי לצור מעוז לבית מצודות להושיעני, כי סלעי ומצודתי אתה. Once again we cannot determine with certainty the exact original reading, but at the same time it is clear that the words לבוא תמיד צוית are little more than a clumsy attempt somehow to extract acceptable Hebrew words from a hopelessly corrupt text.

Sometimes the parallels do not occur in different places in the Bible but rather seem to be combined in a single verse. More than a hundred years ago, HITZIG already guessed at an example of such a textual revision in Proverbs xxv 19-20:

19 שן רעה ורגל / מועדת / מבטח / בוגד / ביום / צרה
20 / מעדה / בגד / ביום / קרה

Once again we have here nothing more than two forms of a single text. The *stichos* מעדה בגד ביום קרה seems to be an adaptation of a faulty variant: בוגד ביום צרה ....מועדת.... in which מבטח had dropped out; however, we cannot be absolutely sure as to the original form of the text [2]).

One example in EHRLICH's notes, though incomplete, seems to me very instructive. 2 Sam. vi 2 has: ויקם ··· דוד ··· מבעלי יהודה להעלות משם את ארון האלהים אשר נקרא שם שם ה׳ צבאות ישב הכרובים עליו. The

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[1]) Cp. especially K. BUDDE, 'Psalm 14 und 53', *JBL* 47 (1928), pp. 160-183. Contrary to his opinion, the whole tenor of our psalm seems to point to God as the avenger of the poor rather than as the rescuer from a historical disaster. With respect to אכלי עמי אכלו לחם (xiv 4, liii 5), it is worth noting that in several places עמי means 'the poor and oppressed'; Ex. xxii 24; Mi. iii 3; Is. iii 15, x 2; Ps. lxxii 2 (cp. ib. 4).

[2]) Cp. F. HITZIG, *Die Sprüche Salomo's*, 1858, p. 268. TUR-SINAI offers another explanation, *Mishlē Shlomoh*, 1947, p. 59, 121.

repetition שֵׁם שֵׁם here is very discordant. The impression that the words שם ה׳ צבאות ישב הכרובים עליו are an expansion of the text is strengthened when we read in 1 Chron. xiii 6: להעלות משם את ארון האלהים ה׳ יושב הכרובים, אשר נקרא שם a version which in itself is even less comprehensible. EHRLICH reads, as do some twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth century manuscripts, אשר נקרא שָׁם, and interprets the root נקרא as equivalent to נקרה 'to happen by chance'. In order to substantiate his interpretation, 'the ark which was there by chance', and to account for the Niph'al-form(?) he quotes from Deut. xxii 6 כי יִקָּרֵא קן־צפור לפניך 'if a bird's nest chance to be before thee'. It appears to me that it is possible to establish this interpretation beyond any doubt by means of three verses which he does not quote and all of which are in the second part of the David stories. I refer to 2 Sam. i 6: נקרא נקריתי בהר הגלבוע 'As I happened by chance upon Mount Gilboa'; xviii 9: וַיִּקָּרֵא אבשלום לפני עבדי דוד 'And Absalom chanced upon the servants of David; and especially xx 1: ושם נקרא איש בליעל 'And there happened to be there a wretch whose name was Sheba the son of Bichri'. EHRLICH's brilliant interpretation satisfactorily accounts for the origin of the two difficult readings in 2 Sam. and in Chronicles[1]) and provides us with a good example of the nature of this kind of revision cum adaptation that has its roots in a misunderstanding of the received text.

Another example of revision which can be discerned by comparing parallel texts was incidentally noticed by TUR-SINAI. In 1 Kings ix 8 we read: והבית הזה יהיה עליון כל עבר עליו ישום ושרק 'And this house will be high, everyone that passeth it shall be astonished and shall hiss'. It is obvious that the words יהיה עליון 'will be high' do not fit the context. TUR-SINAI's assumption that there was a primary version יהיה לעיין 'will be heaps' is plausible especially in the light of Micah iii 12: וירושלים עיין תהיה[2]), when compared with its parallel Jer. xxvi 18 וירושלים עיים תהיה 'and Jerusalem shall become heaps'. The importance of TUR-SINAI's correction to us is in that it is more reasonable than the reading in 2 Chron. vii 21: הבית הזה אשר היה עליון,

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[1]) If EHRLICH's interpretation is accepted then K. GALLING's reference to 2 Sam. vi 2 as a proof for the 'Ausrufung des Namens als Rechtsakt in Israel', *ThLZ* 81, 1956, 69 becomes invalid.

[2]) I have dealt (after GINSBERG and YALON, *MGWJ* 77, 1933) with the preference of Egyptian and Palestinian copyists for writing ין—instead of ים—, and with several cases of confusion caused by this habit in my book *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah* 1948, p. 65, note 40.

לכל עבר עליו ישם. We may assume that the editor of Chronicles already had the corrupted version יהיה עלין 'will be high' before him and changed it to אשר היה עליון 'which was high' in an attempt to resolve the difficulty, just as in the last part of the verse by deleting ושרק 'shall hiss' and adding ל to לכל עבר עליו ישום 'it will be desolate for every passer-by', he made 'ruins' the subject in place of the 'passers-by', apparently because he took the root שמ"ם to mean 'desolate', and was not, or did not wish to be, aware of the meaning 'to be astonished' [1]).

II

Other examples of revision are provided for us by the Ancient Versions. Interesting to note is the text of Is. lxvi 19 and its rendering in the Septuagint. The Massoretic Version has: ושלחתי מהם פליטים אל הגוים תרשיש פול ולוד משכי קשת תבל ויון for which the Greek reads: καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ ἐξ αὐτῶν σεσωσμένους εἰς τὰ ἔθνη εἰς Θαρσεις καὶ Φουδ καὶ Λουδ καὶ Μοσοχ καὶ Θοβελ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα corresponding to what we read in Gen. x 2: בני יפת גמר ומגוג ומדי ויון ותובל ומשך Ez. xxvii 13: יון תובל ומשך המה רכליך and ib. xxxii 26: שם משך תובל וכל המונה. Köhler calls our attention to the fact that the words משך ותובל which always appear side by side in the Bible, have a parallel in the similar combination Μόσχοι καὶ Τιβαρηνοι which appears twice in Herodotus (iii.94; vii.78). Apparently משך is none other than the *Muški*, *Muskaia*, known to us from Assyrian documents of the twelfth to eighth century, and who are to be identified with the people named Phrygians in the Greek sources [2]). From this we may conclude that the Septuagint, in its rendering of Is. lxvi, has preserved for us a more ancient and primary reading and on the other hand, the משכי קשת of MT is no more than an adaptation stemming from a misunderstanding, perhaps under the influence of the description in Jer. xlvi 9: כוש ופוט תופשי מגן ולודים תפשי דרכי קשת.

Occasionally the evidence of revision is hidden away in an unlikely place. In Jer. ix 23, we read: כי אם בזאת יתהלל המתהלל השכל וידע אתי כי אני ה׳ עשה חסד משפט וצדקה בארץ כי באלה חפצתי נאם ה׳ 'let

[1]) שמ"ם is a stereotyped phrase for astonishment at other people's calamities, e.g. Is. liii 14; Iob xvi 7 ('you have made all my people horrified at my fate', Ehrlich). A. Kropat, *Syntax des Autors der Chronik*, 1909, p. 4-5, cites 2 Chr. vii 21 amongst the instances of the use of ל to emphasize the subject of the sentence; but he does not account for the omission of ושרק.

[2]) On the *Muški*, cp. A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*,[2] 1957, pp. 185, 202.

him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth Me that I am the Lord, which exercises loyalty, justice and righteousness in the earth, for in these things I delight, saith the Lord'. The Septuagint gives an exact and literal translation of the Massoretic Version. However, this verse appears in the Septuagint once more, as an addition at the end of the Song of Hannah, 1 Sam. ii 10 (the phenomenon of quoting verses from another place for explanatory purposes or as legendary ornamentation is quite common in the Septuagint [1]). There, however, the verse appears in a variant version: ἀλλ' ἡ ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος συνίειν καὶ γινώσκειν τὸν κύριον καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς namely: כי אם בזאת יתהלל המתהלל השכל וידע את ה׳ וַעֲשֹׂה משפט וצדקה בקרב הארץ '... that he understandeth and knoweth the Lord and that he exerciseth justice and righteousness in the midst of the land'. The interchange of אותי with את ה׳ has its roots in an accepted scribal custom (that of using י׳ as an abbrevation of the tetragrammaton), the traces of which are quite common in the transmission of the text of the Bible and especially so in the *Vorlage* of several books of the Septuagint translation [2]). The root עש״ה, in particular, has a construct infinitive עֲשֹׂה in Prov. xxi 3, Ps. ci 3, Gen. I 20 (and compare עֲשׂוֹ Gen. xxxi 28), which facilitates the interchange of the construct infinitive with the participle עֹשֶׂה. In truth it would seem that, objectively speaking, one should prefer the version preserved in the Septuagint of 1 Samuel. At the outset it is difficult to understand

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[1]) LXX Ex. xxiii 22 inserts a homily from Ex. xix 5-6; the import of Ex. xx 10 is qualified by an addition from Deut. v 14; Deut. xxiv 7 serves to define the purport of Ex. xxi 17 (16). The reading of the Synagogue, in search of edifying digressions, did not miss the opportunity to mention in the free paraphrase of LXX Ex. xxxviii 22 (cf. MT xxxviii 30) that the mounting of the bronze altar in the tabernacle was made of the braziers of Korah's rebels, though this detail is told by the MT only after the episode of Korah, Num. xvii 3; Is. xlix 3 is embellished by a homiletic touch from Ps. lxxi (lxxii) 3.

[2]) Ex. viii 23 כאשר יאמר—καθάπερ εἶπεν κύριος ἡμῖν (B, which in Exodus represents the most ancient text); Lev. vi 10 מאֶשִׁי ἀπὸ τῶν καρπωμάτων κυρίου; Jud. xix 18 ואת בית י׳ אני הולך καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου ἐγὼ ἀποτρέχω; Is. ii 11 עיני גבהות אדם שפל οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ὑψηλοί, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ταπεινός; Jer. vi 11 ואת חמת ה׳ מלאתי καὶ τὸν θυμόν μου ἔπλησα; ib. xxv 37 מפני חרון אף ה׳ LXX xxxii 37 ἀπὸ προσώπου ὀργῆς θυμοῦ μου; Jon. i 9 עברי אנכי Δοῦλος κυρίου ἐγὼ εἰμί;; Ps. cii 26 לפנים הארץ יסדת LXX ci 26 κατ' ἀρχὰς σὺ κύριε τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας. The great number of examples taken from the work of quite different translators proves the frequency of the phenomenon in ancient Bible manuscripts.

why the translator of 1 Samuel (who, for the books of Samuel, at any rate, had an excellent Hebrew at his disposal), should have seen fit to change the version confronting him. His version is also intrinsically superior, for in the version in Jeremiah כי אני ה׳ עשה חסד משפט וצדקה בארץ כי באלה חפצתי נאם ה׳ there is a discordant tautology and a picture of a rather arbitrary God. Is it fitting that the Lord of the world should maintain that He exercises loyalty, justice and righteousness *because* such is His Will? In addition, the Septuagint version preserved in 1 Samuel harmonizes with the thoughts of the prophet Jeremiah elsewhere. In our verse God demands of man that he acts with loyalty, justice and righteousness; He is desirous of these acts because they are one with man's understanding and knowledge of God. And who at this point will fail to remember: 'did not thy father eat and drink and do justice but also he exercised justice and righteousness in the land . . . He judged the cause of the poor and the needy . . . is not this to know Me, saith the Lord' (Jer. xxii 15-16)? Thus, there was a misunderstanding of ix 23 on the part of the scribe who read אותי for את ה׳ and then עוֹשֶׂה for עֲשֹׂה, and it was this misunderstanding that led almost automatically to the addition of the words כי אני ה׳ 'for I am the Lord', a conspicuous example of revision stemming from a strained attempt to arrive at an understanding of a corrupt text.

We will add one further case of textual adaptation which we are able to reconstruct by taking advantage of a parallel passage in conjunction with its translation in the Septuagint. In 2 Sam. vii 10, we read: . . . ושמתי מקום לעמי לישראל ונטעתיו ושכן תחתיו 'I will fix a place for my people Israel and plant them firm within their place', which continues in verse 11: והניחתי לך מכל איביך 'and I will give you rest from all your enemies' (it appears that the words ולמן היום אשר צויתי שפטים על עמי ישראל 'ever since I raised up champions for my people Israel', are merely a variant of verse 7 which from a marginal gloss found its way into an incorrect place in the text). Afterwards the text proceeds והגיד לך ה׳ כי בית יעשה לך ה׳ 'And the Lord hath told thee, that the Lord will make thee a house'. In 1 Chron. xvii 10-11, the parallel text, we find: ואגד לך ובית יבנה לך ה׳ 'And I told thee and the Lord will build thee a house'. The Septuagint here translates: καὶ αὐξήσω σε καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σοι κύριος while in 2 Samuel the corresponding words in the Septuagint are: καὶ ἀπαγγελεῖ σοι κύριος ὅτι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ. Clearly the translator of 2 Samuel has

changed the meaning of the Hebrew text in order to connect the apparently unrelated parts of the sentence. He also deletes the conjunction at the beginning of the verse, presenting the difficult part as the conclusion of the preceding verse [1]). In the Septuagint version of Chronicles the words αὐξήσω σε do not fit into the flow of the translation—an argument in favour of their being part of the original text. This impression is strengthened by various considerations. Actually ואגדלך is the only reading which suits the continuity of the context both logically and syntactically: ואהיה ··· ועשיתי ··· ושמתי ··· אני אהיה לו לאב ··· והקמתי ··· והנחתי ···. Indeed, it appears that the continuation to ואגדלך has been preserved in וַבית יבנה לך ה׳. This sentence cannot possibly be the continuation of ואגד לך or והגיד לך and must be a remnant of another version [2]). What is more important, although in Chronicles the words ובית יבנה לך ה׳ precede והיה כי מלאו ימיך (read כי ימלאו) [3]), in the text of 2 Samuel there is no והיה at the beginning of verse 12. Syntactically it is very difficult to do without it, and it is indeed found in the Septuagint καὶ ἔσται which does not have any translation for the tetragrammaton at the end of the previous sentence (reading ὅτι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσες αὐτῷ and not τῷ κυρίῳ). I have no doubt that the tetragrammaton here originates in a corruption of והיה, which in turn gave rise to a reading והגיד לך ה׳ כי בית יבנה (יעשה) לך whose original form was: ואגדלך ובית אבנה (אעשה) לך. If there is any truth in this assumption, the passage with which we are concerned, affords us a noteworthy example of an adaptation-cum-revision the phases of whose development can still be traced. After the inclusion of the tetragrammaton, corrupted from והיה, the form אבנה was of necessity changed to יבנה. Thus there evolved here a prophecy of which the subject was God, so that the scribe, forced to regard the preceding words as an an-

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[1]) It is worth noting that the translation presupposes for כי בית יעשה some form of בנה like the parallel text in Chron. It is hard to decide what was written originally. This seemingly small question has a bearing on the exegesis of the whole pericope, mainly on the question of whether its redactor wanted to express the idea: 'It is not you who will build a house for Me, I will build a house for you'.

[2]) Rudolph in his commentary on Chronicles ad loc. prefers the reading והגיד לך, but disregards the variant readings כַּי בית יעשה לך and וַבית יבנה לך.

[3]) As in the parallel 2 Sam. vii 12. Cp. Lakhish Letters iii 8 כי אמר = כי יאמר; Is. xxviii 15 Kethib כי עבר Qere כי יעבר; a similar phenomenon Jer. xxiii 14 לבלתי שבו; read לבלתי ישבו; ib. xxvii 18 לבלתי באו read לבלתי יבאו; Ps. lx 11: מי נחני // מי יבילני read מי ינחני. Cp. S. D. Luzzatto המשתדל ad Gen. xxvii 46 and see below, p. 211, note 1.

nouncement of this prophecy, wrote ואגד לך in place of ואגדלך. This introductory formula caused ובית יבנה לך to be changed into כי בית יבנה לך. Such is indeed the reading in 2 Sam., where there occurred a further change when ואגד לך became והגיד לך so as to fit in with the requirements of the form of the prophecy כי בית יעשה לך ה׳ and/or as a result of the common mechanical interchange of *He* and *Aleph* [1]). Finally the form והגיד in place of ואגד forced the scribe to add the Divine Name as subject of the sentence.

In the foregoing we brought several examples of the aid extended to us by the Septuagint in tracing isolated cases of textual revision and in penetrating to the original form of the readings under discussion. What is more important, the translation paves the way to the understanding of scribal habits, and thus brings to light certain phenomena in the Massoretic Text, which can only be interpreted as the fruit of adaptations of an older pre-Massoretic text of the Bible. So we stated that the Septuagint is the main source for our knowledge of the abbreviation of the tetragrammaton to י׳ (and ה׳) [2]) and it enables us to correct the faulty בית ה׳ of MT (Jud. xix 18) to ביתי. It is impossible to comprehend the genesis of a corruption like this except within the framework of a process in which the abbreviations י׳ (and ה׳) were changed to the full form of the tetragrammaton.

The effects of S. D. Luzzatto's rule, that the scribes wrote a consonant only once when it ended one word and began the next, help us, with the aid of hypercorrections, to establish a similar process of revision. The Septuagint also contains evidence of this scribal habit which has, in the meantime, been borne out by the Lakhish letters. When at a given moment the scribes started to add the missing consonants, many cases of superfluous insertion occurred. To quote a few instances only: In Dt. xxv 17 בצאתכם מִמצרים is, as appears from the Septuagint and from the context (which consistently addresses its hearers in the singular form!) a hypercorrection for בצאתך ib. xxvi 3, הגדתי היום לה׳ אלהיך כי באתי אל הארץ the hymnic style lends plausibility to the reading of the Septuagint הגדתי היום לה׳ אלהי. In a similar manner 2 Sam. vii 16, ונאמן ביתך וממלכתך לפניך

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[1]) Interchange of ה and א 2 Kings xxv 11 ואת יתר ההמון // Jer. lii 15 ואת יתר האמון, Gn. xli 25 הגיד לפרעה Samar. אגיד לפרעה; 2 Sam. iii 18 הושיע read with LXX σώσω אושיע; Is. viii 2 MT ואעידה; DSIa והעד etc.

[2]) Cp. p. 207, note 2. F. Perles' comments on the abbreviation of the tetragrammaton, *Analekten*, 1895, pp. 16-20; NF 1922, pp. 2-4 are not always convincing; they fail to take into account systematically the evidence of the Septuagint.

כַּסאך יהיה נכון עד עולם results from a hypercorrection of the correct reading (preserved in the Septuagint's ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ) ונאמן ביתך וממלכתך עד עולם לפני [1]).

There exists an additional type of revision. Where manuscripts showed archaic forms not considered admissible by later scribes, correctors, or Massoretes, these forms were substituted by younger ones. Sometimes misunderstandings complicated matters. We can count fifty-two instances of the substitution of the Qere ו for the Kethib ה– of the possessive suffix third masc. sing. An instance of a pre-Massoretic revision of this type, coupled with a misunderstanding, is found in Is. xxviii 4: [2]) כבכורה בטרם קיץ אשר יראה האורה אותה בעודה בכפו יבלענה 'and Ephraim's beauty will be like the hasty fruit before the summer, which when he that gathereth it sees it, while it is yet in his hand he eateth it up'. The adjunct 'in his hand' is puzzling. Presumably the scribe was confronted by a reading בכפה which he understood as בְּכַפָּה and corrected into בכפו whereas what was intended was בַּכְּפָה 'while it is yet on the branch, already he consumeth it' [3]).

III

Until now we have discussed passages in which the revision has come to light with the help of external evidence, parallel writings, or Ancient Versions. Since, however, our last considerations have proved that revisions of the Hebrew text prior to the Massoretic version actually took place, we are justified in carrying our inquiry a step further and investigating some passages where there is hardly any external evidence available and where only an analysis of the text and its contents can reveal signs of revision to us.

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[1]) Much has been written about this scribal habit, to which S. D. Luzzatto was the first to draw attention (see p. 209, note 3). Its effects are striking enough to have been observed by the orthodox Talmudist B. Epstein, who in תורה תמימה on Gen. xiv 14 describes it as מדרך הלשון 'a feature of the Biblical language' and quotes a number of examples. For this phenomenon, too, the Septuagint is an important source of evidence. J. Fischer, *Zur Septuaginta Vorlage im Pentateuch*, 1926, enumerates more than a hundred cases where its application underlies the translation.

[2]) Thus, for הראה, Barth and others.

[3]) I have dealt with this phenomenon at some greater length, albeit rather casually, in *Kiryath Sepher* 30, 1954, 39, note 2 and given there further examples, among which an analysis of Ehrlich's brilliant treatment of Is. xlii 13. The unwillingness or disability to recognize the suffix תי—as characterizing the second person feminine singular also brought about some cases of textrevision *inter alia* in Jer. ii 20.

To open a discussion of this kind of examples, we will cite a passage in which the Septuagint indeed has hitherto unobserved traces of a reading different from the Massoretic version, but in spite of this the emendation proposed here is made principally on the basis of an internal analysis of the Hebrew text. Clearly, in this and in similar cases, there is no escape from an intermingling of interpretation and textual reconstruction, an intermingling the legitimacy of which is from the outset rather doubtful.

As the heading to a collection of prophecies in Jer. xxiii 9-40, we read in verse 9 לנביאים 'to the prophets'. Even a superficial examination shows that the first prophecy in this series, which consists of verses 9-12, does not relate especially to the prophets of the nation. A parallel example, whose similarity to our passage is obvious, will prove this. In the description of the results of the drought in chapter xiv, the priests and prophets serve only to exemplify the general despair: 18 כי גם נביא גם כהן סחרו אל ארץ ולא ידעו 'Yea, both the prophet and the priest wander about in the land, desperately'. They serve this same purpose in the description (9-11) of the corruption which reigns throughout the land: כי גם נביא גם כהן חנפו 'Yea, both the prophet and the priest are depraved'. The general corruption is not, however, the psychological centre of our prophecy. The focus here is on the mood of the prophet strained to the point of despair. He is stunned by the wickedness of the society around him (see v 1 ff.) and even more so by the apparent blindness of the entire nation. There is no one but himself who can foresee the coming events, or who understands that there is no flight from God's terrible judgement (xii 11) [1]). This despondent Cassandra-like mood erupts as the prophet pours out his soul in a way that is characteristic of the prophecies of his youth (iv 19, vi 11): 'Mine heart within me is broken, all my bones shake; I am like a drunken man and like a man whom wine hath overcome, because of the Lord and because of the words of His Holiness. For the land is full of adulterers, for because of cursing the land mourneth . . .' If this psychological interpretation of the prophet's words I have attempted is correct, then the 'I' who speaks until לכן in verse 12 is the 'I' of the prophet; hence the Lord cannot be the subject of מצאתי 'I found'. If this is so, it is im-

[1]) The prophecy is defined here as דברי קדשו, and intentionally so. The holiness of God cannot endure the contact of impurity (Ex. iii 5; Lev. xii 4; Deut. xxiii 15) and so, in the presence of depravity has to pass into avenging judgement (Is. v 16) cp. the treatises of Baudissin (1878), A. Fridrichsen (1916) etc.

probable that verse 11 (in contrast to verse 12) should end with the words נאם ה׳; the rendering of these words is indeed lacking in the Septuagint. Then, the original text issuing from the mouth of the prophet must have been גם בבית ה׳ מצאתי רעתם 'even in the Lord's house I have found their evil'. It would appear that the erroneous reading בביתי instead of בבית ה׳ gave rise to the addition of נאם ה׳ at the end. Thus the passage in the form in which we read it in MT is the result of a mistaken revision; the editor of the text did not understand the contents of the prophecy because he could not distinguish between the 'I' or the prophet and the 'I' of the Lord [1]). The reader may perhaps think this assumption rather daring, but we do not lack parallel examples. The reader of Zach. vii will see that the prophet in verse 7 mentions the 'former prophets', that is the prophets prior to the Babylonian exile, and in verse 11 and 12 describes the reaction of those listening to the words of those early prophets (the words הנביאים הראשונים appear again in verse 12). Thus verses 9-10 contain a quotation which summarizes the words of the pre-exilic prophets. Nevertheless, the introduction of this condensed quotation is verse 8 ויהי דבר ה׳ אל זכריה לאמר 'and the word of the Lord was unto Zachariah saying'. One is therefore compelled to assume that this verse is merely an erroneous editorial addition.

In the course of trying to reconstruct a text on the basis of internal analysis, we may find that it is a matter not only of various readings, but of various attitudes that seem to have been combined in the editing of one text. In these cases the work of textual criticism becomes involved in wider editorial problems. The beginning of chapter iii of Judges is a case in point: 1) ואלה הגוים אשר הניח ה׳ לנסות בם את ישראל את כל אשר לא ידעו את כל מלחמות כנען· 2) רק למען דעת דרות בני ישראל ללמדם מלחמה···· 4) ויהיו לנסות בם את ישראל לדעת הישמעו את מצות ה׳ אשר צוה את אבותם ביד משה· It is obvious that two different views have been combined here, without much success,

[1]) H. Wildberger, *Gotteswort und prophetische Rede bei Jeremia*, 1942, p. 91, erroneously takes God to be the subject of vs. 11. There are additional passages where inability to distinguish between the 'I' of God and the 'I' of the prophet led to corruption of the text and its subsequent adaptation. An example of no small importance is found in Is. xlviii 16: ועתה אדני ה׳ שלחני ורוחו. In the light of the context of vs. 15-16, there can be no doubt that God has to be the 'I' of the sentence. Obviously, the original text read: ... ועתה אני ה׳. Volz (1932) ad loc. proposes: אשלחנו לארחו; J. A. Bewer (*Festschrift A. Bertholet*, p. 66): שולח אני בחירי. The context, in my opinion, favours a perfect form: שלחתי לארחו resp. שלחתי בחירי, cp. also Jer. xxvii 5-6: ועתה אנכי נתתי וגו׳, a passage that may have served as a model for ours).

to explain why the tribes of Israel conquered only part of the Canaanite nations when they entered the Promised Land. According to one view it was so that the art of war should not become strange to them, while according to the other it was a test to see whether they would remain faithful to their God despite the temptations of idolworship around them. The observation that לנסות has a double sense is not new, the Septuagint translating it πειράσαι whereas Symmachus has ἀσκῆσαι on which Theodoretus remarks: τὸ μέντοι πειρᾶσαι ὁ Συμ. ἀσκῆσαι φήσιν αὐτοὺς ἠβουλήθη καὶ διδάξαι τοῦ πολέμου τὴν τέχνην. As a matter of fact the Massoretic text seems to be an expansion containing two explanations of a short original text, which contained only the statement that the Canaanite nations remained לנסות בם את ישראל 'to test Israel' [1]). One is tempted to suggest (a suggestion which would have important bearing on our view of the development of Biblical historiography) that the realistic interpretation, ללמדם מלחמה 'to teach them war', etc. [2]), precedes the theological pre-Deuteronomistic interpretation [3]) לדעת

[1]) EHRLICH ad loc. recognized the technical meaning of לנסות here—he refers *inter alia* to 1 Sam. xvii 39—and realized the fact 'dass der Bericht über die bei der Eroberung Kanaans daselbst zurückgebliebenen Völkerschaften durch verschiedene Hände gegangen ist, denen noch die Urquelle vorlag. In der Urquelle war der Ausdruck לנסות בם את ישראל nicht weitererklärt und die verschiedenen Redaktoren ... erweiterten ihn nach ihrer individuellen Anschauung'. Cp. also H. SCHULZ: "Exegese im A.T." *Zschr. f. Semistik* 3 (1924), pp. 183-184. For similar remarks, cp. O. EISSFELDT, 'Zwei verkannte militärtechnische Termini', *VT* 5 (1955), p. 237-238, who is not aware of his predecessors, both ancient and modern.

[2]) The text of 1b and 2a is an agglomeration which it is beyond my powers to analyse and explain. The solemn דרות seems to be a dittography of דעת, cf. SCHULZ, *l.c.*, who in concluding his aforementioned study writes (p. 193) on the genesis of texts like the one under discussion: 'Man hat sich vielfach daran gewöhnt, Unebenheiten im Texte zu beseitigen durch das Suchen nach Quellenschriften, die ineinander gearbeitet sein sollen. Ob nicht die Annahme von Beischriften häufig ... ein wirksameres Mittel sein dürfte?" This fundamental question gains in weight in light of the character of the Israelite mind which does not aim at the development of new systems, but rather adapts ancient traditions, institutions, etc., to changing circumstances by slight alterations (cf. e.g. J. HEMPEL, *Das Ethos des Alten Testaments*, 1938, p. 90). A. EISSFELDT writes (*l.c.* p. 238) with regard to the inner contradictions of passages like ours: 'die älteren Stoffe werden belassen, wollen aber im Sinne der über sie gelegten Schichten verstanden sein'.

[3]) Y. KAUFMANN emphatically denies that the redaction of the Book of Judges should bear a deuteronomistic stamp (see now inter alia: *The Religion of Israel* 1960). See also G. VON RAD, *Theologie des AT*, I, 1957, pp. 343-344, who concludes his remarks on this point by saying: 'Es ist schwer vorstellbar, dass die Redaktion der Königsbücher und die des Richterbuches in einem Arbeitsgang erfolgt sein sollte'.

הישמעו את מצות ה׳ אשר צוה את אבותם ביד משה 'to know whether they would listen to the commandments of God which He commanded their fathers by the hand of Moses'.

Let us move a final step forward and look at another text. Chapter v of Proverbs opens: בני לחכמתי הקשיבה לתבונתי הט אזנך· לשמר מזמות ודעת שפתיך ינצרו· כי נפת תטפנה שפתי זרה, וחלק משמן חכה· הרחק מעליה דרכך, ואל תקרב אל פתח ביתה. A certain difficulty is felt in the second verse, 'that thou mayest regard discretion and that thy lips may keep knowledge', which does not constitute a satisfactory transition from the opening, 'my son, attend to wisdom, etc.', to the motivation in the third verse: '*for* the lips of a loose woman drop honey, etc.'. Even if there be perhaps a possibility of resolving the difficulty, our doubts as to the correctness of the context in its present form nevertheless grow stronger when we read in Chapter vi 20, 23-24, נצר בני מצות אביך, ואל תטש תורת אמך ..... כי נר מצוה ותורה אור, ודרך חיים תוכחות מוסר· לשמרך מאשת רע, מחלקת לשון נכריה and similarly at the beginning of Chapter vii: בני שמר אמרי ומצותי תצפן אתך ... אמר לחכמה אחתי את, ומדע לבינה תקרא לשמרך מאשה זרה, מנכריה אמריה החליקה. A comparison of these verses raises the question: Is it not possible that at the beginning of Chap. v two points of view were intermingled, one of the acquisition of wisdom, knowledge, and observance of God's commandments—the description of these values may have been fuller in the original text, like those in Ch. vi and vii—and another on the avoidance of strange women and prostitutes? We may assume that לשמר מזמות was corrupted from לשמרך מזמת זונה 'to keep thee from the lewdness of a whore' (cf. Jer. xiii 27 זמת זנותך!) or the like, whereas ודעת שפתיך ינצרו (מזמות) formed part of a more detailed description of the Wisdom praised. However, we cannot in this case trace the further developments engendered by the misunderstanding and first adaptation of the text.

IV

Revision of an incomprehensible text are common in the Greek version of the Septuagint, and perhaps it is appropriate as a sort of sequel to the foregoing study to add some comments on the nature of these revisions. In the Septuagint the phenomenon appears in various forms. On occasion transliterations of Hebrew words into Greek letters were incomprehensible, and were fashioned into, as it were, Greek words. Such transformations as well as other corruptions in the Greek text often required continuation and expansion in order

to harmonize the corrupt version with the requirements of grammar and relevancy. In addition we find that scribes may interpret an incoherent text 'midrashically', adding things which at times do not at all accord with the intentions of the original author.

Attempts to Hellerize transliterations are widespread and well-known. In 1 Sam. xv 23 we find ואון ותרפים הפצר where most manuscripts of the Septuagint have a transliteration for the word תרפים: θεραφειν while the Vaticanus and its satellites read θεραπείαν! Similarly, in place of the reading in Jer. xxxi 21 שמי לך תמרורים the Septuagint has (xxxviii 21): ποίησον τιμωρίαν. Undoubtedly, the last word has come to improve and render intelligible a transliteration of the Hebrew word תמרורים which was not understood. In Is. ii 16 ולכל אניות תרשיש the reading καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν πλοῖον θαλάσσης is possibly no more than the misunderstanding of a scribe who found πλοῖον Θαρσης in the manuscript he copied. A more conscious alteration may be suspected in Is. x 32 בנב: ἐν ὁδῷ from an original ἐν νοβ, ἐν νοδ. Almost amusing is the alteration in some LXX MSS in Ben Sira xvi 16—a late addition in Hebrew and Greek!—אור וחשך חלק לבני אדם καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐμέρισε τῷ ἀδαμάντῖ but xl 1: ἐπὶ υἱοὺς Ἀδαμ. In Ben Sira xxiv 14, the lost Hebrew text apparently had בעין גדי the transliteration (ἐν Αινγαδδι, ἐν Αινγαδδοις?) has been transformed into the good epic word ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς.

Revisions of this kind are by no means confined to the Hellenization of transliterations; there are many other possible examples. We may not, of course, assume that the version of the Bible which confronted the Alexandrian translators was identical with the Massoretic version which we read today. Yet, already in the above examples of the Hellenization of transliterations we could not refrain from relying on the Massoretic text as a starting point, and it is clear that in investigating the revisions which occurred in the Septuagint, as well as in any attempt to restore the original reading of this translation, a comparison with the Massoretic text may often prove enlightening. In such an investigation there is a singular importance attached to those instances in which, in addition to the Massoretic text, we have at our disposal two different forms of the translation. As is well known, the translation of the Book of Judges, as transmitted to us, is a case in point [1]). It is, therefore, only fitting that we should head our

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[1]) The manuscripts A and B in Judges represent two forms of the same translation; so (a.o.) I. Soisalon-Soininen in his valuable treatise: *Die Textformen*

group of examples from the Septuagint with two verses from Judges. In vi 17 we read: ועשית לי אות שאתה מדבר עמי 'then show me a sign that thou talkest with me'. In MS A the verse is correctly translated: καὶ ποιήσεις μοι σημεῖον ὅτι σὺ λαλεῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ whereas Ms B has instead: καὶ ποιήσεις μοι σήμερον πᾶν ὅ τι ἐλάλησας μετ' ἐμοῦ 'so do to me today all that thou hast spoken to me'. It might seem that the reading in Ms B is more comprehensible than that of Ms A, but comparison with the Massoretic version establishes that it is the version of Ms B which is corrupt: the miscopying of σήμερον in the place of σημεῖον induced, of necessity, the change of the conjunction ὅτι into the combined relative πᾶν ὅ τι as well as that of the predicate λαλεῖς to ἐλάλησας. We have a similar example in viii 32. The Bible relates: וימת גדעון בן יואש בשיבה טובה 'Gideon died in a good old age', and the Septuagint according to Ms A has: ἐν πολιᾷ ἀγαθῇ while Ms B reads: ἐν πολεῖ αὐτοῦ 'in his town'. The corruption of πολιᾷ to πόλει seemingly compelled the scribe to change ἀγαθῇ to αὐτοῦ.

The results obtained by a comparison of different versions of the translations justify hypotheses and conclusions in cases where we have only the Massoretic text and one single version of the Septuagint. In 1 Sam. xiv 5, for example, the Hebrew text has השן האחד מצוק מצפון ···· והאחד מנגב. The Septuagint twice translates the word שן 'tooth' as ὁδὸς 'path'. Drusius suggested that ὁδός here is no more than a corruption of ὀδούς 'tooth'. If his conjecture is correct—and it seems plausible—then the sentence was once formulated in the masculine, while today we read in all the manuscripts: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ μία ἀπὸ βορρα . . . καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἄλλη ἀπὸ νότου (in the feminine). It is obvious that the scribes changed the gender of the attributes and thus, seemingly, expanded the corruption. In 1 Sam. xviii 21 we have: ויאמר שאול אתננה לו ותהי לו למוקש ותהי בו יד פלשתים. The sentence structure in the Septuagint is completely different. There we read: καὶ ἔσται αὐτῷ εἰς σκάνδαλον. καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ Σαουλ χεὶρ ἀλλοφύλων The translator left out or did not read in his manuscript vv. 16-19, where (in v. 17) the words ותהי בו יד פלשתים occur for the first time. In our verse he read וַתְּהִי (past) in place of וּתְהִי (future), so that he or someone found it necessary to add ἐπὶ Σαουλ thus ruining the entire

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der Septuaginta des Richterbuches, 1951. I hope my observations in the text may lend some support to this thesis. In many additional cases A seems to be closer to the original, whereas B shows traces of amplification and adaptation.

continuity, in fact because the nature of Saul's plotting against David was not rightly understood.

In other passages misunderstanding or corruption lead to the addition of a word in a more midrashic vein. An example is found in Ben Sira xxxiii (xxxvi) 16 (22). The Hebrew text reads: תשמע תפלת עבדיך כרצונך על עמך. In the translation of Ben Sira's grandson the second half of the verse reads, according to all extant manuscripts: κατὰ τὴν εὐλογίαν Ἀαρων περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ σου. Undoubtedly this reading emanated from a literal translation, in keeping with the common usage of translator-Greek: κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν (σου) περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ σου. The interchange of εὐδοκία with εὐλογία (the verbs εὐδοκεῖν and εὐλογεῖν have been interchanged in manuscripts of the Septuagint in Gen. xxxiii 10, Ps. xlviii (xlix) 14; cxviii (cxix) 108 caused εὐλογίαν Ἀαρων to be written instead of εὐδοκίαν a revision we might consider a small contribution to the history of thought in the circles of Hellenistic-Jewish scribes.

The final example in this supplement on revisions in the text of the Septuagint deals with a text which the translator expanded midrashically. It will give us an opportunity to reconstruct a rather interesting text, and so add two ancient Hebrew proverbs to the Wisdom preserved in the Bible. In Proverbs xi 16 we read: אשת חן תתמך כבוד ועריצים יתמכו עשר 'A gracious woman retains honour, and strong men retain riches'. The Septuagint for this verse contains four *stichoi* instead of two: γυνὴ εὐχάριστος ἐγείρει ἀνδρὶ δόξαν, θρόνος δὲ ἀτιμίας γυνὴ μισοῦσα δίκαια. πλούτου ὀκνηροὶ ἐνδεεῖς γίνονται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρεῖοι ἐρείδονται πλούτῳ. Expansions of the Massoretic version are common in the Septuagint of Proverbs, and in every single case it is necessary to ascertain whether it is free addition by way of the accretion of the Wisdom literature, or possibly a rendering of a Hebrew text which confronted the author. In the case before us, it is obvious that the first and fourth verses in the Septuagint are a translation of the Massoretic version. The ἀνδρὶ in the first *stichos* is no more than a free addition by the translator (or by somebody else, after ἐρείδει had been corrupted into ἐνείρει). The last *stichos*, at first glance, appears to be a literal translation of ועריצים יתמכו עשר 'and strong men retain riches'. But it is worth noting that in the Septuagint of Proverbs ἀνδρεῖοι appears in x 4, xii 4, (xv 19?) as a translation of חרוצים 'diligent'. In light of the frequency of interchange between ח and ע [1]) we may assume that the reading translated

[1]) See p. 202, note 1, above.

was: וחרוצים יתמכו עשר. This assumption still gains in plausibility by a Hebrew reconstruction of the preceding *stichos* in the Septuagint: עצלים מהון (מהונם) יִוָּרשו 'the lazy will be deprived of riches'. The combination of arguments makes it plausible that we have here a Hebrew proverb in its entirety: עצלים מהון (מהונם) יורשו וחרוצים יתמכו עשר 'the lazy will be expelled from (their) riches but the diligent will retain their wealth'. Apparently in the Massoretic version two veses having the verb תמ״ך in common, but treating different subjects, were combined in an unconvincing manner. Thus the two additions in the Septuagint reflect, in reality, parts of proverbs which were deleted in the Massoretic version, and the question then arises how to interpret the second *stichos* and explain it as a contrasting parallel to אשת חן תתמך כבוד. Apparently θρόνος δὲ ἀτιμίας is a translation of כסא קלון 'a throne of shame', but since we read in xii 23: אדם ערום כסה דעת and the Septuagint there translates: ἀνὴρ συνετὸς θρόνος αἰσθήσεως we must take into consideration the possibility that our verse speaks of a woman who 'concealeth shame' in contrast to one who 'retaineth honour' in the parallel first verse. Of which woman is it said here that she 'concealeth shame'? Seemingly of the woman who has 'hatred of righteousness', γυνὴ μισοῦσα δίκαια. However, and this is of importance to our subject, there is, in the Wisdom literature, a not insignificant number of places where the translator imports 'justice' and 'righteousness' with homiletic intent. For instance the Septuagint of Job xxiv 4: יטו אביונים מדרך 'they turn the needy out of the way' is ἐξ ὁδοῦ δίκαιας 'from the path of justice'; while for Prov. x 22 ברכת ה׳ היא תעשיר 'the blessing of the Lord maketh rich', the Septuagint has: εὐλογία κυρίου ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν δικαίου 'cometh upon the righteous'. Prov. xvi 5 יד ליד לא ינקה 'he who shaketh hands with strangers (or: be sure of it?) shall not go unpunished' becomes in the Septuagint χειρὶ δὲ χεῖρας ἐμβαλῶν ἀδίκως 'shaking hands in injustice' οὐκ ἀθῳωθήσεται. There is thus, I venture to suggest, good reason to suppose that the Hebrew text used by our translator did not contain any equivalent for δίκαια but read אשה שנואה which the translator misunderstoood. In my estimation, the considerations which have been discussed here suffice to justify the assumption that the translator was confronted by the following form of the first proverb: אשת חן תתמך כבוד, ואשה שנואה כוסה (תכסה) קלון 'the beloved wife is prepared to show everyone her honour and happiness, whereas the despised wife conceals her shame'.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO P. 203

Midrashim which are built on readings of the Bible text apparently deviating from MT (the quotations however having been adapted to it by the copyists of rabbinical texts) are of particular interest and of no small importance for the history of the Biblical text; sometimes even more so than actually deviating quotations! It will be remembered that it was especially Abraham GEIGER who paid attention to the phenomenon; it might be less known that the material he collected is to be found, not in his *Urschrift*, but in *Nachgelassene Schriften* IV, 1885, 28-30. Here only a few instances can be given (three of which are mentioned by GEIGER). Genes. Rabba lxiv 5 on Gen. xxvi 32 אין אנו יודעין אי מצאו או לא מצאו וכו׳ reflects incertainty as to the question whether the correct reading should be ויאמרו לו (so rightly MT) or לא מצאנו מים (so erroneously LXX: οὐχ εὕρομεν ὕδωρ). On Gen. xxxii 25 ויותר יעקב לבדו we read b. Chullin 91a נשתייר על פכין קטנים 'he stayed to look for small jars (which he had lost)', an embroidery on a faulty reading לכדו! Mechilta on Exod. xvii 8 (ויבא עמלק) comments upon Num. xiii 29 by stating: חמשה עמים פסע עמלק ובא ועשה מלחמה עם ישראל whereas MT enumerates only four peoples: החתי והיבוסי והאמרי והכנעני . . . ; here החוי has been ousted, due to haplography after the foregoing החתי; it is found, however, in Sam. and LXX (ὁ Χετταῖος καὶ ὁ Εὐαῖος). Not long ago TUR SINAI brilliantly detected that Pesiqta Rabbati ed. FRIEDMANN 127b (and parallels) כבד את ה׳ מהונך ··· בקולך, שאם היה קולך נאה והיית יושב בבית הכנסת עמוד וכבד את ה׳ בקולך, thus explaining Pr. iii 9 as an exhortation to lend splendour to the synagogal service by chanting 'with your beautiful voice', supposes a textform כבד את ה׳ מגרנך 'from your barn' which excellently suits the context and has been interpreted as מגרונך; cp. the variants in Jr. ii 25 גורנך Kethib, גרונך Qere. The controversy in the Palestinian Talmud in Peah v 6 on the interpretation of Pr. xxiii 10 אל תסג גבול עולם has its roots in a reading אל תסג גבול עולים (cp. Tos. Niddah ii 7 etc.); on the implications of this reading and its treatment by various scholars cp. what I have written in *SVT* I 1953, 166-167. An example of a textform which only in its vocalisation slightly differs from MT, the effects, however, being considerable, is offered by Tos. Sotah ix 9 (end). In an allegorical interpretation of Cant. viii 5-6, the words חבלה ··· תחת התפוח עוררתיך ילדתך are taken to be spoken by God. They are, then, directed to the bride and, accordingly, their suffixes ought to be vocalized as feminine

forms, whereas MT consistently vocalizes עוררתיך etc. This discrepancy is all the more interesting because an entirely different source reflects the same exegetical tradition we found in the Tosephta. The manuscripts A and B of the Septuagint of Canticles contain *distinctiones actorum* (RAHLFS), notes from a Christian hand on the distribution of the various voices in Canticles. On viii 5b the note reads: ὁ νυμφίος τάδε πρὸς τὴν νύμφην. (On the import of this small variance on the whole understanding of Canticles, see C. GEBHARDT: *Das Lied der Lieder* 1931). B. RATNER has rightly observed (Introduction to his edition of *Seder 'Olam Rabba* § 9) that the midrash of Rabbi Jehoshua ben Levi, who found in Jer. xxix 7 a command to pray not for the welfare of Babel but of Jerusalem מדרש גדול וגדולה, JELLINEK: *Beth ha Midrash* III, 130, the end) is based on a reading: ודרשו את שלום העיר אשר הגליתי אתכם משם—for the last word MT has שמה. I am not, however, quite sure whether this reading has to be considered as a textual (mechanical) variant, or as a tendentious one!

SHORT NOTES

AN ADDITIONAL FRAGMENT OF THE SYRIAC VERSION OF THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

In addition to the two Syriac MSS (Manchester: J. Rylands Syr. Ms. 9 [saec. XVI] and London: Br. Mus. Add. 14.538, f. 149a-153a [saec. X]) which transmit to us the greater part of the Syriac version of the (Odes and) Psalms of Solomon [1]), there occurs in a 14th century Cambridge Ms. (Univ. Libr. Add. 2012, f. 104b-105a)—among a collection of prayers for various occasions—an extract from the 16th Psalm of Solomon. A 16th century manuscript in the Mingana collection (Ms. Mingana 331 [2])) at Woodbrooke contains among its various contents a collection of 'Prayers of the "Seven Hours" '. One of these prayers consists of exactly the same extract of the 16th Psalm of Solomon, as that found in the Cambridge Ms. From the context in which it occurs it seems that this extract had some liturgical function, but it is not clear (at least to me) which particular purpose it served [3]).

As the Woodbrooke text, which shares a number of variants with the Cambridge text against the two principal MSS, shows also some readings of its own, it might be useful to print this text.

ܕܝ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܢ ܕܝ ܟܠܗ.

(xvi 6) ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܢ ܐܠܗܐ.

ܐܠܐ ܟܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܝ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ.

(7a) ܕܢܩܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝ ܫܡܝܐ.

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(9b) ܡܫܠܚ, ܒܠܐ ܡܪܝܐ.

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[1]) *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, re-edited... by R. Harris and A. Mingana, Manchester 1916-1920.

[2]) Cp. A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts...*, Vol. I (Cambridge 1933), cols. 610-616. Our text is on f. 13a-b.

[3]) Some observations on a possible liturgical use of the (Greek text of the) Psalms of Solomon are to be found in H. E. Ryle/M. R. James, ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ (Cambridge 1891), p. lix f.

(10) ܠܥܪ ܡܫܩܗ، ܕܩܠܗ ܪܥܝܢ ܐܠܗܝܡ.
ܡܢܚܐ ܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܠܠܐ ܐܚܕܢ ܚܕ.
ܡܠܐ ܐܡܪܐ ܕܠܒ ܕܡܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܫܡܐ.
(11) ܐܪܒܝ ܡܢܚܢܗ ܢܥܒܕ ܟܡܠܝܢ ܐܝܢܐ ܚܕ.
ܐܝܟܢ (sic) ܐܫܪܐ ܕܪ ܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܢܚܢܐ.
(12) ܕܝܚܢܐ ܪܒ ܪܡܢܗ ܫܝ ܢܥܪ.
ܡܕ ܪܒ ܗܫܠ ܠܢܥܪ: ܢܥܩܘ ܠ ܡܕܡ ܪܐܡܢܘܬ ܠ.
(13) ܡܚܠ ܪܒ ܐܢܐ ܚܢ ܠܟ ܗܫܠܢ.
ܡܢܐ ܢܥܒܕ (f. 13b) ܡܢܢܗܢ ܕܡܥܒܕܢܐ.

As compared with the text of HARRIS and MINGANA there are the following variants:

(7)/(9) ܡܢܚܝ . . . . . ܕܥܒܕ] omit. *cum* c (= Cambridge text)

(10) ܡܢܚܐ] praem. a

ܐܝܟ]ܐܚܕܢ *cum* c

.ܚܕ] + ܫܡܐ . . . . . ܠܐ; cf. c ubi ܕܠܐ loco ܕܠܒ ܕ.

(11) ܐܢܐ] ܐܢܐ ܪܝ; cf. c: ܐܢܐ ܪܝ

(12) ܪܡܢܗ] + ܠ *cum* c

(13) ܪܝ] + ܐܢܐ; c transfert post ܚܢ.

Leiden W. BAARS

NOTE ON THE TOWN LISTS OF JUDAH, SIMEON, BENJAMIN AND DAN. *)

The recent paper of Y. AHARONI about "The Province-List of Judah"[1]) deals extensively with the problems which were previously discussed by the writer in his paper "The Town lists of Judah, Simeon, Benjamin and Dan" [2]). A confrontation of both papers will amply show the main points of difference. Nevertheless there are a number of problems that merit further clarification. In addition AHARONI has raised some new problems which the writer thinks should be reviewed from a different point of view.

*) Josh xv 21-63; xviii 21-28; xix 2-8; 41-46.
[1]) Y. AHARONI, *VT* 9 (1959), pp. 225-246.
[2]) Z. KALLAI-KLEINMANN *VT* 8 (1958), pp. 134-160.

AHARONI has recourse to the system adopted by ALT, CROSS and WRIGHT, and examines the possible date of these lists with the presumption that the town lists of Judah and Benjamin are part of a document that reflects the administrative division of the kingdom of Judah which consisted, according to this view, of twelve districts.

Of the town lists in this area that of Simeon need not be discussed again as there is no disagreement about the fact that this tribe was incorporated in Judah. But the remaining town lists, those of Judah, Benjamin and Dan, which cover separate territories, do not fit one another exactly so as to form a unified document, nor do they agree with the boundary lines of Judah and Benjamin [1]). The elimination of the town list of Dan which considerably overlaps Judah's list, does not solve the problem. Even when the lists of Judah and Benjamin alone are considered as a unit and the overlapping of territory in the Jordan valley is disregarded, their combined extent does not fit any known historical situation. Therefore AHARONI, who bases his interpretation on the assumption of the existence of a unified list, had to separate the two town groups of Benjamin's list, and included in the administrative document reconstructed by him one of these groups only (see below).

Bearing in mind the incompatibility of the different town lists the writer reached the conclusion that the lists are not originally part of a single document, but are from diverse sources. Although one may learn from them about the possible administrative set-up, the main purpose of the town lists is to describe the areas of their respective *tribes* or *territories*.

As for some of the details of AHARONI's paper, the writer differs with his interpretation of the extent of the town list of Benjamin, nor can he accept AHARONI's approach to Solomon's administrative division upon which this interpretation is based. In AHARONI's opinion the town lists of the tribes of Israel (as distinguished from those within the kingdom of Judah) represent the administrative division of Solomon, as listed in 1 Kings iv, and perhaps even the administrative districts of Israel after the disruption of the united monarchy. Accordingly he assumes that the town list of Dan is not the second district of Solomon, as proposed by the writer, but a later derivative. It should be pointed out, however, that this assumption is squarely refuted by Rehoboam's retention within the borders of

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[1]) Dan has no boundary description, and see below.

Judah of the eastern part of the second district [1]), and by the territorial advance of the Philistines in other parts of this area. This suggestion of AHARONI cannot hold its own even when the list is truncated, as proposed by him (Josh xix 42, 44-46), in order to eliminate "parts of the boundary-description of Judah".

In line with his assumption regarding the interrelation of Solomon's districts and the town lists of the respective tribes, AHARONI holds the first part of Benjamin's town list (Josh xviii 21-24) to be the Israelite part of the district of Benjamin. This group of towns, he suggests, is either part of the Solomonic district of Benjamin which remained in Israel after the disruption of the monarchy, or it is a reorganized and enlarged Israelite district of Benjamin formed round the nucleus of a fragment of the district which was not attached to the kingdom of Judah after Solomon's death. This view is based on his assumption mentioned above, that the town lists of the tribes outside the kingdom of Judah reflect the post-Solomonic derivative of Solomon's administrative division.

Against this view the following should be pointed out. The evidence suggested for a post-Solomonic origin of the Israelite town lists (as distinguished from those within the later kingdom of Judah), is insufficient. It is also inconceivable that the kingdom of Israel, should have constituted a district of Benjamin that covered a major part of Mount Ephraim proper. The proposed interrelation of these town lists with Solomon's administrative division as opposed to the boundary system is unacceptable too. The town lists, apart from those of Simeon, Judah, Benjamin and Dan, *conform* with the boundary descriptions of their respective tribal areas, whereas Solomon's administrative districts deviate in several instances from these boundary lines. In Trans-Jordan the boundary lines of all three tribes, Half-Manasseh, Gad and Reuben, resemble Solomon's districts in a remarkable manner [2]). In western Palestine however, there are several deviations. The tribal areas of Ephraim and Manasseh (including recently conquered Canaanite areas) are divided into several districts, but no town lists of these two tribes have been preserved. Another patent deviation from the boundary system is the second district of Solomon (1 Kings iv 9), which includes towns from Judah

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[1]) See 2 Chron xi 10 regarding the fortification of Zorah and Aijalon by Rehoboam.

[2]) Z. KALLAI-KLEINMANN, Heshbon, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. III, Jerusalem 1958, col. 312 (Hebrew).

and Ephraim and finds therein its perfect parallel in Dan's town list. As already remarked, here and in the writer's above-mentioned paper (note 2), Dan's town list is an outsider anyway. It is devoid of a boundary description, as owing to the actual non-existence of this tribe in this area, the boundary system disregards the tribe of Dan. In Galilee, Solomon's administrative division does not provide a separate unit for Zebulun, but this omission is not indicated in the town lists. There is an explicit boundary description for this tribe with an abbreviated town list appended to it. This brevity, which is a result of the set-up of the territorial descriptions in Galilee, cannot be regarded as a result of Zebulun's annexation to one or two of its neighbours within the administrative framework of Solomon. As for Benjamin, there is nowhere any indication that the extent of the district of Benjamin was materially different from the area outlined by the boundary description of that tribe, nor is there any known historical background for such an extension of Benjamin in the days of David and Solomon or previously.

Therefore the writer sees in the conquest of Abijah the first historical event that could have provided the historical background to the very marked enlargement of Benjamin's town list. This suggestion of the writer is supported by the observation that Judah's town list too differs from the boundary description of that tribe, and also reflects a situation that is later than the disruption of the united monarchy [1]).

The position of Aijalon within the kingdom of Judah requires attention as well. As mentioned before, Aharoni is of the opinion that the town lists of Judah and one part of Benjamin constitute the administrative set-up of the kingdom of Judah. The date of this document he sets in the reign of Uzziah. But this date is unacceptable to the writer, even when Judah's town list is considered by itself.

The history of Aijalon and its surroundings prevents us from reaching such a conclusion. It is quite clear that Uzziah not only

[1]) Aharoni suggested that Abijah's conquest was an annexation of the Israelite district of Benjamin and Baasha's counterthrust perhaps an attempt to annex the Benjamin district of Judah. But this suggestion not only lacks proper foundation but tends to be an exaggerated legalism. Indirectly it actually concedes the writer's proposal regarding the historical background of Benjamin's enlarged town list. It is quite clear that Abijah's motive was to restore the united monarchy (cf. 2 Chron xiii 4 ff.), only he did not achieve his aim. The southern strip of that area was reconquered by Asa after Baasha's retreat and is quite appropriately referred to as "the cities of Ephraim" (2 Chron xvii 2).

held Aijalon but an extensive area beyond to the west and northwest. Therefore to depict the kingdom of Judah of those days without the city of Aijalon is inconceivable.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that the archaeological material, even according to AHARONI's analysis, does not preclude the date proposed by the writer for Judah's town list, namely, in the days of Hezekiah. The town lists of Simeon, Dan and Benjamin each have a separate historical background: Simeon's list most probably dates from David's time, Dan's list reflects Solomon's second district and Benjamin's enlarged town list originates with Abijah's conquest.

Jerusalem (Isr.) Z. KALLAI-KLEINMANN

THE GREEK LETTERS OF THE COPPER SCROLL

The Greek letters of the Copper Scroll have so far defied a convincing explanation. In a document of this type the suggestion has, of course, been put forward that they might represent numerals or possibly be the monograms of either the owners, custodians, or accountants of these treasures. None of these proposals has hitherto been brought into accord with the data found in the text itself.

There are seven sets of Greek letters, the first two consisting of three members, the remainder of pairs. Quotations and numbering in the following are based on J. M. ALLEGRO's *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll* (1960). It will be convenient to proceed in the sequence in which my attempt at a decipherment developed: I begin with column II, line 9, where in juxtaposition to the words 'ten talents' (*kkryn 'sr*) we find the letters ΔΙ. That the second letter represents the numeral 'ten' can scarcely be in doubt; and I suggest that the first letter, which is placed at right angles before the second, must be an abbreviation of Δέκα.

In the same column, line 4, we have 'sixty-five bars of gold' (*'štwt zhb ššyn whmš*) in words, followed by two Greek letters which ALLEGRO reads Θε. My reading is Ξε, i.e. 65. The first letter is badly written, but Ξ seems to me somewhat more probable than Θ; and this is indeed borne out by the context.

In column II, line 2, we encounter 'forty-two talents', followed by HN. It seems to me patent that these letters are construed in the manner of Roman numerals, i.e. N=50; and H=8 placed on the left

of the larger number requires subtraction: 50—8=42. I am, of course, unable to say whether this mode of expression was intentionally cryptic or came as a consequence of Roman influence in 1st century Palestine. But, as we shall see in the following (and, indeed, from the Copper Scroll as a whole), the writer was either exceptionally ignorant and nearly illiterate or was using a thinly disguised code.

In column IV, line 2, we clearly recognize Greek ΣK, but the accompanying words are mutilated, so that in this instance no check is possible.

Column III, line 7, and column I, line 4, show, respectively, '40 talents' followed by TP and 'seventeen talents' followed by KεN. I read TP as 400 (i.e. 300+100) and KεN as 170 (i.e. 20 ἑκατόν 50=170). The scribe's attempt at concealment excludes consistency of numerical treatment. Whether some decimal connexion has to be sought between 40 talents and 400 or 17 talents and 170 (perhaps on the lines of the new and old francs in present-day France) or if a later hand tried to inflate the values must remain in the realm of conjecture.

Finally, the letters XAΓ (in column I, line 12) represent, in my view, χίλια three=3000; they are not accompanied by figures in words, so that their accuracy cannot be checked.

It is impossible to hazard a guess why these Greek letters appear in some cases but are omitted in others and, in fact, why Greek letters are used at all—save for cryptographic purposes, but the connexion between the numerical values of these letters and their context is too striking to invoke mere coincidence.

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THE CRUX AT AMOS III 12

Once it is realized that the anomalous next-to-last word in Amos iii 12 (וּבְדַמֶּשֶׂק) is a false word-combination [1]) which, when restored to its constituent elements (וּבַד מִשֹּׂק), allows us to read וּבַד מִשֹּׂק עָרֶשׂ instead of וּבְדַמֶּשֶׂק עָרֶשׂ, the verse emerges in all its ironic vigor from its present notoriety as a crux.

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[1]) For other examples of this error, see Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 3-4.

So rectified, and set out as the parallelism requires, the Hebrew text of iii 12 and its translation are:

כֹּה אָמַר ה׳
כַּאֲשֶׁר יַצִּיל הָרֹעֶה מִפִּי הָאֲרִי
שְׁתֵּי כְרָעַיִם
אוֹ בְדַל־אֹזֶן
כֵּן יִנָּצְלוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּשֹׁמְרוֹן
בְּפִאַת מִטָּה
וּבַד מִשֹּׁק עָרֶשׂ׃

Thus says the Lord:
'As the shepherd "rescues" our of the lion's mouth
two legs,
or a piece of an ear,
So shall the Israelites who dwell in Samaria be "rescued"
—in the form of a corner of a couch,
and of a piece out of the leg of a bed!'

The בְּ of בְּפִאַת מִטָּה is an instance of so-called *beth essentiae* [1]); the force of the preposition is here, as not infrequently elsewhere in poetic parallelism, "extended to the corresponding substantive of the second member" [2]), i.e. to וּבַד מִשֹּׁק עָרֶשׂ. All that will be left of the Israelites in Samaria, the prophet is saying, will consist of just enough pieces of debris to afford mute evidence of their utter destruction [3]).

Since the foregoing solution of the crux requires no change whatever in the consonants of the received massoretic text, or in their

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[1]) On this usage, see the lexica of BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS (pp. 88-89) and of KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER (p. 103), and the additional literature cited in the *Supplement* to the latter (p. 211); of the instances pointed out in the lexica, note particularly "consume away בֶּעָשָׁן *in the form of, as*, smoke" (Ps. xxxvii 20).

[2]) The quotation is from GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH-COWLEY, *Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford, 1910), § 119hh (p. 384); see also DAVIDSON, *Hebrew Syntax* (Edinburgh, 1902), p. 138. Disregard of the fact that the ב of the anomalous ובדמשק need not be taken as a repetition of the preposition בְּ in בְּפִאַת helps to explain, I believe, why scholars have not long since arrived at the solution offered in this paper.

[3]) A. WEISER, *Die Profetie des Amos* (Giessen, 1929), p. 144 ff., has pointed out the irony of the "rescue". Want of a proper explanation of בפאת מטה ובדמשק ערש has, however, prevented him from seeing that these words correspond to שתי כרעים או בדל־אזן in the first half of the verse, and that to follow HOFFMANN in separating 12cd from 12ab is neither necessary nor possible.

sequence, it must, by the law of parsimony, be preferred to any solution which does require such alteration [1]). It must also be preferred to those solutions which, while they too retain the consonantal text, do so by turning דמשק (always דַּמֶּשֶׂק in such interpretations) either into a quite senseless "Damascus", or into "damask", which besides being philologically dubious is an anachronism [2]).

Neither of the two best recent attempts to solve the crux, those of REIDER [3]) and TUR-SINAI (Torczyner) [4]) respectively, is as simple and self-explanatory as the one offered above. REIDER believes that דמשק is a faulty writing of דעמשק, and that this is a *compositum* of two synonyms for "leg", שֹׁק and דעם; the latter word is unattested in Hebrew though found in Phoenician and Arabic. This solution, therefore, entails emendation of the consonantal text to a noun-combination which, as one of its two components is unattested in Hebrew, is scarcely less problematic than our anomalous received text. TUR-SINAI, on the other hand, by holding that the language of the second half of our verse is elliptical, manages to achieve retention of the received text as follows:

"So shall the children of Israel be 'rescued':
Those dwelling in Samaria—with the corner of
a couch [5]),

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[1]) Older suggested solutions of this type are cited and discussed by W. R. HARPER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea* (New York, 1905), pp. 80-83; see also those discussed by J. REIDER, *J.B.L.* 67 (1948), pp. 245-248, and by V. MAAG, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* (Leiden, 1951), pp. 140-142. Both of G. R. DRIVER's emendations of ובדמשק ערש fall within this category: ובמראש ערש (*J.Th.S.* 39 [1938], p. 262) and ובמקרש ערש (in H. H. ROWLEY, ed., *Studies in O.T. Prophecy* [New York, 1950], p. 69); and so too that of A. GUILLAUME: וּבְדֶמֶשׂ רַעַשׂ (*Pal. Expl. Quarterly* 79 [1947], pp. 42-44).

[2]) On these interpretations, see HARPER's commentary (pp. 80-83) and REIDER's paper (pp. 245-246), cited above; also S. R. DRIVER, *The Books of Joel and Amos* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 164-165.

[3]) *Op. cit.*, n. 1 above. His paper, titled "דמשק in Amos 3: 12", possesses the considerable merits of recognizing that false word-combination is at the bottom of the crux and of following M. L. MARGOLIS in regarding שֹׁק as essential to any genuine solution.

[4]) N. H. TUR-SINAI, *Hal-lāšōn wehas-sēpher: kōrekh hal-lāšōn*, 2. ed. (Jerusalem, 1954), pp. 61-62.

[5]) I.e., according to T.-S., with merely this small residue of all their luxurious couches.

And (those dwelling) in Damascus [1])—(with the corner of) a bed" [2]).

To this it may objected (1) that 1 Kings xx 34 does not make it certain that there were Israelites in Damascus in Amos' day; (2) that even if there were, introduction of them at this point in Amos' diatribe would constitute a difficulty of contextual intrusion; (3) that if Amos used ellipsis of this sort, it is strange that more examples of it do not occur in his prophecy; and (4) that the elliptical pattern is itself broken by the inclusion of the preposition in ובדמשׂק.

It is perhaps significant of the validity of the present solution that each of the two words held to be falsely combined in ובדמשׂק has been proposed by at least one other scholar as part of his own attempt to solve the crux: בַּד by H. J. ELHORST [3]), and שׂק by M. L. MARGOLIS [4]). Finally, ובדמשׂק is not the first case of false word-combination to have been recognized in the text of Amos; in the 18th century J. D. MICHAELIS saw that בַּבְּקָרִים at Amos vi 12 ("Does one plow with oxen?") should be read בַּבָּקָר יָם ("Does one plow the sea with oxen?"), a restoration that has properly won its way into all but universal acceptance.

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[1]) T.-S. writes: "For the Israelites in Damascus, cf. I Kings 20: 34".

[2]) I.e., according to T.-S., with merely this small residue of all their beds of ivory (Amos vi 4).

[3]) In his *De Profetie van Amos* (1901) which, as it is not accessible to me, I cite as quoted by HARPER, *op. cit.* (n. 1, p. 230, above), p. 80. ELHORST's proposed reading was ובבד דַּמֶּשֶׂק ערשׂ.

[4]) In *A.J.S.L.* 17 (1901), p. 170 f. MARGOLIS proposed ובשׂק ערשׂ, for ובדמשׂק ערשׂ, arguing that the excised letters, ד and מ, had crept into the text by dittography of ב and שׂ respectively.

REVIEWS

ROLAND DE VAUX, *Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament*. II. *Institutions militaires*, *Institutions religieuses*, Paris, Éditions le Cerf 1960, 429 pp., Bibliographie (p. 431-460), Index des Matières (p. 461-490), Index des citations bibliques (p. 491-533). Prix: 19,50 NF.

Ce volume complète la synthèse magistrale dont *VT* a déjà analysé la première partie (1958, p. 321ss). Nos lecteurs connaissent donc le caractère de cette œuvre qui rassemble les faits en un tableau, sans notes au bas des pages, sans désignation des auteurs dont les opinions sont discutées, mais avec une bibliographie choisie à la fin du volume, groupée en fonction des paragraphes du livre où l'on peut retrouver les spécialistes et leurs œuvres. Deux index nourris (avec quelques fautes inévitables, ainsi *egorah* renvoie à II, 187 et non 197), en fin du Vol. II faciliteront la consultation fréquente de toute l'œuvre.

Ce Volume II se compose de deux parties aux dimensions fort inégales. Les Institutions militaires sont traitées en moins de cent pages. Il s'agira donc essentiellement des institutions religieuses. Mais la première partie même (quatrième de l'ensemble) contient nombre d'observations qui faciliteront l'interprétation des textes, qu'il s'agisse du peuple en armes, de l'armée de métier (depuis Saül) et de l'armée de conscription. L'auteur pense que les *ḥamušim* ne sont pas des „cinquantaines" mais des guerriers formés en cinq corps (p. 14). Il mentionne l'hypothèse „intéressante" mais „incertaine" selon laquelle les mercenaires seraient désignés comme des *beney ha'anaq*. L'auteur semble maintenir les écuries de Megiddo à l'époque de Salomon (p. 32) et évoque l'importance des textes de Mari sur le caractère du recensement.

L'archéologue qu'est le P. de VAUX est à l'aise pour traiter des fortifications et des remparts. Il n'hésite pas à faire appel au témoignage du Chroniste et, de fait, l'exploration israélienne au Negeb vient encore de souligner l'importance du système fortifié judéen à l'époque du Fer. Le rempart casemeté viendrait d'Asie-Mineure. Le P. DE V. pense que le terme „*šemeš*" désigne les rondaches fixées au sommet des murs plutôt que des créneaux; *'armôn* est un donjon, *sôlalah* un remblais et les *ḥiššebônôt* de 2 Chr. xxvi 15 l'équivalent des hourds de nos châteaux-forts. La suggestion de YADIN pour la lance de Goliat est retenue (p. 51). 2 Sam. i 18 est traduit „pour apprendre l'arc aux enfants de Juda" dans le sens d'un entraînement militaire. Ce fut sans doute l'interprétation à une certaine époque; mais on peut se demander si l'arc n'est pas ici l'attribut de Jonathan, premier né de Saül, comme c'était l'arme d'Esaü, premier né d'Isaac et à Ugarit celle d'Aqhat, premier né de Danel. On trouvera d'utiles précisions sur les flèches (p. 53) et sur la cuirasse (p. 55) qui serait d'origine hurrite. On retiendra ce qui est dit de la „petite histoire militaire d'Israel" aux pp. 57-62, les données

sur le „sergent recruteur" et la conduite de la guerre. On hésitera à admettre que la répartition des prises par moitié entre les combattants et la communauté soit antérieure à David. Aurait-il eu dans ce cas à instaurer la règle rappelée en 1 S. xxx 24s? Les pages consacrées a la „guerre sainte" connaissent l'étude de VON RAD mais représentent une enquête très personnelle. L'auteur marque bien comment les Prophètes se détournent des guerres d'Israël, mais il ne faut pas oublier que Jérémie fut un isolé; jusqu'à la chute de Jérusalem et la séparation du sacré et du profane instaurée par Ezéchiel, le peuple n'était guère en mesure de discerner guerre nationale et guerre de Yahvé. On trouvera en conclusion un aperçu sur le Rouleau de la Guerre de Qumrân.

Le P. DE VAUX aborde alors par un préambule de quatre pages les „Institutions religieuses". Les trois caractéristiques du culte qui le distingueront des autres cultes orientaux seront d'être 1) le culte d'un Dieu unique, 2) le culte d'un Dieu personnel qui agit dans l'histoire 3) un culte sans image. Ceci ne veut pas dire qu'il n'y ait pas eu d'idolâtrie en Israël; cela ne veut pas dire que le culte n'ait pas été progressivement rattaché a des événements providentiels (voir plus loin ce qui est dit des fêtes); cela ne veut pas dire enfin que „Yahvé ait été conçu dès le début comme un être purement spirituel, ce qui n'évoquait rien pour la pensée hébraïque" (p. 91). Mais ces trois points indiquent la manière dont la théologie biblique a commandé le culte orthodoxe en Israël.

Les quatre chapitres sur les sanctuaires sémitiques, sur les premiers sanctuaires d'Israël, sur le Temple de Jérusalem et sur la centralisation du culte, sont ceux qui m'ont paru les plus remarquables. On trouvera là une série de petites monographies sur le haut lieu (avec des nuances intéressantes apportées aux vues d'ALBRIGHT), sur les lieux de culte des époques patriarcale et présalomonienne; les données essentielles sont rassemblées et appréciées avec une parfaite clarté. Peut-être aurait-il été bon de faire la part plus large aux dieux de source hittites (p. 98), suggérer d'autre part que par la mise à part d'un territoire *ḥaram* la divinité réserve ses droits de propriétaire, de baʿal: elle a ici-bas sa part où elle est chez elle. J'aurais souhaité un peu plus sur le chêne de Débora et quelques exemples de récits extrabibliques de fondation de sanctuaire, de manière à mieux étayer ce qui est dit p. 116. Les développements sur Mambré et les avatars de Gabaon méritent toute considération.

La „Tente" est rapprochée de la *uṭfa* bédouine. L'arche d'alliance elle aussi vient du désert et l'auteur se refuse à opposer arche-trône et arche-réceptacle; le *kappôret* est d'une autre époque. J'hésiterais davantage sur l'étymologie de „*debîr*" qui serait une „arrière chambre". Ne pourrait-on songer à *dbr*, „parler" et voir dans le *debîr* une formation en i long de sens passif, „l'endroit où il est parlé", le lieu de l'oracle divin? Quant aux *ṭepâhôt* de 1 Reg. vii 9 l'explication par les *tapâti* de l'accadien, des „poutres" semble définitive. Toute cette description du Temple est de main d'ouvrier où sont signalés les points qui restent obscurs. Ces développements se terminent par une histoire du Temple et de sa théologie. Le P. DE V. considère le droit du roi sur le Temple comme un patronat plutôt que comme un sacerdoce (p. 159, voir aussi p. 239). Cette distinction relève-t-elle

vraiment des cadres et conceptions juridiques de l'époque? Puisque l'auteur fait justement remarquer que le Temple ne peut être une chapelle palatine privée car c'est le roi qui, au temps de David, fait l'unité du peuple, l'orthodoxie davidique aurait-elle répugné à exprimer par le titre de prêtre les droits du roi sur le culte et le sacrifice comme le faisaient les voisins? Mais que la notion de sacerdoce en Israël ait été profondément modifiée par les privilèges du Lévitisme, cela paraît certain, et c'est vraisemblablement ce qui a inspiré la réserve de l'auteur.

Les pages sur la centralisation du culte sont rédigées par le P. de V. avec tout le talent littéraire qu'on lui connaît. Il est favorable à l'origine nordique du Deutéronome, tout en estimant à juste titre que la Loi de centralisation doit être „examinée pour elle-même" (p. 184). Il me semble qu'il a raison de chercher la raison de cette centralisation dans la politique d'Ezéchias. Il y aurait peut-être une origine plus lointaine dans l'unification opérée par David et je verrais volontiers dans Ex. xxxiv l'écho cultuel de l'unification nationale. Il ne me semble pas que ces prescriptions ne visent qu'un sanctuaire local (cf. p. 368). La mention qu'on y trouve de la tranquillité des frontières (v. 24) et la place de ce texte dans les perspectives d'unité nationale de J me feraient croire que c'est au sanctuaire national que ce texte propose de „monter". Je ne crois pas tellement à un „fractionnement du culte" qu'à un développement de l'influence du sanctuaire national, d'abord dans l'amphictyonie, puis a Jérusalem, capitale de la dynastie élue par Yahvé.

Les chapitres V à VIII sont consacrés au sacerdoce (la fonction sacerdotale, le lévitisme, le sacerdoce de Jérusalem sous la monarchie, le sacerdoce après l'exil). Les spécialistes savent les difficultés inhérentes à ces questions. L'auteur a hésité entre deux définitions de la fonction sacerdotale. A la p. 279 il la rattache au sacrifice: „Le prêtre était dès les origines le ministre de l'autel". Mais, dans l'ensemble de ses développements, et tout spécialement au début du ch. V, il montre que le sacrifice à l'époque patriarcale était le fait du patriarche et non du prêtre; aussi rattache-t-il à juste titre celui-ci à la garde du sanctuaire (p. 195). Ceci est d'autant plus vrai qu'il n'est pas dit en Gen. xxviii 22 que Jacob promet de „payer la dîme" à Bethel. Il dit seulement: „pour décimer je décimerai", ce qui n'implique plus du tout un paiement à un clergé, mais peut être considéré comme une forme de sacrifice (cf. *VT* I, 1951, p. 131-4). Le P. DE V. ne mentionne pas même le *kahin* arabe parmi les étymologies possibles du *kôhen* hébreu. Ce rapprochement aurait pourtant l'avantage de donner pour origine du sacerdoce lévitique sa fonction oraculaire, ce que suggère Deut. xxxiii 8 dont l'auteur souligne toute l'importance. Il mentionne, mais sans s'engager, l'hypothèse qui rapproche *kôhen* de la racine *kwn*. De fait, l'hébreu connait ces *hé* intercalaires (cf. Abram = Abraham) et la racine *kwn* étant souvent utilisée pour les établissements et fondations de temple, on pourrait songer à elle pour désigner le gardien du sanctuaire. La page sur l'entrée en fonctions, *millu'im*, est des plus suggestives, ainsi que celles qui traitent du „prêtre et l'oracle divin", même sans l'éphod ugaritique (la *Concordance of Ugaritic* de G. Douglas YOUNG, ne le retient pas, à mon avis avec raison). Plus délicates les précisions sur l'enseignement. Je crains que l' „enseignement sacerdotal" sous la monarchie ne se soit limité à l'oracle. Les textes

cités (p. 207) montrent bien que ce n'est pas une catéchèse, mais une réponse divine, comme le *terit* babylonien. C'est sous l'influence du courant de sagesse qu'au *yarâh* = jeter le sort (Urim et Tummim) s'est ajouté un sens doctrinal. Ces réponses données par le prêtre seront conformes à la loi de Moïse déposée dans l'arche dont ils ont la garde, d'où Deut. xxxiii 10.

Il me semble donc qu'il faut rattacher le sacerdoce lévitique à l'oracle du sanctuaire, parfois itinérant comme dans le cas d'Ebyatar près de David errant. R. DE V. écarte les origines minéennes (p. 229) et montre de façon péremptoire comment les données historiques font plutôt du lévitisme de Dedan une dépendance d'Israël. Reste la question des généalogies lévitiques. Il est indubitable que la tribu de Lévi „a dû incorporer des éléments étrangers, mais ce rattachement s'est fait à un tronc préexistant" (p. 219). Un point sûr également, c'est que „la distinction entre prêtres et lévites qui était latente dans le Deutéronome, devient explicite dans Ezéchiel" (p. 221). „Ezéchiel n'innove pas foncièrement" (p. 22); mais „la rédaction des textes (lévitiques) des Nombres lui est postérieure" (p. 223) et le problème est de retrouver la filière historique qui explique la variété des généalogies et de la législation. Les remarques de l'auteur sur Ebyatar et les sadocites sont très intéressantes (p. 233ss, 263ss). Les données fermes paraissent les suivantes. On a à Dan un descendant de Moïse par Gershom, à Bethel Pinhas descendant d'Aaron par Eléazar (Jug. xx 28), à Anatot les descendants d'Itamar par Ebyatar, à Jérusalem Sadoq. Ezéchiel ne connaît que les fils de Sadoq, mais dans les Nombres et les Chroniques ces prêtres, fils de Sadoq, sont rattachés à Aaron par une généalogie que les exégètes discutent. L'auteur admet qu' „un concordat fut conclu entre les descendants de Sadoq et ceux d'Ebyatar, qui se rattachèrent respectivement aux deux fils d'Aaron, Eléazar (ou son fils Pinhas) et Itamar. Cet accord se fit en Babylonie et Esdras le sanctionna en prenant avec lui les représentants des deux familles" (p. 265). Il semble que cette ligne d'explication soit la seule qui réponde des faits et de la complexité des généalogies. Mais il me semble qu'on peut rattacher étroitement Sadoq à Aaron si l'on tient compte que ce dernier, dès les plus anciens textes, doit être considéré comme prêtre car il a une fonction oraculaire (malgré l'objection présentée p. 263). L'auteur se refuse avec raison à admettre une origine cananéenne au sacerdoce de Sadoq (p. 145). La faveur dont jouit Pinhas dans les textes bibliques malgré sa connexion avec Bethel et son nom égyptien ne me semblent bien s'expliquer que si les sadocites s'y rattachaient; c'est ce même lien généalogique avec le sacerdoce de Bethel qui explique le silence des textes préexiliques et d'Ezéchiel. Ce sacerdoce aaronide savait qu'il venait du sud, l'ancêtre étant mort au mont Hor. Reste à mettre en lumière le lien lévites-aaronides. Avec NOTH, DE VAUX souligne l'importance de la liste de Num. xxvi et du verset 58 qui classe les Lévites en cinq clans judéens, indépendants de la répartition en trois familles, Gershonite, Qehatites et Merarites. R. DE V. parle à ce porpos de l'„expansion géographique" des Lévites. Il me paraît difficile de ne pas tenir compte également de la politique d'assimilation des clergés locaux lors de la réalisation de l'unité de la Palestine sous David. C'est par là que je compléterais ce que dit l'auteur

sur la liste des villes lévitiques de Jos. xxi ainsi que je me suis expliqué dans *AfO* XVII, 377.

Sur le grand prêtre, les revenus du clergé, le personnel inférieur, on trouvera un résumé admirablement condensé (on hésitera peut-être à ne voir dans les musiciens d'Esd. ii 65 que des serviteurs profanes de riches exilés (p. 248), ainsi que des analyses décisives sur les familles sacerdotales et lévitiques des rapatriés. L'auteur met en relief l'extension des pouvoirs des lévites dans la théocratie du Chroniste par rapport aux textes sacerdotaux. Je reste toutefois encore sceptique sur une théorie de la composition des Chroniques où des additions auraient „étouffé" les revendications lévitiques sous la pression de la tradition sacerdotale (p. 259). Je crois nécessaires les ch. i-ix et xxiii-xxvii pour toute la conception que se fait d'Israël le Chroniste et pour la description des réformes d'Ezéchias et Josias. A mon avis, le Chroniste n'a jamais cherché à faire une oeuvre sans aspérités au point de vue historique et, à l'époque où il travaillait, il devait tenir compte de traditions divergentes dans les généalogies. Si les lévites en 1 Chr. xxiii 26 ne transportent plus la Demeure, ce n'est pas qu'ils perdent leurs droits, c'est qu'avec l'érection du temple il n'y a plus à la transporter. D'ailleurs, comme le dit l'auteur, Asaph reste affecté à l'arche. Le seul point délicat est la liste où Yehoyarib est en tête des classes de prêtres. Il me semble que si l'on date le Chroniste des débuts du IIIème s. ou fin IVème, cette liste peut s'expliquer en fonction du développement de l'influence de cette classe; mais l'hypothèse qui voit dans cette liste une insertion d'époque maccabéenne (Mattathias étant de Yehoyarib) a beaucoup pour elle. J'hésiterais à dire que Yehoyarib n'apparaît jamais dans un texte authentique, c'est à dire à ramener les deux mentions à des „additions" postérieures au Chroniste. On retiendra enfin la traduction de *nezer* par „signe de consécration" surtout si l'on admet, ce que je crois, que Zach. iv 1-14 fait allusion à l'onction du roi et du grand prêtre.

Avec le chapitre IX, le P. DE VAUX aborde le culte et le rituel. C'est peut-être dans ces chapitres que s'affrontent le mieux la netteté conceptuelle de l'auteur et le complexité des institutions de l'Ancien Testament. Certains même trouveront que cette netteté avec laquelle est dégagée le sens religieux bouscule un peu les contacts ou le devenir historique qu' Israël a pu avoir. Pour ma part, j'hésiterais à dire que le septième jour des septénaires ugaritiques n'est marqué par aucune des caractéristiques du sabbat (p. 375). Keret ne cesse-t-il pas sa marche ce septième jour? Peut-on dire également qu'il n'y a pas continuité entre sabbat juif et dimanche chrétien? Certes, il y a novation, mais cela exclut-il toute continuité? D'autant que l'auteur ne veut pas y voir un jour tabou, refuse un emprunt au *šapattu* du calendrier babylonien (sans se prononcer sur l'hypothèse d'une origine historique commune à deux institutions différentes) et en marque le caractère humain, social et religieux. Est-ce que, vraiment, la liaison entre la Pâque et le sacrifice des premiers-nés est un trait secondaire, alors que pour HENNINGER il y a „des raisons solides de supposer que les animaux que l'on offrait au mois de *Radjab* étaient originairement non des animaux quelconques, mais les premiers-nés du troupeau" (*Rev. do Museu Paulista* IV, 1950 p. 403). Le code deutéronomique lui-même est obligé de laisser la loi des premiers-nés

près de la Pâque (xv 19-23, près de xvi 1ss) bien que cela surprenne dans la disposition des lois. Peut-on dire que la Pâque n'a pas caractère expiatoire (p. 389)? Il est vrai que cela dépend de la notion d'expiation (*kippér*) dans l'Ancien Testament et que tout en rencontrant à deux reprises (p. 343ss et 389) cette notion, le P. DE V. ne l'étudie pas à fond; cela l'aurait entraîné en dehors des limites assignées au volume. Sans discuter de la traduction de *'aseret* par clôture, si la fête des Semaines est „postérieure à l'installation d'Israël en Palestine et doit avoir été empruntée aux Cananéens" (p. 396), la liaison de cette fête avec les Azymes n'entraîne-t-elle pas des conclusions analogues pour cette fête, et ne convient-il pas d'admettre que les Azymes ont été „accrochées" a la Pâque bien avant la réglementation sacerdotale? Mais il est vraisemblable que, sur ce point, l'auteur admettrait à une date assez haute sinon pour la rédaction, du moins pour la réglementation proprement dite.

L'auteur maintient l'introduction du calendrier babylonien „un peu avant l'exil" (p. 375). Une étude récente de R. PARKER (*Festschrift Junker* I, 208-212) remonte d'un an la date de l'avènement du Pharaon Hophra ce qui fait disparaître une de mes objections contre la date de 587 pour la chute de Jérusalem. Le choix de cette date a de l'importance pour déterminer le moment du changement de calendrier. Je reste cependant très hésitant car je ne vois pas comment on peut invoquer les textes de Jérémie dans la discussion. N'appartiennent-il pas tous à la couche B de MOWINCKEL, rédigée après la chute de Jérusalem (PODECHARD *RB* 1928 p. 190, 194, RUDOLPH). Ces textes relatent fidèlement les événements, mais leur rédacteur ne devait-il pas s'exprimer en fonction du nouveau calendrier surtout quand il s'agissait d'évoquer les saisons (Jer. xxxvi). La vraisemblance ne me semble pas en faveur d'un changement de calendrier avant la fin de l'indépendance judéenne.

Cette question joue un rôle dans la discussion sur la fête du Nouvel An et son rapport avec la fête des Tentes. Il me semble impossible de croire que la fête d'un *Rōš-hašanah* d'automne ait été instituée après l'adoption d'un calendrier mettant le début de l'année au printemps. Pour cette raison et d'autres, je crois nécessaire d'y voir la résurgence d'une ancienne fête liée primitivement à la fête des Tentes, mais suspecte aux textes sacerdotaux. Voir *Suppl. Dict. Bible*, art. *Nouvel An* sur la complexité du problème.

On appréciera tout particulièrement ce qui est dit des prières, du naziréat, de l'absence de sacrifices humains en Israël, du cycle liturgique en Lév. xxiii, de l'autel d'Ezéchiel. On voudra bien aussi excuser la présentation assez subjective de cette recension. C'est que l'auteur à toujours des données et des motifs à faire valoir en faveur des solutions qu'il présente. Cette véritable Somme des Institutions touche à tant de problèmes importants et discutés qu'il n'est pas permis de rejeter brièvement aucune des opinions proposées comme on serait réduit à le faire dans le cadre d'un compte-rendu. A la fin du second volume on ne peut que répéter les remerciements formulés après la parution du premier.

Paris Henri CAZELLES

JOHN BRIGHT, *A History of Israel*. Pp. 500, with Westminster Historical Maps of Bible Lands (16 Plates). $ 7.50. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia. 1959.

He who would write a history of Israel must begin by defining the limits which he proposes to set himself. But although Professor BRIGHT acknowledges that the Israelite amphictyony, in the sense in which that term is usually employed, did not come into being until after the Israelite settlement in Palestine, he goes back, nevertheless, to an earlier period than that for his starting-point. Indeed, he goes back, not only to the events which took place at Sinai where Israel's faith was born, but to the days of the patriarchs. This whole period precedent to the settlement he describes as one of 'Antecedents and Beginnings'. He justifies the inclusion of the events which took place at Sinai within his field because it was not the amphictyony which created its faith but the faith which constituted the amphictyony; and he includes the patriarchal period because a discussion of the extent to which the Old Testament narratives ot that period can be considered to be historical is a question which ought not to be evaded and which, in at least some of its aspects, can be profitably discussed today with the aid of much relevant extra-biblical material. The fact that even this section on 'Antecedents and Beginnings' is preceded by a prologue which outlines the foundations of civilization in the ancient middle east area, from the earliest stone age settlements, and gives more detailed survey of conditions in the third millennium and the early part of the second, may seem to keep the reader too long on the threshold of the subject of inquiry and to show an irrepressible zeal on the author's part to expatiate upon the results of modern archaeological investigation. But even if some readers find this preparatory discipline rather daunting, they may in the end find that they have been given a new conception of the deep-rooted and well-developed cultural context within which Israel came into being and by which she was greatly influenced.

It must be said, and said gratefully, that BRIGHT uses archaeological evidences with proper caution and discernment. These have, as in the case of the patriarchal period, enriched our knowledge of the general cultural pattern and have cast new light on several incidents and procedures in some of the narratives in the Book of Genesis, so that no one today will lightly dismiss these narratives as the creation of a much later age and of little, if any, historical value. But Professor BRIGHT never surrenders to the temptation of exaggerating the contribution which can be made by material remains of this nature.

The main phases of Israel's history, as they are set out in this book, will be generally accepted. Indeed, the phases are well nigh self-declaratory: the movement from the desert to the sown; the tribal confederacy in Palestine with its emergent social and political pattern; the significant development of the monarchy with the resultant growth of a sense of nationalism in Israel and an experience of centralized rule; the reaction manifest in the divided kingdom and the tension which ensued between Israel's distinctive ethos and traditions and the radically different and often

antithetical cultures of neighbouring peoples which wielded greater political and military power; the end of the kingdom in Ephraim and in Judah and the Judaism which arose from the ruins. But the main thesis of this book is that the history of Israel does not consist in the portrayal of the significant aspects of these successive phases, but in the emphasis of the theological interpretation which has the appearance of being superimposed upon the whole but which indicates its essential meaning in depth and its abiding significance.

The excellence of this book as a whole will be admitted without hesitation; the history of Israel is written with a clear awareness of the vital issues which were involved at the various critical points in it. It is probably in his treatment of the earliest periods that BRIGHT will provoke the liveliest discussion, although it must be said that the conservative point of view which he represents is in keeping with the trend of much recent writing on the subject. When, for instance, he says that the faith in Yahweh into which Moses led Israel at Sinai is not adequately described as henotheistic, few will quarrel with him. But the statement: 'Had Israel's faith been a henotheism, it would be difficult indeed to explain why a religion by comparison so primitive should have been the one to achieve such unexampled heights' is not wholly convincing. The rejoinder could be made that the reason why it reached such heights was that it was never allowed by her religious leaders to become static and fossilized. Again, while he says that we cannot properly speak of Israelite tribes in Egypt but only of a congeries of various types of peoples, immigrants and prisoners of war, with a core of the house of Jacob, yet he maintains that the roots of the later Israelite amphictyony go back to Sinai. That may seem to many to say overmuch; they may prefer to say that at Sinai a mixed community of people became a real association of people, which was thus fit to become the nucleus of the later, enlarged amphictyony which developed in Palestine. Again, that Israel had a sense of vocation at Sinai, in consequence of the deliverance which they had experienced at the Red Sea, and that their covenant relationship with Yahweh was established there, may be argued with cogency, as BRIGHT does; but to say, on the basis of the documents J (attributed to the tenth century) and E, that the major themes of the Pentateuchal tradition 'had already been normalized in the period of the Judges' is to leave the reader wondering how widely such a use of the adjective 'pentateuchal' is to be understood. And to say that the Pentateuchal sources refer to the Tent of Meeting as 'the place of amphictyonic assembly' and that the description of the Temple in P (Exod. xxv-xxxi, xxxv-xl) probably rested on traditions of the tent-shrine erected by David (2 Sam. vi 17) which was 'the successor of the amphictyonic shrine and presumably patterned upon it, albeit, no doubt, with elaborations', is to be open to the charge of disregarding overmuch the fact that the earliest description of the desert shrine (Exod. xxxiii 7-11) describes it as standing outside the camp, as being a place of resort by the people when they wished guidance rather than a place of assembly, and as the place where Moses met with God while the people stood at their tent-doors, apart from him, yet in thought and attitude united with him.

It is probably inevitable that questions of interpretation should arise with respect to the early period of Israel's history more than any other. But it will be noted at a later part of the book that, with respect to the possible celebration of a New Year Enthronement festival in Jerusalem, BRIGHT, while he cannot find space to debate the question, affirms that 'it is far more likely that what was ritually re-enacted at the new year feast was not the enthronement of Yahweh, but Yahweh's coming to Zion to take up his abode and his promise to David of an eternal rule'. And, while he succinctly states his view that the arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem in 428 B.C. (the *thirty*-seventh year of Artaxerxes I) gives the most satisfactory solution of a very difficult problem, he adds an excursus in which this view is supported and other views are presented and assessed with due consideration. But at times one could wish that BRIGHT had been able to find a little more space in which to develop his point of view: for example, when he says of Haggai: 'Convinced that Yahweh would never dwell in the midst of a people who were unwilling to build him an appropriate house, he viewed completion of the Temple as the necessary precondition of Yahweh's intervention'. It would have been good to learn how it came about, in BRIGHT's estimation of the situation, that Haggai attributed such importance to the temple. It is true that, after 701 B.C., the temple did become a treasured symbol in the life of the people of Judah and became almost an idol. But not only had Jeremiah applied a corrective to that attitude, but the destruction and desecration of the temple itself in 586 B.C. must have been a tremendous shock to those who had adopted it. Why, then, should the prophet Haggai, who stood in the wake of Jeremiah as well as that of Ezekiel, have become convinced that, as a matter of prime necessity, another temple must be raised on the same site as the first. An examination of that question might have been helpful as part of the introduction to post-exilic Judaism.

Professor BRIGHT's book raises such interesting questions as these. That it does so is not a criticism of the worth of the book which is altogether an excellent piece of work and highly to be commended.

The University, Glasgow John MAUCHLINE

BOOK LIST

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SAUL'S "UNCLE" *)

BY

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My purpose in this paper is to examine briefly the role and identity of Saul's somewhat enigmatical "uncle" (Heb., *dôdh*) in the passage 1 Sam. x 13-16. Who was he? and why does he appear so suddenly here?

The only other passage which refers specifically to an uncle of Saul is 1 Sam. xiv 50, where we find the phrase "Abner son of Ner Saul's uncle". Whether here Saul's uncle was Ner (in accordance with 1 Sam. ix 1, xiv 51), or Abner (as in 1 Chr. viii 25-ix 39) is of no importance for the present study. It is sufficient for us to conclude that if the person described in our passage as Saul's *dôdh* was really his uncle, the person referred to was probably either Ner or Abner. The point that we would make is that the sudden irruption into the narrative of either of them just here is so strange and unexpected as to be inexplicable. The comment of H. P. Smith (*I.C.C.*, p. 71) that "the uncle on the father's side would have almost a father's claim" might apply if Kish had been dead; but he is very much alive (ix 2 f.), and the reason for recording the uncle's inquisitiveness is neither stated in the narrative nor easy to deduce. From the fact that Abner later became the commander of Saul's army and even maintained the Israelite cause against the Philistines after Saul's death (2 Sam. ii 8), it might be suggested that if he were the uncle here, and if some inkling of what had happened at Ramah(?) during Saul's visit to Samuel (x 1) had reached Abner's ears, then he might well have been anxious to begin active opposition to the hated Philistine oppressor. But if this indeed lies behind our passage, why does Saul conceal the true facts from his strongest and most faithful supporter? Such an explanation will surely satisfy nobody; and yet, what other have we?

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*) A paper read at the XXVth International Congress of Orientalists, Moscow, on 16th August 1960.

The most natural and obvious motive for the concealment by Saul of his incipient kingship is that the questioner would be hostile to any such development. Given this orientation, the clue to the solution of the problem is to be found in an earlier verse of this same section, namely x 5, where Samuel has told Saul that he will come to "the hill of God (*gibhʿath ʾelōhîm*) where is the governor [*R.V.* garrison, *nᵉṣîbh*] of the Philistines". It will be noted that of the three predictions made to Saul by Samuel (x 2-6) the fulfilment of the third alone is recorded in MT, part of that being given however in some detail (x 10-13), and then ceasing completely. In order to soften the abrupt change to Saul's uncle in x 14 WELLHAUSEN altered the last word of v. 13 from *habbāmâ*, "to the high-place", into *habbayᵉthâ*, which he then proceeded to translate "home", although it really means "into the house" (cf. S. R. DRIVER, *Notes on . . . Samuel*[2], p. 83). WELLHAUSEN's purely arbitrary emendation merely clouds the issue. If we retain the *habbāmâ* of MT, or even if we adopt the *haggibhʿâ* apparently read by *G*, and accept the unity of this section, it should be obvious that v. 13b describes the last step in the fulfilment of Samuel's prediction made in v. 5, quoted above; that is, Saul proceeds to the Philistine residency to report or to be questioned by the governor of the occupying power. For it is quite clear from passages such as 1 Sam. xiii 19 ff. that the Philistines kept a very strict watch and took great precautions to prevent the possibility of any revolutionary movement getting under weigh amongst the Israelites.

This interpretation carries with it the corollary that Saul's *dôdh* mentioned in x 14-17 was not his actual "uncle" at all, but his Philistine governor, the *nāṣîbh* of v. 5, who would be certain to ask questions of anyone wandering about the country, especially if known to have been in touch with a nationalist leader such as Samuel, of whose zeal for Israel's independence there can be no question, even if we cannot accept at its face value the narrative of his decisive and final rout of the Philistines at Ebenezer (vii 7-14). The *nᵉbhîʾîm* too whose ecstasy so affected Saul (x 10 ff.) were notoriously nationalistic in outlook, at least in later times.

That Saul would conceal from a Philistine governor his appointment to lead Israel in a bid for independence from the Philistines is self-explanatory; and how this man stood in the way of Israel gaining its freedom is shown by the fact that almost the first act of the campaign for liberation was the assasination by Jonathan Saul's son

of this very official (xiii 3). That the same man is meant seems certain in spite of the apparent distinction of place, for as is well-known the place-names Geba and Gibeah have become interchanged and confused in this chapter.

What evidence is there that *dôdh* can mean "governor" or "prefect"? In the Old Testament there are two different though related uses of the noun *dôdh* in the singular. In one it means "lover" or "beloved", and as such it is confined to Canticles (30 tt.) and possibly the occurrence in Isa. v 1; each time being written plene. The second use, meaning "uncle" in at least some cases, is found 18 tt., in only six of which—the three occurrences in x 14-17; a reference to Ner in xiv 50; the phrase "Jonathan David's uncle (*R.V.* marg., brother's son]" in 1 Chr. xxvii 32; and lastly what is rendered by R.V. "his uncle [marg., kinsman] shall take him up, even he that burneth him", in Amos vi 10—do we find the plene form. But it is difficult to see how any theory can be built on this distinction, for since the abstract form *dōdhîm*, "love", is written defectively in eight out of its nine occurrences there can hardly be any significance in these differences, and certainly no indication of a different root. Both must go back to the primitive biliteral and monosyllabic *dad*, one of the aboriginal words like *'im*, *'ab*, *'am/ḥam*, *'aḥ*, all used for members of the close family circle and almost certainly representing baby-talk. Consequently these monosyllabic nouns are largely universal, though not necessarily used of the same relationship in every language; cf. Welsh *tad* and colloquial English *dad*, "father", but Russian *dyadya*, "uncle", cf. too the Hebrew form *dadh*, "breast, nipple". (See Koehler-Baumgartner, *L.V.T.L.*, p. 204 for a selection of bibliographical details on the Hebrew root).

Since marriage in a tribal society would normally take place between relatives there is no reason to doubt that the use of *dôdh* for "beloved" was simply an extension of *dôdh*, "uncle, kinsman"; we might compare again Welsh *câr*, "kinsman, cousin, dear one". In the Semitic world the closeness of ties of kinship are almost too well-known to need substantiation, we will therefore content ourselves with two quotations. R. de Vaux (*Les Institutions de l'A.T.*, I, 54 f.): "La coutume était d'épouser une parente: c'était un héritage de la vie tribale. . . . Les mariages entre cousins germains étaient fréquentes, ainsi le mariage d'Isaac avec Rébecca, celui de Jacob avec Léa et Rachel. Il en est encore actuellement ainsi chez les Arabes de Palestine, où un jeune homme a un droit stricte à la main de sa cousine", (cf.

also J. PEDERSEN, *Israel* I-II, 64 f., 67). And GRANQVIST (*Birth and Childhood Among the Arabs*, p. 162) quotes a very significant triad: "my first trouble is a miserable face, my second trouble is a blood-guiltiness, and my third trouble war with my father's brother".

Dôdh of course is found widely as an element in proper names, in South Arabic names apparently with the meaning "uncle" most prominent, but in Hebrew names it may be the nuance "beloved" which is uppermost. The subject has been taken up most recently and thoroughly by J. J. STAMM in his paper "Der Name des Königs David" which was read to the congress of the International Organization for the study of the Old Testament at Oxford in 1959, and has since been published in the volume of congress transactions. It is not my purpose to go over the same ground again, but there are still a few stones to be turned over in the search for truth, and I would like to express my thanks here to Professor STAMM for helping me to concentrate on these by his kindness in supplying me with a proof-copy of his article.

There can be few who would deny the relevance of the Hebrew term *dôdh* in any attempt to fathom the meaning of the Hebrew royal name *dāwīdh*; although it looked at one time as though the elucidation would come the opposite way round, for as is well-known the deciphering of the Mari tablets brought news of the occurrence of a word *dawidûm* which seemed at first to bear the meaning "leader, chieftain"; but the researches of Ḥayim TADMOR ("Historical Implications of the Correct Rendering of Akkadian *dâku*", *J.N.E.S.* XVII, 1958, 129 ff.) have proved beyond reasonable doubt that *dawidûm* is merely a bye-form of the normal Akkadian *dabdúm*, "defeat, downfall".

Long before the Mari tablets were unearthed many scholars had however already suggested that the word *dāwīdh* might be a title rather than a personal name. The subject is a complicated one, and in order to keep within the time limit I will state here simply that I agree with STAMM in rejecting the theories that *dāwīdh* as a proper name meant "beloved" as referring to a human person or as a divine title for the god Adonis/Tammuz. Nor is G. B. GRAY's suggestion (*Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 83) to interpret the name simply as "uncle" quite convincing either. It may be that we still have not sufficient evidence to settle the question, for the one really firm foundation which we have to build upon is the occurrence of *DWDH* —however it is to be vocalized—in line 12 of the Mesha' inscription,

where the Moabite king claims, "And I brought back from there the *'R'L* of *DWDH*, and dragged it before Chemosh in Qeriyyoth". Here the word, it seems, must be a title of office, though not necessarily cultic (against ENGNELL). Is it impossible that it should derive from *dôdh*, "uncle", in a specialised sense? There are parallel instances. "Uncle" is used in several modern languages as a respectful form of address from a young person to an older man who may be no relation (cf. the Waldensian, *barbe*, "uncle", lit. "bearded one", as a title of respect for a minister). Another not irrelevant parallel is *pappa* or "pope" used for the earthly head of the Roman Church, and "father" is used of the parish priest; in both of which official authority—*patria potestas*—would seem to be the most apparent element.

I would therefore suggest—though prove it I cannot—that *dôdh*/*dāwīdh* from meaning "uncle, kinsman" developed to mean "one taking a father's place", and then in the wider sphere of social and political organization, a "deputy ruler, governor". This would fit in admirably with the passage in the Mesha' inscription, perhaps also with Isa. v 1; and it would fit the case of King David, who—we should not forget—almost certainly ruled Judah after Saul's death as a Philistine nominee until he attracted enough Israelite support to break with them. This suggestion might also ease to some extent the problem of *l'dhāwīdh* in the titles of the Psalms. Lastly, it fits in perfectly with the circumstances of the passage with which we began our investigation, 1 Sam. x 13-16; so that, is it too much to hope that the shade of Saul's too inquisitive "uncle" may at length rest in peace, and in his stead we have the alert and suspicious Philistine governor of the subject Benjaminites?

Postscript. In the discussion which followed the reading of the above paper H. TADMOR expressed the opinion that the *DWDH* of the Mesha' inscription was identical with Hebrew *dāwīdh*, and that in that context it meant simply "(Israelite) king". It is hoped that this and other interesting suggestions will soon appear in published form, and therefore, in fairness to their originator, that article will not be further anticipated here.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT CAUSATION IN BIBLICAL LAW [1])

BY

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I intend to make three points and one plea.

I.

The first point is this. As is well known, some ancient regulations attach legal consequences only to the most direct causation, say, a man hitting his slave with a stick and the slave dying there and then [2]). It would be quite wrong to conclude that a restriction of this sort is due to a primitive incapacity for seeing through a less direct causation. The same code which contains the statute just quoted also contains one imposing liability on a man who digs a pit into which another man's animal falls [3]). It might perhaps be argued that the two statutes, though in the same code, date from different periods, the rule concerning the slave being prior to that concerning the pit. Even if correct, this would not alter the principal point here to be established: that however far back in time we go, we find a full understanding of the most lengthy and complicated chain of events linking cause and effect. The opposite view is founded on a naive belief (which captured the world of anthropology, ancient history and classics in the 19th century) in a progress of mankind from childishness to intelligence.

The narrative of David and Uriah is old. No murder could be less direct, yet Nathan charges David: 'Uriah the Hittite thou hast smitten with the sword' [4]). Actually, there is a more precise repetition at the end of the verse, perhaps a gloss to explain and insist on the ascription

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[1]) This lecture, delivered at London at a session of the Institute of Jewish Studies and at a meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study, is partially based on the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation, Göttingen. For modern English jurisprudence, see the monumental work of HART and HONORÉ, *Causation in the Law*, 1959.

[2]) Ex. xxi 20.

[3]) Ex. xxi 33 f.

[4]) 2 Samuel xii 9.

of the deed to David: 'and him thou hast slain with the sword of the Ammonites'. It is interesting that a modern commentator, CASPARI [1]), finds it necessary to mitigate this in translation and make it less direct: *hast den Uria erschlagen* (*lassen*). David himself had been sent into battle by Saul when the latter wanted to get rid of him without doing the actual despatching. Saul's daughter, promised to David if he deserved her by his exploits, would, Saul hoped, be 'a snare to him' [2]). 'Let not mine hand be upon him, but the hand of the Philistines' [3]). 'But Saul thought to make David fall by the hand of the Philistines' [4]). In one of the earliest trials of the Bible, there is an almost formal *Gewährenzug* or *remotio criminis* from the accused to another delinquent named as intellectual author, and from the latter to a yet further intellectual author. 'Hast thou eaten of the tree?', God asks Adam, who replies: 'The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree and I did eat'. A (not very gallant) [5]) shuffling off of the guilt to Eve and, indeed, in a way, to God himself whose present she was. Then God turns to Eve: 'What is this that thou hast done?' 'The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat'. In meting out their punishment, God begins with the serpent, proceeds to Eve and ends with Adam [6]). The story of Abimelech and Sarah is steeped in legal language and pursues definite legal aims. Here Abimelech, having taken Sarah into his harem, tells Abraham, who has merely suppressed the fact of her being his wife: 'Thou hast brought on me and my kingdom a great sin' [7]).

These instances could be multiplied — let us recall one from Greek mythology, Eriphyle killed by her son in revenge for his father's death, for which she was responsible because she made him take part in the war from which he did not return. They expose the baselessness of any theory which would explain the rigidity of early statutes in the matter of causation by an inability to grasp a less obvious nexus. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Why, then, do we get these narrow definitions? For practical,

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[1]) *Die Samuelbücher*, 1926, 543.

[2]) 1 Sam. xviii 21.

[3]) Verse 17.

[4]) Verse 25.

[5]) 'Of his brave words hark to the bravest: "This the woman gave that thou gavest".' Dante Gabriel ROSSETTI in *Eden Bower*.

[6]) Genesis iii 11ff.

[7]) Gen. xx 9. Cp. DAUBE, *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* II, 1949, 193, 199, *Archiv Orientální* XVII, 1949, 91 ff., and *Festschrift für Eissfeldt*, 1958, 38 ff.

technical reasons, reasons of machinery; above all, because less direct causation usually does mean less certainty, and in an age without a highly organized police force, forensic laboratories, truth drugs and so on that uncertainty is prohibitive. The law cannot exact retribution where the evidence leaves a degree of doubt.

Take the beating to death of a slave by his master, already mentioned. Vengeance is sanctioned only 'if he die under his hand', and is expressly excluded 'if he continue a day or two'. No such limitation is met in the provisions of the same code regarding the killing of a free man [1]). So it is not as if a less instantaneous result had not been recognized for what it was. However, the code has a very suggestive rule concerning an injury inflicted by one man on another, as a result of which the victim must take to his bed. It is laid down that 'if he rise again and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit' [2]). The problem here settled is one which creates enormous difficulties even in modern times. Any insurance company is familiar with the person who receives a bump, lives happily for twenty years, then develops migraine — and claims. Of course, the migraine might be due to the bump. The rule in our code fixes a time-limit: once the victim has gone out, any subsequent disaster — in particular, his subsequent death — is no longer to be laid at the injurer's door. In Rome, the third chapter of the *lex Aquilia*, dealing with wounds inflicted on another man's slave or beast, adopted the rigid time-limit of thirty days [3]).

Returning now to the slave beaten to death by his master, this provision comes immediately after that concerning the injured man who takes to his bed. The problem is the same — where to draw the limit in imputing consequences. True, a number of critics separate the two provisions; they place the delict of hurting a woman with child [4]) between them [5]). But this is to replace the peculiar notions determining the original arrangement by what one might expect in a present-day Act of Parliament. The time, then, in the case of the slave is extremely short, a day or two. The reason? A master may beat his slave constantly. If vengeance were lawful even should death occur after weeks or months, he would be in danger whenever

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[1]) Ex. xxi 12 ff., see also xxi 22 ff.
[2]) Ex. xxi 19. I omit details.
[3]) Cp. Daube, *Law Quarterly Review* LII, 1936, 257.
[4]) Ex. xxi 22.
[5]) E.g. Beer, *Exodus*, 1939, 110.

a slave of his died. It could always be connected with a beating. Two free men will not normally fight every day, an injury is an isolated occurrence, its development for better or worse can be watched. In the case of a slave, all this is different. Unless the law intended to make beating itself illegal, the master's liability must be confined to the most flagrant, clearest murder. (It should be noted that if the slave suffers loss of an eye or tooth, he must be freed).[1])

On this basis, we can explain the puzzling motivation given by the code: 'for he is his money', i.e. he bought him[2]). It means that any less narrow time-limit would (in the circumstances of that age) break the master's power over his slave. If the slave stays alive, for however short a while, vengeance may not be exacted — for a slave is his master's property and may still be treated as such. The statute, like the others in this code which relate to slaves, is a compromise typical of a certain phase of evolution when the weaker group is guaranteed some valuable rights but the stronger still retains a great deal of its position.

Needless to say, other factors besides the need for simple, unambiguous evidence may make for the requirement, in certain contexts, of a very direct causation. After all, even in modern law, a gunsmith, for instance, or a motorcar manufacturer would never be held accountable for the catastrophes brought about by his products, though it is perfectly foreseeable, when he produces them, that a certain number of catastrophes must ensue; and the prophet Nathan (or Professor Goodhart) might tell him 'thou art slaying thousands of innocent people'. If I kill you by a blow — intentional or unintentional — there is less room for intervention by outside elements than if I shut you up and starve you to death. Nor are we denying that, once there is a tradition of insistence on direct causation, such insistence can become mechanical, a game even: lawyers are prone to elevate a means into an end. Here and there, where bloody deeds are concerned, magical ideas — even these not usually without roots in reason — play a part. But these and other reservations are of a minor nature.

Our point, that the narrowness of some ancient statutes is due to deliberate caution rather than to defective grasp, is confirmed by the fact that, whenever there is no reason for such caution, statutes of

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[1]) Ex. xxi 26 f.

[2]) Cp. *tiqne*, 'thou buy', in Ex. xxi 2, and *kaspo*, 'the money from the sale of the ox', in xxi 35.

equal antiquity shew no trace of the narrowness. Equal antiquity: to be taken cum grano salis — we do not consider such differences as exist one way or the other to be essential.

There is reason for caution where legal consequences are attached to a deed. There is no reason where people are to be warned to refrain from a deed, or where divine retribution is called down (God knows the evidence), or where a man has to declare his innocence before heaven [1]). Hence we never find a commandment 'Thou shalt not smite a free man so that he take to his bed and rise not again and walk abroad', or 'Thou shalt not smite a slave so that he die within one day'. What we find is 'Thou shalt not murder' [2]), 'Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour' [3]). Again, we never find a curse restricted in that meticulous fashion; what we find is 'Cursed be he that smiteth his neighbour secretly', or 'that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, fatherless and widow' [4]). As for an avowal of innocence, if a man is found murdered in the country and his murderer cannot be traced, the elders of the nearest city have to proclaim: 'Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it' [5]). The second half embraces any manner of participating or condoning. It would be far too wide even nowadays as a basis of earthly punishment; but, significantly, the Book of the Dead furnishes a parallel, 'I have done no murder, I have not given the order for murder to be done for me'. Here also, 'I have not ill-treated servants', 'I have not defrauded the oppressed', 'I have not carried away the milk from the mouths of children' [6]).

In an article on error in Biblical law I pointed out [7]) that, although there is little straightforward Biblical legislation on the treatment of error outside the levitical sphere, there is a considerable amount designed to prevent error from being committed. Similarly, there is considerable legislation catching indirect causation before the result has come about. I have already alluded to the release of a slave whose eye or tooth is knocked out by his master. That master at any rate can no longer kill him, whether by a blow immediately fatal or by one fatal after an interval. In this case, the legislator may not

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[1]) Cp. DAUBE, *Oxford Society of Historical Theology*, 1944/5, 37 ff.
[2]) Ex. xx 13; Deut. v 17
[3]) Lev. xxv 43.
[4]) Deut. xxvii 24, 19.
[5]) Deut. xxi 7.
[6]) See BUDGE, *The Book of the Dead*, Engl. Translation, 1889, 191.
[7]) *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* II, 1949, 210.

have this particular point in mind; the slave no doubt has to be freed simply because of what has been done to him. But take the Deuteronomic injunction to make a railing around your roof[1]). It is highly unlikely that, if a man fell from your roof, whether before or after this law, vengeance would be legitimate or a court would sentence you; and we should note that what happens, in the words of this law, if anyone falls to death is that there is 'bloodguilt on your house' — not on you. It may even be doubted whether the law was meant to be enforced by authority: it stands together with others — concerning a birds' nest and the mixing of different kinds of seed — which were hardly at the time under any effective public control. Nevertheless it remains true that here is a deliberate legislative effort to ensure action before it is too late. The situation in question, an unprotected roof, is a common one; its dangers are known; and it is easily definable — and easily rectifiable. So the legislator can tackle it. In a sense, a statute like that about a false witness is analogous. That the lawgiver has in mind the ultimate result to which the offence may lead is shewn by the punishment: the culprit suffers that penalty which he tried to get inflicted on the other party[2]).

At one time I wondered whether the laws against witches and the like were partly intended to render punishable misdeeds which would escape the very narrow definitions of other serious crimes. They would make it possible to get at the indirect author of death or injury. I was encouraged by the close association in many systems between witchcraft and poisoning — poisoning is less direct than a blow and, moreover, the preparer of the poison would frequently not even administer it himself, it would go through several hands, maybe innocent ones. (Remember the *Trachiniae*.) The Septuagint does translate *mekhashsheph* by *pharmakos*[3]). But the position of these laws in the Hebrew text speaks against this idea. They are not placed together with penal laws carefully worded, as if to fill the gaps left by these laws, but with laws directed against heathen malpractices.

So far we have dealt with the question why certain statutes do not go beyond the narrowest causality. It should be noted that this narrow causality is found in other, comparable domains. A solemn oath is apt to be interpreted very literally. King David, though having sworn to Shimei that 'he would not kill him with the sword',

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[1]) Deut. xxii 8.
[2]) Ex. xx 16; Deut. v 20, xix 16 ff.
[3]) Ex. xxii. 17; Deut. xviii 10.

deems it in order on his death-bed to charge his son Solomon with bringing about a situation in which that old enemy may be justly eliminated[1]). HEINE has written a cleverly cynical poem about the King's last wishes concerning Joab. Again it would be absurd to conclude that the nature of indirect killing was not understood. David knew what he was doing, knew that he was encompassing Shimei's death. In fact, it was fully realized even that this construction put on the oath was a peculiarly formalistic one, to which there would have been a non-formalistic, honest, natural alternative[2]). But this aspect lies outside our present inquiry. I may perhaps just mention that over-literal interpretation plays a part also in the continuation of the story, that is to say, in the method Solomon chooses to execute his father's mandate[3]). On a decent, non-formalistic interpretation, the arrangement that Shimei may not cross the Kidron, on pain of death, hardly includes the case of running after some fugitive servants, a completely non-political errand.

II.

My next point is to draw attention to some correlation between direct causation and presence of intent and between indirect causation and absence of intent. We have seen that in a number of statutes only the closest causation is accepted as a sufficient basis for sentencing an offender. Conversely, we may now add, where I am the absolutely direct cause of your death, that may almost amount to proof of intent. In other words, those cases of homicide in which allowance is made for accident usually contain an element — however slight — of indirectness.

Take the one detailed illustration of accidental homicide supplied by Biblical law: the two men hewing wood together and one unwittingly killing the other[4]). He does not do it with his hands, he does not even do it by a direct blow with the axe; but as he swings down the axe, the iron head flies from the handle and the other man is hit. (To be sure, one could translate 'and the axe slips from the tree to be cut'. I regard it as slightly less likely. In any case, my thesis would not be much affected.) If I kill you with my own hands, except for such special situations as a boxing contest, it will nearly always be

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[1]) 2 Samuel xix 24; 1 Kings ii 8 f.
[2]) Cp. DAUBE, *Studies in Biblical Law*, 1947, 200.
[3]) 1 Kings ii 36 ff.
[4]) Deut. xix 5.

murder. Accidental homicide does normally involve some indirectness; and in the specimen case under review, with the head of the axe coming off, the indirectness is of such a nature as to furnish practically conclusive evidence of absence of intent.

Significantly, the formulation is reminiscent of an ancient provision respecting an indirect mode of damage to property: the case of a person lighting a fire on his land[1]). The fire 'makes its way out and finds, *umaṣe'a*, the stacks or standing corn' of the neighbour. Just so, the head of the axe 'flies from the wood and finds, *umaṣa'*, the other man'. There is between the person starting off the affair and the result something approaching an animate force which, given its opportunity, does the dismal work. It is a measure of the variability of the lawgiver's point of view and his adaptability to the requirements of a situation that, whereas it is the purpose of the statute concerning fire to establish full civil law liability despite the indirectness, the statute concerning homicide uses the indirectness in support of the mitigated criminal law liability where there is no intent.

It is sometimes maintained that in primitive law, either you have caused death with intent or, if not, you are regarded as not having caused it at all: some other cause must be considered exclusively responsible. This, however, is a simplification which, like that I tried to discredit in the first section, is due to an underrating of the intellectual powers of people in that age. We must not forget that even today causality and planning are linked in many respects. To take again the example of the motorcar manufacturer, in normal circumstances one would not readily look on him as the major cause of a particular accident. But imagine a film starring a sadist who takes to and boosts this industry in order to satisfy his lust: on bank holiday he hovers above Al in a helicopter. By reason of his intent, the audience could be got to condemn him as a major cause.

In my view there was no time in history when people did not see that, if a disaster results from the head of an axe flying off, the person who swung the axe is a cause in one sense at least, namely, as having triggered off the chain of events, though in another sense, as a thinking being, he is not, so that from this angle prominence must be accorded to the axe or to fate or to God. Indeed I would go as far as to contend that, where some factor outside the person is represented as the exclusive cause, we have before us, not a primitive stage, but on the

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[1]) Ex. xxii 5.

contrary a rather sophisticated or technical one, with ulterior motives determining the one-sided emphasis — as when Oedipus Coloneus claims that the terrible things he is charged with are the work of others, not his. (The discussion by my brother [1]) is too much in line here with orthodox classical scholarship.) In Greek law (I know we should speak only of Attic or Theban law, but let it pass) proceedings may be taken against the instrument which caused a death (cp. the English deodand). Plato, Aristotle and Demosthenes agree in confining them to the case where no person handled the instrument or where he remains undetected [2]). MASCHKE argues [3]) that they must have taken place also where the person is available but the deed was accidental: to the primitive mind, the instrument would appear the exclusive cause. But this is simply contrary to the sources. (It would, by the way, mean two trials before different courts: one against the person before the Palladion or perhaps Delphinion, another against the instrument before the Prytaneum.) It is relevant to note that the Biblical provision about the escaping fire, with full liability (though only at civil law) of the person behind it, precedes in date that about the axe which makes itself independent, with mitigated liability (at criminal law) of him who wielded it.

At any rate, Biblical law knows no proceedings against an inanimate killer. Nor does, say, Hittite law or Babylonian law — so that we cannot attribute this feature to a peculiarly Hebraic disapproval of animism. There are indeed tendencies which might have led to such proceedings: an ox that kills a man is to be stoned [4]), and I have already referred to the bloodguilt 'on the house' if anyone falls to his death from it [5]). But it would be arbitrary, for the sake of what some moderns feel primitives ought to have felt, to postulate such an institution.

In the same ancient code which contains the statute about fire, accidental homicide appears as the case where 'he lie not in wait but God let it happen to his hand' [6]). We have not enough detail to say precisely what kind of situation is contemplated: even here, in all probability, not primarily a blow with the hand but, for example,

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[1]) Benjamin DAUBE, *Zu den Rechtsproblemen in Aischylos' Agamemnon*, 1938, 186 f.

[2]) Plato, *Laws* 9. 873 E, Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 57.4, Demosthenes, 23.76.

[3]) *Willenslehre im Griechischen Recht*, 1926, 64 ff.

[4]) Ex. xxi 28 f., 32.

[5]) Deut. xxii 8.

[6]) Ex. xxi 13.

the throwing of an object which unexpectedly hits somebody. The legislation in Numbers, insofar as it describes the manner of accidental homicide, has two cases where an instrument is involved: 'he threw at him any instrument', *hishlikh 'alaw kol keli*, 'or with any stone and cast it upon him', *'o bhekhol 'ebhen wayyappel 'alaw* [1]). But the first case listed is definitely the rare contingency of accidental homicide by a direct blow, without any object intervening: 'and if he thrust him', *we'im hadhapho* [2]).

In the Hittite laws, in the case of accidental homicide, 'only his hand transgresses' [3]). (It seems that where a deliberate sin is perpetrated, 'the head transgresses'). [4]) A similar formulation may have existed in early Hebrew law (not necessarily dependent on the Hittite one), and the clause 'and God let it happen to his hand' may be a modification of it. On the other hand, in Hebrew, where a phrase like 'with a high hand' denotes deliberate action, the Hittite way of expressing accident may never have been appropriate. However this may be, the Biblical statute, by ascribing the event to God who uses the person's hand, not only introduces a profound theological concept but also greatly advances a unified view of all accident: the manifold visible agents — hand, axe, stone — are equally directed by the ultimate mover and, indeed, the case is fundamentally equated with accident in which no human cause is discerned at all.

Here again, however, we must not jump to conclusions deriving from the notion that the authors of these laws or their addressees were simple-minded. Causation and intent, MASCHKE claims, are invariably combined by the primitive intellect. But the consequence of the accidental deed being attributed to the hand in Hittite law is not that the hand is called to account (that would be small comfort to its owner), and of course there is no scope for anything of the kind in the Biblical regulation. On the contrary, it is for a despicable outrage that, under Deuteronomic law, a woman's hand is cut off [5]). No doubt the limbs and organs of a person were often thought of as, up to a point, forces in their own right. But it is up to a point only: there is far more purposeful construction in these old statutes

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[1]) Num. xxxv 22 f.

[2]) Cp. e.g. 2 Kings iv 27, 'but Gehazi came near to thrust her away', or Ezek. xxxiv 21, 'because ye have thrust with side and with shoulder and gored with your horns'.

[3]) I 3 f.

[4]) See FRIEDRICH, *Die Hethitischen Gesetze*, 1959, 90.

[5]) xxv. 11 f.

or in, say, the legal and moral argument met in the Greek dramatists than seems commonly allowed for.

A brief comment on the emendation of *nashal* in the provision about the axe into *naphal*. It hardly affects the sense, it would be the axe 'flies' or 'falls' or 'slips' in either case. The emendation is recommended by KITTEL's *Biblia Hebraica*, 2nd ed., [1]) mainly on the strength of 1 Kings vi 5, where *naphal* is used of the iron coming off (but this text itself is not free from difficulty). One might add another argument: in Numbers, in the reference to accidental killing by a stone, we again find *naphal*, or rather a causative: 'or with any stone and cast it upon him', literally, 'and made it fall upon him', *wayyappel*[2]). None the less I would not emend. I do not see why language must be uniform throughout all laws and narratives. Moreover, *nashal* is comparatively rare, hence unlikely to be substituted by a careless scribe for the commoner *naphal*.

On *'inna*, 'God let it happen to his hand', it may be advisable to have an excursus at the end.

Here all that remains to add is a word about Solomon's judgment [3]). It is the only non-legal chapter in the Bible mentioning an accidental homicide, and even so, no interest in it is being evinced at all: the story would be just the same if, instead of one of the mothers overlaying her child, there had been a spontaneous heart-failure. I have tried elsewhere to explain why the Bible — outside the legal portions — pays practically no attention to the accidental deed [4]). In the present context we may note three things.

First, the child's death is accepted without any thought of legal consequences. For this, there are all sorts of reasons. He is a baby, he is the son of a whore, he is killed by his mother, he is killed in a way in which presumably many babies perished, his death is an unmitigated misfortune for the person that killed him.

Secondly, as usual in accidental homicide, there is an element of indirectness. The mother did not kill by a blow, *hadhaph*. She overlay the child, *shakhebha 'alaw*. Though that means physical contact, it will produce death only after some while, by impeding breath and movement.

Thirdly, the situation is such that there is no doubt as to absence

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[1]) 1925, 1, 270.
[2]) xxxv 23.
[3]) 1 Kings iii 19.
[4]) *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* II, 1949, 190 ff.

of intent; neither the story-teller nor his audience would even think of this question. The mother, in her sleep, killed her treasure. Yet it is clearly seen and stated that she is the cause: 'and this woman's child died in the night, on whom she lay'. I refuse to believe that there was an earlier stage when, in natural speech, her causality would have been denied. This story is valuable precisely because it demonstrates the way ordinary folk would look at such a matter. Suppose, in a trial, the mother had to plead that she did not do it but her body, or a demon, or God, that would be not primitive but sophisticated, an exaggeration for a purpose. An exaggeration — that is to say, there would be some substance in it. But still a calculated exaggeration.

III.

My third point is the fact that, in the earliest Biblical code interested in private law, the rules concerning damage to property exclusively contemplate damage indirectly caused: a pit dug by a man and another man's animal falling into it, a man's ox killing another man's ox, a man's cattle pasturing in another man's field, fire spreading from one man's land to another's [1]). In passing we may observe that the range of these rules is extremely narrow also in respect of the type of property damaged: it is either beasts or the produce of a field. My point, however, is that the code says nothing about the simple case of a man in person damaging another man's property, wilfully or otherwise. In fact, there is no simple principle envisaging this case enunciated in the whole of the Bible. The nearest we find is a provision in a priestly-religious context, that 'he that smiteth any soul of man shall surely be put to death, and he that smiteth a soul of beast shall make it good, soul for soul' [2]).

This conspicuous absence of simple, direct damage is not accidental, nor should it be explained away by postulating rules which have got lost. The answer is that many ancient codes regulate only matters as to which the law is dubious or in need of reform or both. The XII Tables also do not deal with direct damage by a *paterfamilias*, and even the *lex Aquilia*, some two hundred years later, deals only with the special case of damage to animate property [3]). That you are liable for damage done in person — say, you, a *paterfamilias*, yourself smash another man's cart, intentionally or unintentionally — is taken

[1]) Ex. xxi 33 ff., xxii 4 f.
[2]) Lev. xxiv 17 f., 21.
[3]) Daube, *Cambridge Law Journal* VII, 1939, 27, 31 f.

for granted; it is the more complicated cases just enumerated which engage the lawgiver's attention.

This brings us to a problem of a fundamental nature having to do with early administration of justice. At Rome, from the moment that the concept of *legis actio* is fully worked out and established, which implies that no lawsuit can be brought but one founded on a statute, this incompleteness of primitive legislation, the omission of precisely the most ordinary cases, creates enormous difficulties. It is not my task here to suggest how they were solved. In Biblical law, I do not think the situation was ever equally precarious. To be sure, by Rabbinic times we also find the idea that no penalty may be exacted unless it is sanctioned by Scripture. (As a matter of fact, Roman law, when it had reached a comparable stage of development, had greatly relaxed the requirements prevailing under *legis actio*.) But by Rabbinic times, interpretation of Scripture was so liberal and progressive that any gaps could be filled (for example, the passage in Leviticus about killing a beast was now taken to embrace all direct damage to property); and in a previous era, as in other Oriental systems, the law was handled far less meticulously and carefully than in *legis actio*, there was cadi justice, there was much binding custom of diverse kinds and so on. In other words, while at Rome, under the *legis actio*, an informal loan, for instance, was for centuries irrecoverable in the courts, till a certain statute made it recoverable, I do not believe that this would ever have been so in Biblical law. (On the other hand, as already remarked, at a more advanced stage things were to some extent the other way round: the Rabbis now had to find Scriptural justification for any verdict whereas the praetor could grant new remedies at his discretion.)

It is worth while to inspect the way in which the four cases of indirect damage in our code are construed. They fall into two groups: the pit and the ox on the one hand, the cattle and the fire on the other. In between are some provisions concerning theft.

The two groups are very different. The chief basis of liability for the pit and the ox is ownership of the object causing the damage. In both cases the word 'owner', *ba'al*, occurs: 'the owner of the pit shall make it good', 'and his owner guard him not'. ('Owner' is of course an unsatisfactory approximation: the German *Herr* would be nearer.) Actually, where an ox not known to be dangerous kills another ox[1]), this is the only basis. The law does not hint at any further

[1]) Ex. xxi 35 over against 36.

connection between the owner and the damage done by his ox. It treats the case as a collision between two objects belonging to different owners: the loss is shared. This seems to me an eminently satisfactory regulation — with only one parallel, Laws of Eshnunna, § 53, as far as I can see, in any other system — especially as it will be difficult to establish, neither of the oxen involved being known as dangerous, which of them started misbehaving. (It is different in the case of ox versus man.)

Where the owner knows his ox to be dangerous [1]), and equally in the case of the pit [2]), there is in addition to the ownership a blameworthy omission making him responsible for what happens: 'and he cover it not' in the case of the pit, 'and he guard him not' in that of the ox. I shall not here go into the question whether, or how far, the owner's blameworthiness had to be proved in any individual case. We might say that the basis of liability here is ownership, not just of the object causing the damage, but of a dangerous object causing damage: the pit, the ox known to have misbehaved in the past. The loss here is not shared, the guilty owner must fully replace it. (That the mention of monetary payment in the case of the pit, 'and he shall give money to the owner thereof' [3]), is an addition to the original text I have argued elsewhere. [4]).

Let us go on to the second group, the cattle and the fire. The word 'owner' does not occur. These are not cases of a man responsible for an object, or a dangerous object, he owns. In both cases liability arises because of what a man does — 'if he cause a field to be eaten and shall put in his cattle', 'he that kindled the fire shall surely make good the loss'. Certainly, he causes damage not *corpore corpori*, but through an agent: that is the problem rendering legislation necessary. And it is significnat that we find the term *shillaḥ*, 'he send in' the cattle, a root very prominent in all kinds of agency (though we are not implying that the 'sending' of the cattle need be more than a 'letting go' — no *dolus* is required); nor is the fire devoid of some sort of life, 'it makes its way out and finds' its food [5]). But the fact remains that he is responsible primarily for doing something, for setting the agent to work, rather than because an object belonging

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[1]) Ex. xxi 36.
[2]) Ex. xxi 33 f.
[3]) Ex. xxi 34.
[4]) *Studies in Biblical Law*, 1947, 138 ff.
[5]) Cp. above, section II.

to him does something or because he has not prevented a dangerous object belonging to him from doing something.

There is, of course, a good reason for the different construction. In the first group, the pit or the ox is there some time, then a disaster takes place in which the owner has no hand. (The Deuteronomic injunction to make a railing around the roof is allied to this group.) In the second group, the cattle or the fire is set in motion by a person on this particular occasion. Hence it is in this second group that causation — indirect, but active causation — is clearly given as the basis of his liability. In a way, the attitude of the XII Tables is comparable. While the action *de pauperie* (damage done by a beast) is noxal, i.e. the owner of the aggressive beast has either to make good the damage or to hand over the beast, the action *de pastu pecoris* and the action on the ground of a fire that spreads into the neighbour's land are not noxal, i.e. the person responsible has no choice but to make good the loss: responsibility *qua* owner over against responsibility *qua* cause behind the agent. It is interesting, as a parallel to *shillaḥ* and, for that matter, to *yabh'er*, 'he causes to be eaten' or 'to be pastured', that *de pastu pecoris* is directed against him who *immisso pecore depaverit*. (No provision in the XII Tables about a pit.)

I shall not dwell on the various emendations of the rules concerning cattle and fire which have been proposed in modern literature. Most of them are irrelevant to the present discussion and in any case too arbitrary to be taken seriously. One I must mention because it is recommended by the excellent dictionary of GESENIUS-BUHL[1]). Georg HOFFMANN[2]) would refer both rules to fire, one dealing with fire that spread as a result of negligence, the other with fire that spread despite normal care because there was inflammable material on the neighbour's land. This is a hyper-modern distinction which has no place in an ancient code.

I hope I have been fair in making it clear that the difference in construction between the two groups can be adequately accounted for by the difference in the nature of the cases. Nevertheless I wonder whether group 2 is not later than group 1. Years ago I tried to shew that the rules concerning an ox that kills another ox are later than those concerning an ox that kills a man[3]). If the two had been formulated at the same time, they would stand together; whereas in

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[1]) *Handwörterbuch*, 16th ed., 1915, 108, s.v. *b'r* II.
[2]) *ZAW* III, 1883, 122.
[3]) *Studies in Biblical Law*, 1947, 85 ff.

fact they are separated by the case of the pit, the older rules coming before this case, the later ones after it. Note, too, that the rules concerning an ox killing another ox use the verb *naghaph*, 'to hit', which is wider than *naghah*, 'to gore', and that for full liability they require that the dangerous nature of the ox 'should be known', *nodha'*, less formalistic and more subjective than the requirement of 'attestation', *hu'adh*. (Much, though not absolute, assimilation in Rabbinic exegesis.)

By the same token, group 2, the cattle and the fire, seem to be separated from group 1, the pit and the ox, because they are of later origin. This does not mean that the following rules, about deposit and so on[1]), must be yet later. Group 2 may well have been inserted in the present place as an appendix to the part of the code concerned with delict, even though a further part, about deposit and the like, was already in existence[2]).

In support, it may be suggested that the cattle and the fire perhaps presuppose a more settled phase of economy than the pit and the ox. In the cases of the pit and the ox, the object destroyed is an animal, whereas in those of the cattle and the fire the damage is done to the produce of land. The former cases might call for legislation before land was shared out in permanency among individual holders.

If this relative dating should be correct, it would underline what appears to emerge from comparative law: that the idea of responsibility *qua* owner — group 1 — finds statutory expression before the idea of responsibility *qua* indirect cause of a result, *qua* mover of an agent — group 2.

IV.

Lastly, my plea. It is highly precarious to pronounce on direct and indirect causation in law without paying regard to the manner in which these phenomena are tackled by language as such. Yet when one turns to grammars and lexica for assistance, one receives little information, and of that little a good deal is misleading. My plea is for more and accurate information.

In English or German, there are many intransitive verbs or adjectives describing a state from which causative verbs can be formed: 'to fall' — 'to fell', *wachen* — *wecken*, 'to be dry, moist' — 'to dry,

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[1]) Ex. xxii 6 ff.

[2]) Cp. my remarks about the growth of this code in *Studies in Biblical Law*, 1947, 88 f.

moisten', *trocken, feucht — trocknen, befeuchten.* Often — more often in English than in German — the same verb has an intransitive meaning and a causative one: 'to tire', *trocknen.* The primary reference of these causatives is usually to fairly direct causation. Indeed, when one compares a causative with a circumscription by means of 'to make', 'to let', 'to cause to', the latter is apt to introduce an element of indirectness: 'to make a tree fall' over against 'to fell'. That is to say, as may be expected, the simple causative establishes a closer connection between the subject and the object than the circumscription which interposes a general causative concept: the interposition has a complicating effect. There are fascinating intermediate cases, such as the verbs derived from Latin in which a word — adjective or noun — and *facere* have grown together so as to form a causative: 'to sanctify', 'to specify'.

In Hebrew, the range of words from which causatives may be formed is considerably wider; above all, causatives may be formed even from transitive verbs — *lamadh*, 'to learn', *limmadh*, 'to teach', *'akhal*, 'to eat', *he'ekhil*, 'to make eat', *shakhaḥ*, 'to forget', *shikkaḥ* or *hishkiaḥ*, 'to make forget'. From Egyptian and Hamitic analogies it is clear that causatives were freely employed already at the proto-Semitic stage[1]); they are certainly much older than the earliest extant laws. In fact, we meet examples in these laws. There may be a causative of a transitive verb in Ex. xxi 8, *wehephdah*, 'and he let her redeem (herself)' or 'and he let (anyone) redeem her'. (Possibly also in Deut. xv 3, *tashmet*, 'thou shalt make thy hand give up so-and-so'. Of course, any number of causatives of intransitives.) If the role of the causative in language had been borne in mind, surely most of the speculations about primitive lack of insight in the field of causation would have been avoided.

But when all this is said, there do remain remarkable limitations to the causative, or certain varieties of it, and how is a legal historian to get his background right if philologists do not bother about them and, indeed, appear totally unaware? For example, I have the impression that, in Hebrew, where the basic verb is transitive, of the two conjugations serving as causatives the Piel is used less commonly than the Hiphil and, as a corollary, is seldom followed by two accusatives: *limmadh* and *shikkaḥ* are among the rare instances. Presumably the reason is that the Piel is older and less specifically causative — its

[1]) See BAUER and LEANDER, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache*, 1, 1918/9, 281 ff., 325, 329.

primary function is to express the intensive or the iterative. So it is only natural that the more daring and conspicuous causative, from transitive verbs, should be the domain of the later Hiphil. This is not to deny that, in individual cases, a causative formed by means of the Hiphil may precede one formed by the Piel, or at least we may have earlier evidence of the Hiphil: 'to make forget' is *hishkiaḥ* in Jeremiah [1]), *shikkaḥ* only in Sirach [2]). However, for any conclusions to be valid, one would have to compare the position in other Semitic tongues.

An illustration of how our philological standard works can be positively misleading is provided by the traditional choice of *qaṭal*, 'to kill', as the paradigm of the various forms of the verb. The Hiphil *hiqṭil* does not occur in the sources. This would not matter were it due to the extreme rarity of the word. But very probably, even if it were far commoner, there would still be no causative — there is none from *haragh*, 'to slay'. Even in post-Biblical Hebrew, one would not expect to find *peloni hiqṭil* (or *heherigh*) *'eth peloni 'eth peloni*, 'A made B kill (slay) C'. (I am not invoking the absence of such phraseology from modern Hebrew, where the Hiphil is in retreat anyhow.) It would lead too far afield here to attempt an explanation. Moreover it is not a lawyer's task.

Let us spare a moment, however, for a passage which, at least for post-Biblical literature, seems to refute my contention, and to some extent does refute it [3]). In the Mishnah, we are told that an ox made to fight in the stadium is not to be put to death for killing a person: 'for Scripture says, If an ox gore, not that they make him gore', *welo' sheyyaggiḥuhu*. Here we do come across a Hiphil, *higgiaḥ*, 'to make gore', which appears to justify *hiqṭil*, 'to make kill'. But it is a very exceptional case: the Mishnah deliberately puts a most unusual, almost impossible form — the point being that that is the form which an advocate of the contrary view (namely, that the ox of the stadium is liable) would have to shew to be used by Scripture. Still, though an isolated and very special instance, it does reveal the potentialities of the Hiphil which a legal historian interested in causation would disregard at his peril. (Incidentally, Plato's *Laws* [4]) enjoin prosecution

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[1]) xxiii 27.
[2]) xi 25, 27.
[3]) Baba Kamma 4.4 at the end. Cp. ROSENBLATT, *Interpretation of the Bible in the Mishnah*, 1935, 10.
[4]) 9.873 D f.

of an animal murdering a man 'except if it do so in a public competition'. A Mishnic rule which agrees with a Greek one may nevertheless be native. In this case, however, as the very subject-matter — an ox fighting in the arena — is un-Jewish, foreign influence is not unlikely.)

He might do well to have at the back of his mind also the genesis of the Semitic causative, that is to say, what little we know of it. The Piel is universally regarded as, in essence, expressive of the intensive or the iterative. If we adopt this starting-point, we might infer that, compared with the basic stem, the causative was originally felt to be more intense or, possibly, some iterative element was seen in the proceeding from cause to effect. But one cannot suppress a certain doubt about the starting-point. The Piel may have been the conjugation signifying any peculiar, striking materialization of the root idea. The grammar of GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH approaches, though it does not quite reach, this general interpretation, by saying that the Piel means 'to busy oneself eagerly'[1]). It may be because the Piel was associated with the striking fact that, in Hebrew, the reflexive formed by means of *t*, though at one time existing also in the Qal, became confined to the Piel: the reflexive action is always peculiar. On this basis the causative was simply one of several remarkable nuances, on the same level as, not belonging to, the intensive or the iterative.

As for the Hiphil, the prefixes employed are declared by BAUER and LEANDER[2]) to have originally denoted something like 'to make'. We are not, I suppose, meant to understand that they were in the nature of verbs and that we have before us in the Hiphil a proto-Semitic forerunner of 'to sanctify' or 'to specify'. Presumably all that the two writers wish to convey is that these prefixes had causative force, they imparted a causative sense to the stem to which they acceded — but that, of course, adds nothing at all to the initial statement that the Hiphil primarily functions as a causative. The truth is that we are in the dark concerning the prefixes. They might have had an intensive meaning, an iterative one, a generally emphasizing one to bring out something striking, or indeed a very specifically causative one — but how and why and against what background and with what antecedents nobody so far seems to be able to tell.

Excursus on *'inna*.

According to Ex. xxi 13, full criminal liability does not arise where

[1]) 2nd Engl. ed. by COWLEY, 1910, 141.
[2]) P. 283.

'he lie not in wait and God let it happen to his hand'. Perhaps the more prevalent rendering is 'and God deliver (the victim) into his hand'. Either interpretation is justifiable.

I prefer the former, adopted by the Jerusalemite Targum: 'and from God did his anguish happen to his hand'. For one thing, it seems a more natural development from, or contrast to, a formulation of the Hittite type, 'only his hand transgresses'. For another, it is in closer accord with other applications of the verb: 'the Lord doth not let evil happen to them that fear him' [1]), 'no evil shall be made to occur to thee' [2]), 'no mischief shall be made to occur to the righteous' [3]), 'he is trying to collide with me' in the sense of 'he seeketh an encounter with me, an occasion for hostility against me' [4]), also the relevant nouns: 'he sought an encounter with the Philistines', i.e. 'an occasion for hostility' [5]), 'her occasion' in the sense of 'her heat' [6]). If the particle *'eth*, the accusative sign, is connected with this root, it would be a further argument in favour of 'to let it encounter, happen, occur, meet'.

Actually, the passage from Sirach, 'the Lord doth not let evil happen to them that fear him', may well be the result of speculations in which the statute from Exodus played a prominent part. In that statute, God is represented as the author of a disaster. Sirach in this chapter combats the doctrine that evil deeds are not really the fault of man, since God is the cause of all. True, Sirach is concerned with premeditated wrong, the old statute with an accidental deed. But the problem is fundamentally one, and what I shall have to say about the Rabbinic attitude to Ex. xxi 13 tends to confirm that this text — with others — is in the background of the passage from Sirach, if not actually in Sirach's mind. Conceivably, we may see a precursor of the passage, known to Sirach, in Prov. xii 21, 'no mischief shall be made to occur to the righteous'. This line may not mean simply — like Psalm xci 10 — that the righteous will not be unfortunate; it may at the same time allude to his being preserved from sinning: *'awen*, 'mischief', signifies both 'sorrow' and 'wickedness'. The idea, incidentally, reaches deep into the early strata of the Bible: it is enunciated in the tale of Abimelech and Sarah — 'I know that thou

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[1]) Sirach xv 13.
[2]) Psalm xci 10.
[3]) Prov. xii 21.
[4]) 2 Kings v 7.
[5]) Judg. xiv 4.
[6]) Jer. ii 24.

didst this in the integrity of thine heart, and I also withheld thee from sinning' [1]). The wrong in question is an unwitting one, committed in error.

However, if the interpretation 'and God let it happen' is traceable as early as Sirach, and has the approbation of the Jerusalemite Targum, that 'and God deliver (the victim)' may be found in the Septuagint, *paredoken*, Philo, *paradidosthai* [2]), Targum Onkelos, 'and from God was he delivered into his hand', and as we shall see, also in an early Amoraic discourse. For our main thesis, it is just as acceptable as the other.

That Amoraic discourse deserves closer inspection. But let us first consider the attitude of the Rabbis at large to Ex. xxi 13. The involvement of God (no matter whether he 'let it happen' or 'deliver the victim') must have created a grave difficulty. How could God act as he did? How, in particular, could he make an innocent man shed blood? It is surely significant that, with the exception of that one Amoraic utterance, there is no comment whatever. One would expect such a statement to be the starting-point for many a deduction, legal or theological. There is nothing, even (with that single exception) in a work like the Mekhilta, where every little point of the code in question is subjected to the most painstaking scrutiny. Silence here argues not neglect, but profound interest coupled with reverence and caution. I have already remarked that I regard the Rabbinic attitude as one more indication that somewhere behind Sirach xv 13 lies a discussion of the reference to God in Ex. xxi 13.

The one comment preserved to us, by Simeon ben Laqish, supports the assumption that, in reality, a good deal of thought was devoted to this disquieting clause. It is transmitted in Bab. Makkoth 10b and in the Mekhilta on Ex. xxi 13, though the latter does not name the author. It takes the form of a proem; that is to say, a discourse is opened by associating, for the purpose of elucidation, the Pentateuchic verse Ex. xxi 13, 'and if he lie not in wait' etc., with one from the Prophets, 1 Sam. xxiv 13, 'as saith the proverb of the ancients, from the wicked ones proceedeth wickedness'. (To the Rabbis, the phrase 'proverb of the ancients' perhaps stood for 'the Torah', 'the Pentateuch', so that Simeon would understand: 'as saith the Torah, from the wicked ones proceedeth wickedness'. Nothing depends on it for us.)

[1]) Gen. xx 6; cp. DAUBE, quoted above, section I, in connection with xx 9.
[2]) *De Specialibus Legibus* 3. 21. 120.

There has been so far no remotely adequate explanation of the choice of precisely this passage from 1 Samuel. Rashi on this occasion provides no real help, and modern writers do not go beyond him [1]), not even BACHER [2]).

The mystery, however, is capable of solution. Simeon ben Laqish is confident that God is absolutely just. So he will deliver over to an unwitting homicide only a man deserving death. (It should now be clear that Simeon translates 'and he deliver the victim'.) In other words, the man will be, say, a murderer who, owing to lack of witnesses, escaped his proper punishment. But God's justice is even more meticulous: the unwitting homicide himself is made to kill only because he in turn deserves the penalty for just such a deed, banishment. That is to say, he himself (Simeon reasons) will previously have caused another death by accident for which, again owing to lack of witnesses, he could not be banished.

I do not think it has been seen that, up to this point, the argument is not Simeon's own but far older. Philo explains that the description of God as delivering the victim to the killer implies a defence of the latter on the ground that the victim is a criminal, who by his resourcefulness evaded earthly justice. Moreover (this second part of the interpretation precludes any thought of a mere coincidence between Philo and Simeon), the unwitting killer must inevitably be guilty of some minor offence, otherwise God would not use him in this fashion; the use that God makes of him, with the resulting banishment, is his appropriate penalty. (Philo is more plausible than Simeon. According to Philo, the unwitting homicide must be guilty of some previous offence — which may be a deliberate one — and God punishes him by making him the instrument of a death so that he gets banished. According to Simeon, he must be guilty of a previous accidental killing. But, then, why was he used as an instrument on that previous occasion? Because of a yet further previous accidental killing? And why that? A *regressus ad infinitum*. The impasse is of course due to Simeon's desire to represent the punishment as scrupulously accurate.)

Two possibilities. This exegesis of Ex. xxi 13 is due to Philo or his milieu and at a subsequent stage reached the Rabbis. Or it reached Philo or his milieu from the Rabbis, though in Rabbinic literature it remains submerged until the early Amoraic period.

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[1]) For instance, LAUTERBACH, *Mekilta*, 3, 1935, 35.
[2]) *Die Proömien der Alten Jüdischen Homilie*, 1913, 41.

Anyhow, Simeon ben Laqish's contribution is the importation into this exegesis of 1 Sam. xxiv 13, the composition of a proem. What made this passage more suitable than many others in which God's justice or the idea that good begets good and evil begets evil is stressed?

For one thing, the word *ṣadha*, 'to lie in wait', is used two verses before this passage[1]). It is its only occurrence apart from Ex. xxi 13. Nor is the relation merely verbal. 'Thou liest in wait', David complains to Saul, 'for my soul to take it'; and God, he trusts, will judge between them. It is in view of this context that the proverb 'from the wicked ones proceedeth wickedness' receives its peculiar applicability to Ex. xxi 13, as the Rabbis (or Philo) understand it. Here is Saul, a murderous character, who cannot be summoned before an earthly tribunal, but whom God will deliver over to vengeance. The wicked man — and only he — will end by others sinning against him.

In fact, in a way, the judgment is beginning even at this moment: Saul in the cave could easily be despatched by David, whose men advise him: 'Behold, the day of which the Lord said, I will give thine enemy into thine hand'. (Remember that in Ex. xxi 13 God delivers the criminal into the homicide's hand.) And David himself calls out to Saul: 'Thine eyes have seen how that the Lord hath given thee to day into mine hand'[2]). We may note that, in Simeon's illustration of how a murderer might be accidentally killed, he meets his fate in an inn, *pundaq* (the Greek *pandokeion*) — possibly suggested by the cave where David comes upon Saul.

In a proem we must not expect the parallel from the Prophets to be analogous to the Pentateuchic text in every detail. Some inconsistencies, however, which a casual reader might find in the combination of Ex. xxi 13 and 1 Sam. xxiv 12 are more apparent than real, provided the author's personal doctrines are sufficiently studied. I am thinking above all of the fact that whereas in Ex. xxi 13 the criminal who at first evaded rightful punishment but now meets death is truly a murderer, Saul never accomplished his monstrous schemes. For Simeon ben Laqish, this discrepancy — in any case not too serious — would be particularly slight: it was he who emphasized the fact that Ex. ii 13 calls 'a wicked one' him who only raises his hand against his

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[1]) 1 Sam. xxiv 11.
[2]) 1 Sam. xxiv 4, 10.

fellow: 'and Moses said to the wicked one'[1]). In fact, as it happens, the term *rasha'* used in Ex. ii 13 is the same that occurs in the ancient proverb 'from the wicked ones proceedeth wickedness'. It is also, incidentally, the one found in the second half of Prov. xii 21: 'no mischief shall be made to occur to the righteous, but the wicked ones shall be filled with evil'.

A final question respecting the relation of Makkoth 10b and the Mekhilta. The latter does not name Simeon; it has only part of the proem, though, to be sure, the essential, opening bit, with the verse from 1 Samuel; but what is perhaps queerest — the part we do get contains an awkward legal excursus which distracts the attention from the point of the proem. Such a disturbance is quite unusual in this most classical of Midrashim. ELIJAH of Wilna (or whoever the author of *Ephat Zedeq* may have been) cuts out the excursus. But it is given by all manuscripts and HOROWITZ, while admitting that it is incongruous, rightly disagrees with the erasion[2]).

The explanation is that the Tannaitic proto-Mekhilta did not include this proem — an Amoraic proem — at all. There was complete silence on the role of God in Ex. xxi 13. The comment on this verse was purely legal, so that what now perplexes and distracts as a legal excursus was perfectly in order. Probably it is to the school of R. Johanan bar Nappaha, where a redaction of the Mekhilta seems to have taken place[3]), that we owe the insertion of the proem of Johanan's brother-in-law. It is inserted without the author's name, just like the sayings of Johanan himself. Its insertion around a lengthy legal disquisition is awkward; but, with that disquisition already in existence, unless one was prepared to make a separate paragraph of the proem, it would not have been easy to do better. At least, the need was now felt to say something about that difficult clause in the old statute.

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[1]) Bab. Sanhedrin 58b. Similarly, according to Simeon, the Bible, in Job xxiv 15, calls 'adulterer' him who only sins with his eye: Leviticus Rabba on xviii 3, ch. 23 towards the end.

[2]) *Mechilta*, 1928, 262.

[3]) LAUTERBACH, *Mekilta*, 1, 1933, XXVI.

LES VILLES DE JUDA AU TEMPS D'OZIAS

PAR

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Dans cette étude nous nous proposons, à la lumière des compte-rendus plus récents, d'établir le bilan des fouilles dans les villes de Juda, pour le milieu du 8e siècle c'est-à-dire le règne d'Ozias. Certes, en Archéologie, il est difficile de fixer des dates rigoureuses et nous ne pouvons isoler, dans les niveaux du Fer II, ce qui concerne la période autour de 750; un tel découpage risquerait d'être fort arbitraire. Mais, pour chaque ville, il est possible de grouper les éléments qui permettront une vue d'ensemble sur son activité, ses richesses, son développement pour le temps que nous étudions.

Une telle enquête nous invitera à comparer et à faire le point, à donner quelques conclusions générales.

Il est évident que, pour la clarté de cette étude, il nous faudra rappeler brièvement l'histoire antérieure de chaque site, tant sur le plan biblique que sur le plan archéologique.

Préliminaires.—Jérusalem, La Capitale du Royaume.

Dans 2 Chr. xxvi 9.15, on nous affirme qu'Ozias bâtit des tours à Jérusalem et qu'il y installa des dispositifs de sécurité.

Au 8e siècle, la capitale était en plein développement; la vie religieuse et administrative de Juda s'y était concentrée, surtout depuis Salomon. Il est difficile, du point de vue archéologique, de préciser nettement l'évolution des remparts et l'expansion de la capitale; les fouilles sont trop incomplètes et les destructions ont été trop considérables au cours des siècles pour donner une vue d'ensemble. Toutefois, nous savons que le vieille enceinte jébuséenne existait encore au 8e siècle, que la ville s'étendait bien au delà des 4 hectares 1/2 de surface que lui offrait le sommet de la colline, entre les vallées du Cédron et du Tyropoéon; un siècle après Salomon, la colline occidentale était assez habitée pour qu'il fût nécessaire de la munir d'une enceinte. [1]) C'est sans doute dans cette enceinte que Joas d'Israël parvint à faire „une brèche de 400 coudées, de la porte

[1]) *S.D.B.* art. Jérusalem de H. Vincent: col. 920.

d'Ephraïm à la porte de l'Angle" 2 R. xiv 13; 2 Chr. xxv 13 — en effet, le circuit restreint du rempart primitif ne permet pas d'y localiser cette brèche de façon satisfaisante; le roi d'Israël dut d'ailleurs opérer du côté où la ville était la plus accessible et la plus vulnérable.

Ozias dut d'abord réparer cette brèche. Quant aux tours et aux engins installés sur les remparts, nous ne pouvons guère en parler du point de vue archéologique; nous reviendrons toutefois sur ce sujet à propos de Lakish. Nous pouvons localiser avec vraisemblance „la porte de l'Angle" au Nord Ouest de la ville, non loin de la porte actuelle de Jaffa, — „la porte de la Vallée" un peu au Sud de la Citadelle, ou un peu au Sud de la porte de Jaffa (cf. Neh. ii 13), — l'Angle ou „l'Encoignure" étant tout près de la porte du même nom (Neh. iii 19).

Le Père VINCENT [1]) estime que des vestiges de construction dans les remparts, seraient convenablement datés entre le 9e et le 7e siècles (dates extrêmes), sur des points variés de la colline de l'Ophel, „sur la crète orientale".

En tout cas, Ozias ne se contenta pas de réparer; il améliora et fortifia les murs, en partie pour protéger le Temple et le Palais qui venaient d'être pillés: 2 Chr. xxv 24.

Que la ville se soit considérablement développée au 8e siécle, nous en avons la preuve dans le fait qu'à la fin du siècle Ezéchias construisit une nouvelle muraille extérieure: 2 Chr. xxxii 2-5. Il fallait protéger le quartier neuf „dont l'extension à l'Ouest du Temple, dans la vallée du Tyropoéon, avait été suffisamment considérable pour exiger l'appellation de redoublement „misneh" ou seconde ville, „ir misneh" 2 R. xxii 14; 2 Chr. xxxiv 22[2]).

Au point de vue archéologique, il faut rappeler que des tessons du Fer II furent découverts, dès 1869, par WARREN: ils étaient, pour la plupart, dans une faille rocheuse, à l'angle Sud Est du Haram actuel, „exactement à la jonction du mur primitif avec le rocher" d'autres furent trouvés sur l'Ophel (mais sans localisation précise). Tous sont datés de la monarchie tardive, (8e-7e siècles) „sans le moindre alliage de fragments postérieurs"; il y avait notamment 8 anses de jarres avec estampilles royales; l'une d'elles, à l'inscription plus lisible, portait comme nom de ville: MEMŠATH. [3]).

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[1]) *RB.* Tome XXX, 1921, p. 550 et seq.; p. 561 planche X

[2]) *S.D.B.* art. Jerusalem: col. 920.

[3]) H. VINCENT: *Jérusalem de l'A.T.* Tome I p. 229, Paris 1954. et *RB.* Tome XXI, 1912, p. 549-550.

En définitive, les résultats pour cette époque sont assez décevants. Mais d'autres sites ont pu être explorés plus méthodiquement.

Une ville fortifiée: Lakish

Les fouilles entreprises à Tell-ed-Duweir, désormais bien identifiée avec Lakish, n'ont pas atteint la totalité des 7 hectares 1/2 de surface de l'énorme site; elles ont été interrompues par la mort tragique de J. L. STARKEY et le „Lachish IV" sur l'époque du Bronze est paru seulement en 1958 — Cependant, grâce aux publications de „Lachish" I (1938), „Lachish II" (1940), et „Lachish III" (1953), il est déjà possible de dégager des conclusions et spécialement pour l'âge du Fer. Pour le 8e siècle, nous nous servirons du „Lachish" III de O. TUFNELL.

Lakish, ville fondée au cours de l'Ancien Bronze, est située à 40 km. au Sud-Ouest de Jérusalem, dans la Shéphéla, sur la route de Jérusalem à Gaza. STARKEY avait d'ailleurs retrouvé une partie de cette route [1]). Par l'Ancien Testament, nous savons que cette „ville royale amorréenne conquise par Josué, figure ensuite parmi les localités de la Shéphela de Juda: Jos. x 3, 5, xii 11, xv 39" [2]). D'après 2 Chr. xi 9, Roboam (931-913) construisit „des villes fortifiées en Juda", dont Lakish. Les successeurs ne devaient pas négliger ce site qui, avec Tell es-Sandaḥannah, Tell ej-judeideh, (visibles depuis Tell ed-Duweir) contribuait à former une ligne de positions d'importance stratégique capitale devant la plaine philistine. Amasias (796-781), le père d'Ozias, y trouve la mort: il s'y était réfugié pour échapper à un complot tramé contre lui à Jérusalem: 2 R. xiv 19; 2 Chr. xxv 27. En 701, Lakish devait tomber aux mains de Sennachérib; un bas-relief du palais de Ninive représente le souverain recevant le butin de la ville. (cf. 2 R. xviii 13; 2 Chr. xxxii 9).

Sur 9 niveaux, 5 concernent l'époque du Fer (niveaux 2 à 6). — Les niveaux 4 et 3 sont datés entre 900 et 700. Cependant, il faut, dès maintenant, signaler que J. L. STARKEY attribuait la fin du niveau 3 à l'avant-dernière intervention de Nabuchodonosor, vers 600. Miss TUFNELL s'écarte de cette opinion et date la destruction du niveau 3 vers 700, à l'invasion de Sennachérib. Nous pensons, après avoir lu compte-rendus et discussions [3]), qu'il faut revenir à l'opinion de

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[1]) *Lachish* III, Text, p. 164.

[2]) *Géographie de la Palestine* (F. M. ABEL) II, p. 367.

[3]) *V.T.* V, 1955, p. 97-105 (G. E. WRIGHT) — *B.A.S.O.R* no 132, p. 46, (W. F. ALBRIGHT)

J. L. STARKEY et, en conséquence, tenir compte de cette correction, pour l'état de la ville à l'époque que nous étudions. D'après la poterie en effet, le palais du niveau 3 a été détruit seulement à la fin du 7e siècle; quelques ostraca et des anses à estampilles de catégories diverses, dans ce même niveau, sont du 7e siècle; (constatations identiques pour les tessons de certaines sépultures, la tombe 1002 notamment [1])).

S'il reste délicat de donner une vue d'ensemble sur le 8e siècle, à cause des fouilles inachevées et des niveaux partiellement dégagés, il est possible cependant de fixer quelques points.

Comme le soulignent les célèbres bas-reliefs de Ninive, la ville a l'allure, à cette période, d'une véritable place forte; un mur de brique de 6m. de large, et datant du début du Fer, domine le Tell; on ne connaît pas sa hauteur car il a été détruit et reconstruit à partir de 700. Il entoure toute la surface habitée du sommet; mais il n'a pu être dégagé qu'aux environs de la porte de la ville, 16m 50 plus bas, le long de la pente, un autre mur a été construit et on le distingue aussi sur les bas-reliefs; on peut penser que ce système de double enceinte date du niveau 4, entre 900 et 800 [2]). Cette 2e muraille a été suivie sur tout son contour; elle consistait essentiellement en un revêtement de pierre de 4m. d'épaisseur, avec un glacis; par endroits, le mur atteint encore 6m. de haut; aux angles, se distingue la trace de bastions très saillants; il est difficile de dire quand ce mur reçut ses perfectionnements successifs — sur le bas-relief de Ninive, représentant „Sénnachérib, roi de l'univers, roi d'Assyrie, assis sur un trône et passant en revue le butin de Lakish", on voit des espèces de balcons couronnant ces murailles. E. L. SUKENIK pense que, sous le règne d'Ozias, on a installé des dispositifs de défense [3]); „la frise de boucliers" qui orne les balcons équivaudrait aux engins qu'Ozias fit placer sur les tours de Jérusalem: 2 Chr. xxvi 5; ces appareils auraient été, non pas des balistes, comme on le pense ordinairement, mais un système mobile de sécurité. — Il est difficile de contrôler l'exactitude de cette explication.

En tout cas, les courtines, coupées régulièrement de saillants, se distinguent aussi bien sur le terrain que sur les bas reliefs [4]) — il en

[1]) *Lachis* III, Text, p. 229-236.
[2]) *Lachish* III, Text, p. 60; et Lachish III, Plates: Plate 108.
[3]) E. L. SUKENIK: *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, Oct. 1946, XIII, 1-2, p. 19-24 et p. II et III.
[4]) *Lachish* III, Text, figures p. 6 et 90.

est de même pour la tour isolée d'où le sculpteur a fait sortir une foule de captifs: elle serait le gros bastion de 27m. de côté qui sortait du rempart inférieur et gardait l'entrée de la ville [1]). Il est tout à fait vraisemblable qu'Ozias ait contribué à perfectionner ces beaux remparts de Lakish mais il est difficile de préciser davantage; peut-être les dispositifs des 2 portes (l'une dans l'avant-mur, l'autre dans le mur principal [2]) reliées l'une à l'autre fut-il perfectionné à ce moment là par la construction de tours; les ruines dégagées datent de l'époque perse, mais on a utilisé les travaux antérieurs [3]). Au niveau 3, une rue assez bien tracée partait des portes [4]). De chaque côté de cette rue de 5m. de large, se trouvaient des boutiques et des maisons d'habitation; un drain, découvert à l'extrémité Est des fouilles, était parallèle à cette voie jusqu'à une allée se dirigeant vers le Nord, (dans une partie non fouillée) — Il servait à l'écoulement des eaux — [5]).

Les maisons, étudiées au chapitre 5 [6]) font conclure à une habitation très intense au milieu du 8e siècle; elles sont, en général, assez pauvres; seules les assises inférieures sont en pierre, avec souvent des piliers de renforcement. Près du palais cependant, on en trouve de plus spacieuses; par exemple, au Sud, on distingue un ensemble d'appartements assez vastes avec cours et piliers comme à Tell Beit Mirsim; dans une autre pièce, non loin de là, on a trouvé 70 poids pour métier à tisser et quelques restes carbonisés d'une poutre en bois, ce qui suggère la présence d'un métier vertical. Des jarres estampillées et des jarres, très larges, à provisions se trouvent souvent dans ces maisons du niveau 3 [7]). A 100m. à l'Est du Palais, un curieux aménagement pourrait représenter une écurie [8]) après une vaste cour se trouve une salle, avec 8 piliers de 125 cm. de haut réunis par une murette de moindre hauteur; ils séparent la salle en 2 sections. Malgré l'étroitesse de l'espace (2m. de large) entre cette rangée de piliers et le mur du fond, on peut maintenir l'explication proposée par le P. VINCENT; le grand côté est assez large pour recevoir des chevaux, le petit côté

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[1]) *Lachish* III, Text, p. 55-56, 93 — Lachish III, Plates: plate III — Nous nous inspirons aussi dans ce passage, d'une note inédite de J.-T. MILIK et de J. STARCKY sur Lachish III de O. TUFNELL.

[2]) *Lachish* III, Plates: plates 111, 112, 114.

[3]) *Lachish* III, Text, p. 56-57.

[4]) *Lachish* III, Plates: plate 15[2]; text p. 93-102

[5]) *Lachish* III, Text, p. 95.

[6]) *Lachish* III, Text, p. 103-130.

[7]) *Lachish* III, Text, p. 106-107; Plates: plate 115 no 1003.

[8]) H. VINCENT: *RB*. Tome XLVIII, 1939, p. 265 et 575 — et *Lachish* III, Text, p. 147.

étant un couloir de passage; on a trouvé dans cet appartement, de la poterie hellénistique, mais aussi des jarres à large ouverture, caractéristiques du niveau 3; les bâtiments pourraient être du 8e siècle.

Le palais israëlite [1]) à l'Ouest, est attribué avec vraisemblance au temps de Salomon; il y a eu des retouches successives; les phases B et C sont datées entre 925 et 750. Un terre plein, devant ce palais, a été élargi vers l'Est au 8e siècle; il reçoit un bel escalier 3 fois exhaussé et remanié. Les premières marches semblent correctement datées du 8e siècle; les dernières, toutes neuves ont dû à peine servir avant 600; sur les premières marches, on a découvert une inscription: les 5 premières lettres de l'alphabet hébreu et quelques autres signes difficiles à déchiffrer. W. F. Albright et D. Diringer datent ces inscriptions aux environs de 800 [2]). J. T. Milik et J. Starcky [3]) penchent pour une date plus récente, vers 700. Quoiqu'il en soit, ce début d'alphabet est un témoin ancien et important de l'ordre des lettres phéniciennes.

Cette présentation de Lachish au 8e siècle passe sous silence la question des poids et des estampilles; nous en reparlerons à la fin de ce chapitre.

Une ville de citernes et de silos: Tell En-Naṣbeh

Tell En-Naṣbeh fouillé de 1926 à 1932 par W. F. Bade se situe à 13 km. au Nord de Jérusalem, à l'Ouest de la route de Naplouse, au sommet d'une colline isolée entre le wâdi Ǧiliān et son tributaire le wâdi Duweit [4]). L'identification avec Mispa est en général admise. Il s'agit d'un centre religieux et politique célèbre au temps des Juges et de Samuel: Jud. xx 1-3; 1 Sam. vii 5-14, x 17. — d'après les fouilles, ce fut aussi un centre très actif sous la monarchie. Occupé au Bronze I et II, le site est encore habité de façon ininterrompue de 1100 au 4e siècle av. J.C. [5]). Le niveau I correspond à la période 700-350; le niveau II (1100-700) se divise lui-même en niveau II^{a} 11e-10e siècles et niveau II^{b} 9e-8e siècles. Dès le 12e siècle, la ville était fortifiée, mais les remparts israélites, de type „à redans" (à angles saillants et rentrants) avec panneaux de longueur variable (6 à 15m), et suivant

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[1]) *Lachish* III, Text, p. 83-86.
[2]) *Lachish* III, Text, p. 118 et 357.
[3]) Note inédite déja citée (cf. note 1, p. 274).
[4]) *Excavations at Tell en Naṣbéh*, I, p. 53.
[5]) Pour la stratification, voir même volume, notamment p. 60-63 et p. 179-186.

de très près les contours de la colline, ont pu être définitivement établis sous Asa (911-870) qui, d'après 1 R. xv 22, fortifia Geba et Miṣpa contre Basha d'Israël (909-889). Une porte à tenailles a été aussi ajoutée, mais il est difficile d'en préciser la date [1]).

La ville s'est beaucoup développée au Fer II; d'importance secondaire au point de vue stratégique et agricole sous Saül, David et Salomon, elle connaît une ascension progressive car elle est située près des frontières entre Juda et Israël et par ailleurs, le phénomène de sédentarisation s'accentue.

Au 8e et 7e siècles, la ville dépasse les 3 hectares de superficie de sa surface primitive; au Sud et Sud Est, certains habitations, non occupées au Fer I, se trouvent hors de l'enceinte, ce qui indique un accroissement de population; les maisons ont été spécialement étudiées dans le volume I des fouilles [2]); beaucoup de murs sont très anciens, mais la plupart sont utilisés jusqu'à la fin du 8e siècle. — Certaines demeures, plus récentes, datées spécialement du 8e siècle, comportent des piliers, des escaliers, de vastes cours; [3]) souvent elles ont 4 pièces; toutefois le nombre considérable de pauvres et petites habitations semble montrer que le développement de la ville a accentué les inégalités sociales. A partir de 900 surtout, de nombreux silos et des magasins pour produits agricoles sont construits, des citernes sont creusées, et spécialement près des remparts. Quelques magasins même ont été construits hors des murs, dans le faubourg oriental, mais ils ont dû servir moins longtemps, d'après la poterie, sans doute à cause de la possibilité d'incursions ennemies et de pillage.

J. C. Wampler a spécialement étudié les citernes et les silos [4]); on peut dire que Tell en Naṣbeh est par excellence le site de ces installations. La ville n'ayant qu'une petite source au pied de la colline, (source tarissant presque en été) a dû être pourvue, aux périodes de plus grande population, de nombreuses citernes; elles sont dispersées un peu sur toute la surface du tell; grâce à une technique découverte au Récent Bronze, des enduits imperméables permettent à ces citernes de retenir l'eau.

Parmi celles qui sont datées autour de 750, la citerne 285 est en partie creusée sous le rempart [5]). La plus grande de toutes a comme

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[1]) *Excavations* ..., I, p. 12 et 190-204.
[2]). Cf. Ch. XVIII du volume I, p. 205-232.
[3]) *Excavations at Tell en Naṣbéh*, I, p. 212-214.
[4]) *Excavations at Tell en Naṣbéh*, I, ch. XII: p. 129-147.
[5]) *Excavations at Tell en Naṣbéh*, I, p. 134.

dimensions, 8m50 de profondeur, dont 6m 50 creusés dans le rocher, le reste étant une construction de maçonnerie; les plus petites ont entre 2m 50 et 1m 50 de profondeur; elles ont, la plupart du temps, la forme de gourdes allongées et progressivement élargies vers le bas [1]). Souvent, on a trouvé près d'elles des jarres à estampilles (avec le nom de la ville d'Hébron, surtout).

Les auteurs ont spécialement inventorié les objets de la citerne 166 [2]). Un sceau inscrit „lammélek" est daté vers 700 par W. F. Albright, mais l'énorme quantité de poterie est à dater, pour les 9/10, autour de 750; beaucoup de tessons sont polis et lustrés, de couleur rouge ou brun clair, de très bonne pâte dure et bien cuite, — c'est le moment du perfectionnement de la technique au détriment de l'art. La plupart des autres citernes étudiées sont surtout postérieures à 750; la grande prospérité de la ville se situe donc à partir du milieu du 8e siècle. Il est regrettable que les divers silos n'aient pas été assez étudiés pour la datation; le silo 348 [3]) se présente comme une grande cavité de forme ovale; il est situé à l'Ouest, contre le rempart; il est en usage entre 850 et 700. D'autres cavités du même genre ont servi de dépôts de grains dans une ville qui était entourée de cultures.

Les fouilles ont aussi mis à jour quelques pressoirs à huile et des vestiges de métier à tisser avec leurs poids; ils sont datés autour de 750 surtout, mais nous reparlerons de ces installations pour des sites où ils sont plus nombreux [4]).

Dans le volume II, J. C. Wampler a étudié une belle collection de poterie du Fer II: notamment des „Zîrs" ou grandes jarres à provisions, datées à partir de 750 surtout; de cette époque aussi, on note beaucoup de marmites, de lampes, des entonnoirs (ces derniers objets sont assez rares dans les fouilles de Palestine), des terrines, etc... [5]) Parmi les outils découverts, 9 socs de charrue, des faucilles, prouvent que Tell En-Naṣbeh était un site agricole [6]).

Pour terminer, il faut signaler le matériel inscrit; à la fin du chapitre, seront étudiées les estampilles, abondantes dans cette ville. Plusieurs graffiti intéressent notre époque: le sceau „lammélek" signalé plus

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[1]) *Excavations at Tell en Naṣbéh*, I, p. 129 (cf. figures de cette page).
[2]) *Excavations at Tell en Naṣbéh*, I, p. 130
[3]) *Excavations at Tell en Naṣbéh*, p. 136.
[4]) *Excavations at Tell en Naṣbéh*, I, p. 256-258
[5]) *Excavations at Tell en Naṣbéh*, II, The Pottery: notamment, planches 77 et 81, p. 3-5; 29-42; 51.
[6]) *Excavations* etc., I, ch. XX et pl. 96.

haut, daté par ALBRIGHT vers 700 ou un peu avant; car il se trouve parmi des tessons datés autour de 750. — Une inscription sur une anse plate, à la pâte mélangée de grains de sable blanc [1]), est ainsi déchiffrée par ALBRIGHT: (*lnt*)*nw wlṣmk* (yw) = „à Nathanias et à Semakhias" ce dernier nom étant attesté dans 1 Chr. xxvi 7; on date cette inscription du milieu du 8e siècle. — Enfin un autre fragment d'anse porte quelques lettres mutilées dont il sera question à la fin du chapitre (à propos du „bat royal")

Une ville de pressoirs à huile et à vin: Beth-Shemesh

La ville de Beth-Shemesh, située près du Wâdi Séràr, sur la pointe avancée d'une ligne de collines, face au pays philistin, a été fouillée par MACKENSIE d'abord, en 1911-12, puis par E. GRANT, de 1928 à 1933. Nous avons surtout utilisé, pour l'histoire et la stratification, les deux derniers volumes publiés par E. GRANT avec la collaboration de G. E. WRIGHT.

Cette ville, située à 38 km à l'Ouest de Jérusalem, est comptée comme judéenne, cf. Jos. xv 10, xix 41, 1 Sam. vi 9 13-20 (histoire du retour de l'Arche d'alliance); dans 1 R. iv 9, 2 R. xiv 11-13, elle est citée comme une ville du royaume de Juda; Amasias, père d'Ozias, y est fait prisonnier par Joas d'Israel (cf. 2 Chr. xxv 21). Sous Achaz (736-713), elle devait tomber aux mains des Philistins (2 Chr. xxviii 18). C'est aujourd'hui le Tell er-Humeilé, voisin des ruines byzantines de Aïn Shems. Dans les 6 niveaux d'occupation, [2]) le niveau II est celui du Fer (1000-586) Il est divisé lui-même en 3 périodes: II^{a} (1000-950) II^{b} (950-825) et II^{c} (825-586). Occupée au 11e siècle, détruite vers 1000 ou un peu auparavant, (avant l'invasion de Shéshonq), la ville israélite a peut-être été de nouveau ravagée (au niveau II^{c}) à la fin du 8e siècle par Sennachérib (opinion de MACKENSIE); elle le fut certainement en 586 par Nabuchodonosor et elle ne devait plus connaître ensuite que des occupations transitoires et restreintes aux périodes byzantines et arabes [3]).

La ville a gardé ses fortifications (type „à casemates" avec chambres aveugles) de l'Epoque du Bronze, mais à la période israélite, elle n'a pas eu un rôle stratégique important [4]); au 8e siècle, sa prospérité agricole est en plein essor; Beth-Shemesh ne semble pas avoir été

[1]) *Excavations* etc., I, planche 57 no 22 et p. 167; cf. aussi: I, p. 169 et planche 51[27].

[2]) Tableau de la stratification dans *Aïn Shems Excavations*, V, p. 5; et p. 15.

[3]) *Aïn Shems Excavations*, V, p. 7-17 (histoire de la ville).

[4]) *Aïn Shems Excavations*, V, p. 19-26.

endommagée lorsque, vers 800, Joas roi d'Israël y fait prisonnier Amasias (2 R. xiv 11-13); en 750, les maisons ont débordé l'enceinte sur les pentes du tell et même, à certains points, elles recouvrent l'emplacement des remparts; les 3 hectares du sommet ne suffisent plus aux habitants; la ville a aussi évolué dans son activité; alors qu'au niveau III (12e-11e siècles), des restes d'armes et l'existence de fours prouvent le travail du métal, aux niveaux II^b et II^c, on constate une évolution car on trouve surtout des instruments agricoles, faucilles, etc... [1])

La ville, vers 750, est bien approvisionnée en eau. Aux premières fouilles, on avait découvert 1 puits de 3m. de diamètre sur 20m. de profondeur; peut-être très ancien, il a été utilisé jusqu'à la fin de la période israélite [2]). A partir du 8e siècle, une très grande citerne fut creusée au Nord de ce puits; découverte en 1933, elle est appelée par GRANT „citerne 25". Elle fut certainement la principale source d'eau de la ville pendant le 8e siècle, elle comporte un puits creusé dans le roc à 2m 50 de profondeur, et au-dessus, une construction de 5m 45 de maçonnerie exécutée en 2 périodes. Au-dessous de ce puits, à la fois creusé et bâti, le fond de la citerne s'élargit en une vaste surface: 12m 72 du Nord au Sud et 8m 72 de l'Est à l'Ouest, avec, dans cette surface élargie, une hauteur de 2m 42; des traces d'enduits sont encore visibles sur le fond et les parois [3]). Comme d'ailleurs les puits primitifs, cette citerne a été peu à peu abandonnée vers la fin du 8e siècle; il y avait déjà moins d'habitants à cette époque; en effet, on a trouvé au fond de la citerne, d'innombrables tessons accumulés à la fin du 8e siècle et pendant le 7e; jarres à grande ouverture, marmites, bols, lampes, noyaux d'olive et quantité de débris divers prouvent que la citerne était devenue un lieu de débarras.

Un silo construit au début du Fer II et utilisé, d'après la poterie, jusqu'au 7e siècle, fournit le même indice sur l'évolution de la ville [4]). Les dimensions de ce silo (7m 50 Nord-Sud; 6m 50 Est-Ouest) en font le plus grand de Palestine (pour une date si ancienne) parmi ceux que l'on a découvert. Il ne faut pas oublier que Beth Shemesh était centre de district pour le système attribué à Salomon 1 R. iv 9. Les produits en nature devaient y être assemblés.

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[1]) *Rumeileh*: 1934 (part III) de E. GRANT: p. 20 et 52 — et *Aïn Shems*, V, p. 67-77.

[2]) *P.E.F.Q.S.* 1912-1913, II, p. 99.

[3]) *Rumeileh* (III) ch. V, p. 62 et carte no 6 à la fin du livre.

[4]) *Aïn Shems Excavations*, V, p. 70.

Les habitations de cette époque sont souvent pauvres; toutefois on rencontre quelques magasins aux longues salles parallèles et quelques maisons plus spacieuses [1]).

La poterie est extrêmement abondante: jarres à large ouverture, marmites, bols, cruchettes; on trouve aussi des outils: haches, poinçons avec manche en os, masses en pierre, faucilles.

GRANT et WRIGHT voient là un indice d'activité surtout agricole [2]). Non seulement quelques ateliers de teinturerie (cf. Tell Beit Mirsim) mais surtout de nombreux pressoirs à huile et à vin, spécialement au niveau IIc, confirment le caractère rural de Beth Shemesh. La ville devait être entourée de vignobles [3]) et le volume IV [4]) nous présente des installations qui, d'ordinaire, se trouvaient plutôt dans le domaine cultivé lui-même; le pressoir à vin comporte „le plus souvent une aire de foulage rectangulaire, peu profondément entaillée dans le rocher et dont le rebord est parfois creusé d'une cavité pour la barre de la presse à levier analogue à celle qui sert pour les olives, mais qui peut être, sans inconvénient, de construction moins robuste. La table du pressoir, plus vaste que celle du pressoir à olives, communique par une rigole creusée dans le roc avec la cuve où s'écoule le moût... Cette cuve, yéqeb, est mentionnée dans la chanson d'Isaïe v 1-2 [5]).

Non seulement la vigne, mais aussi l'olivier prospérait près de Beth Shemesh; chaque pressoir à olives [6]) est ainsi disposé: „2 auges rectangulaires en pierre d'une contenance moyenne d'un demi-mètre cube chaque, flanquées de grandes jarres à 4 anses, presque entièrement enterrées. Une des jarres, à en juger par la lie qu'elle contenait, avait manifestement servi au lavage des tourteaux" [7]). De nombreux poids de pierre, percés de trous, et destinés à charger un levier pour écraser les fruits, ont été retrouvés à proximité de ces installations.

Les premières fouilles de Beth Shemesh avaient mis à jour de nombreuses tombes de l'époque monarchique avec quelques inscriptions, notamment l'une sur une coupe, l'autre sur un scarabée, mais elles sont très probablement postérieures au temps d'Ozias [8]).

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[1]) *Aïn Shems Excauations*, IV, planche 16; V, p. 72-73

[2]) *Aïn Shems Excavations*, V, p. 134.

[3]) *Géographie de la Palestine*, I, p. 405-406.

[4]) *Aïn Shems*... part IV, planches 18, 19, 20 (et part V p. 75)

[5]) A. G. BARROIS: *Manuel d'archéologie biblique*, I, p. 330.

[6]) *Aïn Shems*..., IV planches 19, 21 (spécialement 21[1]) – cf. part V, p. 75-76.

[7]) A. G. BARROIS: *Manuel d'Archéologie*..., p. 326: la description concerne Beth-Shemesh.

[8]) *P.E.F.* Annual 1912-13, II, p. 87 et 92.

Une ville de tissage et de teinturerie: Tell Beit Mirsim

De 1926 à 1932, l'American School of Oriental Research et le Pittsburg Kenia Seminary ont exploré le site de Tell Beit Mirsim; le directeur des fouilles, W. F. ALBRIGHT en a publié le compte-rendu avec une étude spéciale de la poterie et des maisons de l'époque du Fer II; il a proposé d'indentifier Tell Beit Mirsim avec Debir-Qiriat-Séphèr de Jos. xv 15 [1]).

Très bien située, à la convergence approximative de la Shéphéla, des montagnes de Juda et du Négeb, sur des contreforts rocheux, la ville pouvait surveiller les régions voisines, les routes importantes vers le Négeb ou vers le Nord, par exemple la route Bersabée — Beit Djibrin; elle gardait aussi le Sud du royaume contre les incursions philistines. Le tell, dilaté d'Est en Ouest, est très difficile d'accès au Nord et à l'Ouest; au Sud et à l'Est, les pentes sont plus douces.

On a distingué 10 niveaux de A à J; Fondée à l'Ancien Bronze, la ville est israélite au niveau B; le niveau A (10e - 6e siècles) qui nous intéresse ici finit probablement vers 589-87, à l'invasion des Chaldéens [2]).

La ville du 8e siècle possède encore une ancienne enceinte casematée; au 10e siècle, un mur intérieur, parallèle aux antiques remparts, a été construit; peut-être des bastions ont-ils été ajoutés plus tard; de l'intérieur de la ville, l'accès aux remparts était assez difficile, à travers de petites ruelles ou par les cours des maisons de tisserands [3]). La ville possédait 2 portes également anciennes, l'une à l'Est, l'autre au Nord-Ouest; sur ces portes, s'élevaient des tours; ALBRIGHT a étudié très soigneusement „la tour Ouest", adossée contre la porte Nord-Ouest; il distingue plusieurs phases de construction; de peu antérieure au 8e siècle (phases „alpha" et „beta" 9e-8e siècles) elle fut renforcée sous Amasias (ou au début du règne d'Ozias?); c'est la phase „delta" [4]). Cette forteresse abritait une cour intérieure et six chambres servant de locaux sans doute administratifs; c'était aussi, probablement, le principal lieu des transactions avec l'extérieur; visiteurs et commerçants devaient y passer; toutefois, l'étroitesse de la voie d'accès ne devait pas permettre aux chars d'entrer dans la

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[1]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XII, 1931 et XXI-XXII, 1941-43.
[2]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XII, p. XXI.
[3]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI-XXII, p. 10, 41.
[4]) L'histoire des diverses constructions de cette tour est décrite dans *A.A.S.O.R* XXI-XXII, p. 41.47. Cf. plate 8.

ville. — Dans une des chambres, on a retrouvé une collection de poids dont un de 8 mines = 4kgs 565 [1]).

Quant à la porte Est, elle a dû acquérir son état définitif au 9e siècle; mais elle a peut-être subi des retouches aux 8e-7e siècles [2]).

Un autre bâtiment de caractère officiel a été découvert au Sud Est; c'était sans doute à la fois un local administratif et une forteresse; les murs sont très épais — d'après la poterie, il a été construit vers le milieu du 8e siècle. ALBRIGHT pense que les 3 villes de Lakish, Azékah et Debir - Qiriat - Séphèr ont dû constituer à cette époque un ensemble de cités fortifiées,. . [3]) devant lesquelles les conquérants auront à vaincre des difficultés.

Pourtant ce n'est pas cette caractéristique qui est la plus frappante au 8e siècle: ALBRIGHT estime que c'est le moment où la ville atteint sa prospérité maxima [4]).

Les maisons occupent alors toute la surface des 3 hectares compris dans l'enceinte, mais elles débordent le rempart, au Sud-Ouest notamment, vers les pentes plus douces; 250 maisons au maximum, 150 au minimum, 2.000 ou 3.000 habitants, telles sont les évaluations d'ALBRIGHT. Les rues étaient très étroites, seules, 2 petites places restent libres, près des portes [5]).

Après 750, toutefois, la population diminue: un assez grand nombre de maisons ont dû être abandonnées dans le cours du 7e siècle, et un atelier de teinturerie, datant du 8e siècle, a été comblé au 7e [6]).

L'approvisionnement en eau, comme dans le site précédent, fut amélioré au moment de la plus grande extension de la ville. Il n'y a pas de sources dans le voisinage, mais la cité avait de bons puits anciens, captant une nappe d'eau peu profonde. De nombreuses petites citernes ont été découvertes, toutes du niveau A, du moins dans l'état où on les a trouvées, et d'après la poterie; elles sont creusées dans les cours des maisons ou à l'intérieur même [7]); les travailleurs de Tell Beit Mirsim avaient besoin de ces installations, nous le verrons.

Une série de maisons plus remarquables a retenu l'attention et a

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[1]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI-XXII, p. 47.
[2]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI-XXII, p. 48.
[3]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI-XXII, p. 48-49 et plate 4.
[4]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI-XXII, p. 39 et 85, notamment
[5]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI-XXII, p. 39.
[6]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI-XXII, p. 40.
[7]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI-XXII, p. 63.

permis de mettre en lumière quelques modes de constructions aux 8e-7e siècles [1]); ces demeures ont souvent 4 ou 5 pièces dont la plus grande possède 3 ou 4 stèles-supports soutenant le plafond; la base de ces piliers reposait sur un stylobate en pierre. On entrait dans la cour bordée d'un seul côté par ces colonnes; un escalier donnait, du dehors, accès à l'étage. Les quartiers où ces maisons se rencontrent semblent plus soignés, les ruelles mieux tracées. A l'intérieur de la grande pièce on a trouvé souvent des cuves, des bassins, des pierres creusées, des puits d'emmagasinage. La plus ancienne maison de ce genre est datée de la fin du 9e siècle; les autres dans le courant du 8e.

Toutefois, tous les piliers n'ont pas dû servir à soutenir un plafond. Albright a cru pouvoir proposer un autre emploi: des métiers verticaux pour tissage étaient soutenus entre deux piliers; des poids ont été trouvés en quantité considérable (97 dans une seule maison) près de ces piliers; ils servaient à tendre les fils; et l'ouvrier travaillait assis devant son métier [2]); Tell Beit Mirsim est une ville qui se distingue par le nombre considérable de ces installations de tissage.

Or, teinturerie et tissage vont de pair souvent; dans le niveau A, Albright a identifié 6 ou 7 ateliers de teinturerie, répartis dans tous les quartiers de la ville: 2 (ou3) au Nord Ouest, 3 au Sud Ouest, un au Nord [3]); d'après les vestiges sur le reste du tell, il pouvait y avoir entre 20 et 40 installations de ce genre.

Situées à la partie basse des maisons, elles se présentaient ainsi: une ou plusieurs vasques, creusées dans un bloc calcaire, d'environ 0 m 80 de haut, de diamètre équivalent. L'ouverture de la vasque était assez étroite, et à la partie supérieure, le rebord circulaire avait une rigole qui permettait de recueillir la matière colorante en surplus, pour la faire tomber dans la cavité centrale; les étoffes devaient probablement être pressées sur ces vasques après avoir plongé dans un bain de teinture; de grandes jarres, au fond desquelles restent souvent des dépôts calcaires, ont été trouvées tout près; elles étaient destinées à garder la matière colorante; des bassins et des citernes fournissaient l'eau nécessaire; de gros poids perforés, de 30 à 40 cm. de diamètre, pouvaient servir à l'essorage des tissus.

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[1]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI-XXII, p. 49-55; plate 6.

[2]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI-XXII, p. 50, figure 3 nos 1 et 2. Cf. J. B. Pritchard: *The ancient Near East in pictures relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton 1954, p. 42, figure 143.

[3]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI-XXII, p. 55-62 et plates 51, 52, 53.

G. DALMAN [1]) conteste cette interprétation et parle de moulins à olives; toutefois, les presses à olives ont, à cette époque, une disposition différente, déjà mentionnée, et Tell Beit Mirsim en fournit d'ailleurs quelques exemples comme les autres sites [2]); on peut donc garder l'explication d'ALBRIGHT.

Cette double industrie, tissage et teinturerie, suppose, autour de la ville l'élevage (utilisation de la laine) et la culture de quelques plantes à matières colorantes.

ALBRIGHT s'est aussi livré à une étude détaillée du matériel et de la poterie; pour notre époque, signalons divers outils, des faucilles, des socs de charrue, des ciseaux, des marteaux; beaucoup de jarres à provisions à fond pointu, à 2 ou 3 anses; des lampes à base très épaisse, des cruches, des cruchettes à parfums; enfin, il faut mentionner de nombreuses palettes cosmétiques, soit non décorées, soit ornées de lignes concentriques ou de traits rayonnants [3]).

Quelques ostraca ont été découverts: nous reparlerons plus loin de l'un d'entre eux gravé sur une large amphore — Par ailleurs, sur un tesson, une inscription est ainsi restituée: (*lg*) *r'* = „a Gera" (?), elle est du 8e siècle; mais le reste du matériel inscrit est du 7e siècle, et même un tesson portant l'inscription *l' z y w* = „ à Ozias" [4]).

Remarques concernant d'autres sites du Fer II

Nous avons choisi les sites les plus étudiés et les plus importants pour l'époque du 8e siècle. Toutefois, nous pouvons signaler que, parmi les autres sites de Juda habités au Fer II, Tell ej-judeideh a fourni beaucoup de tessons et d'anses estampillées, que Tell es-Sandaḥannah est dans une contrée où citernes et traces de silos se rencontrent en abondance [5]).

Enfin, à *Tell el Fûl*, (Gibeah de Saül), à 6 km. au Nord de Jérusalem, si le 8e siècle voit le site perdre de l'importance, ALBRIGHT signale cependant qu'un petit „migdol" pourrait être de l'époque d'Ozias (ou un peu avant); il propose cette solution en citant 2 Chr. xxvi 6-10 et en notant que toute la poterie découverte au pied de ce

[1]) G. DALMAN, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, V, Gütersloh, 1937, p. 77 et seq.

[2]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI-XXII, plate 48.

[3]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XII, p. 19-89; et XXI-XXII, p. 19-86 pour l'étude de tout ce matériel.

[4]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XII, p. 77, figure 12[1] ; et page 78.

[5]) A. G. BARROIS, dans son *Manuel d'Archéologie*, Tome I, p. 34-73, donne un aperçu sur l'évolution des divers sites; spécialement, p. 47-48, pour les sites que nous citons. — Cf aussi *S.D.B*: art. Fouilles en Palestine, col. 338, 352.

„migdol" est du 8e siècle, „y compris, ajoute-t-il, une estampille Memšat" [1]).

Bilan de cette enquête sur les villes de Juda

1° *Remarques générales*

Il est évident que les sites étudiés manifestent que le 8e siècle est une période de prospérité dans le Royaume de Judā; cette constatation, faite aussi dans le Nord, pour le règne de Jéroboam II, convient fort bien, nous l'avons vu, au règne d'Ozias.

Cette prospérité se marque par l'intense occupation urbaine; Israël s'est de plus sédentarisé; la population est si dense dans les villes qu'elle déborde souvent les vieux remparts, construits en des temps moins sûrs et moins aptes à cette extension. Toutefois, les principales ressources du pays restent l'agriculture et l'élevage; il ne s'agit donc pas, comme dans nos sociétés modernes, d'une évolution vers l'industrie; les villes restent de caractère rural; l'outillage agricole, les pressoirs à vin et à huile, les ateliers de tissage et de teinturerie, autant d'éléments qui soulignent la mise en valeur des terres et l'utilisation de leurs ressources.

Les fortifications sont en général antérieures au 8e siècle; des fortins des bastions, des tours ont simplement quelquefois été ajoutés, mais il n'est pas toujours facile de donner des dates précises.

Les citernes et les silos se multiplient, en liaison avec l'augmentation de population; les réserves en eau et en produits alimentaires sont ainsi assurées

Comme la vie est davantage centralisée dans les villes, le commerce prend de plus en plus d'importance. Mais la différenciation sociale s'accentue; certains s'enrichissent, et quelquefois au détriment des autres; les belles demeures vont faire de plus en plus contraste avec les pauvres maisons; la prédication prophétique réagira contre les injustices, et la „pauvreté" aura été d'abord une „expérience" socialement vécue avant de devenir, après l'exil surtout, un idéal d'attitude spirrituelle.

Au point de vue de la poterie, il faut noter, à cette époque, la multiplication d'ustensiles de toutes sortes; la technique du tour pour polir et lustrer facilite ce développement au détriment de l'art, mais à l'avantage de la solidité et des qualités pratiques. Le polissage à la main était nécessairement imparfait; la technique nouvelle va permettre de fabriquer en série, avec plus de régularité, et ainsi va

[1]) W. F. Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.* IV, 1922-23, p. 18 et 52-53.

répondre à des besoins plus grands d'une population plus nombreuse — ALBRIGHT remarque que cette évolution dans l'industrie du potier commence au 9e siècle; aussi bien dans le Nord que dans le Sud de la Palestine, la transformation est générale vers 750 [1]); de plus en plus les formes tendent à la „standardisation"; on retrouve les mêmes modèles de jarres, de cruchettes, etc... d'un site à l'autre. Aussi, ALBRIGHT tente de discerner quelques règles générales, par exemple, sur la façon de fabriquer les anses de jarres à cette époque: la vaisselle porte souvent un engobe rouge continu et poli au tour [2]).

Comme le commerce et les échanges sont plus fréquents, il devient de plus en plus utile de déterminer des mesures de capacité. ALBRIGHT note que certains récipients, si on compare des séries, semblent varier proportionnellement en contenance (par exemple les marmites) [3]). Toutefois l'établissement de grandeurs précises reste plus délicat que pour les récipients en métal; la qualité de la terre glaise, les mélanges divers, la température de cuisson, tous ces éléments introduisent un certain pourcentage de variation difficile à prévoir.

L'usage d'inscriptions se répandra pour rendre officielles certaines mesures de capacité; nous allons y revenir; mais, auparavant, il faut précisément noter une géneralisation de l'écriture au cours du 8e siècle; les objets portant quelques lettres gravées ou peintes sont de plus en plus fréquents. ALBRIGHT et DIRINGER sont d'avis que beaucoup de ces inscriptions en caractères phéniciens ont pu disparaître, à cause des cataclysmes ou parce qu'on ne les a pas toutes discernées [4]). Il est bon de noter cette évolution importante, car l'exégèse moderne a tendance à considérer la fin de la monarchie en Juda comme une époque d'intense activité littéraire, animée par les prophètes et scribes — Le 8e siècle, sur ce point, peut donc être un tournant important.

A propos de cette poterie portant des inscriptions, nous voudrions terminer le chapitre par des remarques plus particulières.

2° *La question des jarres avec inscriptions, des mesures de capacité et des estampilles royales.*

Une note inédite de J. T. MILIK (dans l'étude déjà citée sur Lakish), nous a mis sur la voie d'une recherche concernant notre époque.

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[1]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XII, p. 79, no 102.
[2]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XII, p. 89, no 107.
[3]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XII, p. 121-122 et plate 54.
[4]) *L'Archéologie de la Palestine*, p. 142.

Dans 3 sites déjà cités, en effet, on a découvert 3 débris sur lesquels on pense pouvoir reconnaître la marque du „BAT" royal; il ne s'agit pas encore des célèbres jarres à estampilles dont nous parlerons ensuite. A Lakish [1]), dans une rue du niveau III qui comportait des boutiques de commerçants, a été trouvé un tesson, étudié par DIRINGER dans le matériel inscrit du site; c'est la partie supérieure d'une jarre: juste, au-dessous du goulot, à l'endroit où la surface s'élargit, on discerne des lettres ainsi identifiées „BT LMLK" [2]) c'est-à-dire „Bat pour le roi", la lecture ne fait pas de doute; les lettres sont plus archaïques que celles de l'inscription de SILOÉ (vers 700); elles se rapprochent de celles des ostraca de Samarie (774-776) et de celles du sceau de Shema (782-753) sous Jéroboam II; on peut donc dater cette inscription de la première moitié du 8e siècle, comme le propose DIRINGER.

A Tell en Naṣbeh [3]), sur une anse épaisse, une inscription mutilée avait d'abord été ainsi restituée par ALBRIGHT „Ben qénayou" il remarquait cependant l'incertitude d'une telle lecture; il datait l'inscription du 8e siècle. Mais N. AVIGAD [4]) semble avoir correctement reconstitué les lettres: un „beth" d'abord, puis un „taw", et la base d'un „lamed" (crosse retournée) puis un „mem" archaïque, enfin le début de la base d'un 2e „lamed". Il s'agit donc à nouveau du „BT LMLK". Enfin, à Tell Beit-Hirsim [5]), un tesson, découvert au niveau A, offre les mêmes caractéristiques avec les restes d'un „beth" et d'un „taw": SUKENIK et ALBRIGHT sont d'accord pour lire „bat".

Il est plus indiqué de dater ce fragment du début du 8e siècle, contraiment à ALBRIGHT qui propose la fin du même siècle. Nous avons ainsi, au début du règne d'Ozias ou un peu auparavant, des inscriptions pour authentifier la contenance des jarres, sans doute en vue de quelques redevances en nature; il est normal de penser que le roi a voulu contrôler spécialement les produits de ses propres domaines; si les inscriptions de ce genre sont peu nombreuses, elles ont pu disparaître plus facilement que les estampilles inscrites sur des anses solides; mais elles forment bien la transition entre le matériel non contrôlé et ces estampilles elles-mêmes.

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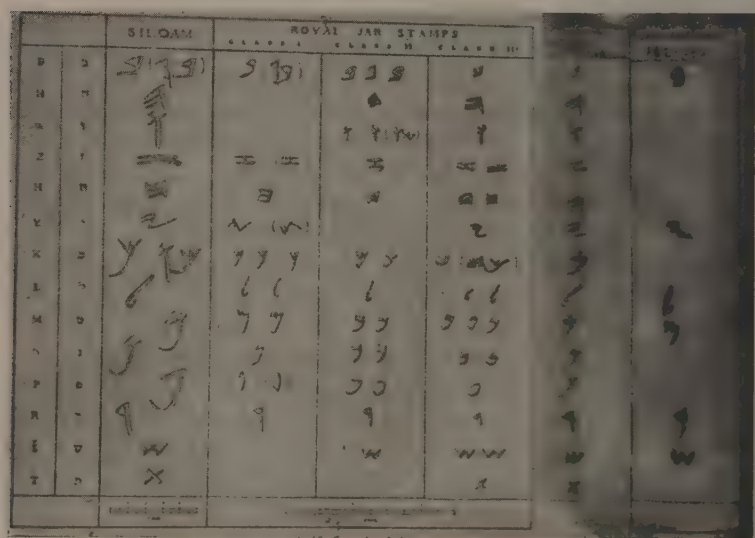
[1]) *Lachish* III, Text, p. 356.
[2]) *Lachish* III, Plates: plate 49.
[3]) *Tell en Naṣbeh* I, p. 168, planche 57[1].
[4]) *Israel Exploration Journal*, 1953, p. 121.
[5]) *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI-XXII, page 58, et plate 60[1].

Cependant, nous avons là trop peu d'éléments encore pour déterminer de façon précise le système des mesures de capacité, notamment pour fixer la valeur du „bat", mesure courante pour les liquides (et dont l'équivalent était „l'épha", pour les grains et farines).

Les jarres a estampilles devaient apparaître plus tard; ordinairement, les auteurs actuels les datent de la fin du 8e siècle, sous Ezéchias. En partant d'une affirmation de J. T. Milik proposant le règne d'Ozias, nous pensons qu'il faut reconsidérer cette question.

Dans les sites dont nous avons parlé, plus spécialement à Lakish et à Tell en Naṣbeh, des anses à estampilles furent trouvées. De facture solide, en argile bien cuite, de couleur rouge, les unes portant une figure à 4 ailes, un scarabée aux ailes déployées, de forme non



stylisée (classe I) ou stylisée (classe II); les autres ont un disque solaire, peut-être d'origine assyrienne (classe III). Sur toutes ces anses, les estampilles portent une double inscription: d'une part „lammélek", d'autre part, le nom d'une des quatre villes suivantes: Hébron, Ziph, Socho, Memšat.

C'est la classe I, au scarabée non stylisé, qui va retenir notre attention; elle est datée au temps d'Ezéchias, tandis que les deux autres

séries sont, à juste titre, considérées comme plus tardives, au point de vue épigraphique.

Or, si la classe II rappelle l'inscription de Siloé, la classe I présente une écriture plus archaïque; on peut s'en rendre compet en utilisant à la fois le tableau reproduit dans Lachish III [1]) et les reproductions contenues dans le recueil de S. A. Birnbaum [2]).

Pour la période plus ancienne, le sceau de Shema et les ostraca de Samarie nous serviront de points de comparaison.

Bien que moins cursifs que dans les ostraca peints, les caractères de la classe I demeurent archaïques. Nous n'insistons pas sur certaines lettres dont la forme change très peu entre le 9e et le 7e siècles, (le „lamed", le „beth") mais d'autres, qui évoluent en cette période, restent de forme ancienne sur les estampilles de classe I.

Ainsi le „kaf": les deux branches du sommet s'insèrent au même point sur la hampe oblique (toutefois, cette forme demeure encore pour Siloé). Deux lettres sont surtout révélatrices: le „mem" et le „nun" — la première est très proche des nombreux „mem" des ostraca de Samarie; elle est nettement tracée d'un seul mouvement; dans dans l'écriture de Siloé, le „mem" est écrit en 2 mouvements et possède une barre médiane, le trait vertical recoupant le tracé". Dans les estampilles de classe II et III, le „mem" offre un aspect intermédiaire entre la forme en ligne brisée de la lettre ancienne et le tracé plus carré du „mem" récent. — Quant au „nun", il est tracé d'un seul mouvement sur les estampilles de classe I; or, dans l'écriture cursive de Samarie, il est déjà presque tracé en 2 temps, comme il l'est nettement dans l'écriture gravée de Siloé. Enfin le „pé" est archaïque par rapport à celui des estampilles de séries II et III; toutefois, l'unique „pé" de l'inscription de Siloé est encore de forme ancienne.

Nous pensons donc que les estampilles de la classe I sont antérieures à Ezéchias; au point de vue de la céramique, rien ne s'oppose à une date vers 750. Albright avait d'ailleurs, en 1925, proposé le règne d'Ozias en soulignant que le souverain avait voulu probablement réglementer le système fiscal de Juda [3]).

A une époque où la poterie se multiplie et où les transactions

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[1]) *Lachish* III, Text, p. 345.

[2]) S. A. Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts*, fascicule I; *Paléographia* 9, Carysfort Road, London, no 16 (hors commerce): p. 10 nos 34 et 35. cf. aussi *Lachish* III, Text, p. 84.

[3]) *Journal of Palestine Exploration Society*, volume 5, 1925, p. 45-53.

commerciales se développent, le roi a voulu limiter les risques de fraude; l'usage de l'estampille visait à authentifier le „bat" royal comme mesure officielle. Plus tard, le style de ces sceaux évoluera, mais le but sera identique; c'est d'ailleurs, remarque J. T. MILIK (dans la même note inédite) vers la 2ème moitié du 8e Siècle que l'usage des sceaux privés (sur divers objets) tend à se répandre; on en a retrouvé une cinquantaine à Lakish, dont plusieurs sur des jarres. L'impulsion a dû venir d'en haut; on a imité l'initiative royale, à une époque où l'écriture est d'un usage plus fréquent.

Nous pensons que le Père VINCENT [1]) avait raison de parler d'ateliers royaux de poterie, au sujet des noms de villes figurant sur les anses estampillées; le roi avait ses domaines agricoles peut-être tout près de ces villes. Il prélevait sur le produit de ses terres comme l'avait annoncé Samuel (1 Sam. viii 12-18) dans un texte dont l'état actuel reflète une expérience postérieure à Saül. Dans 1 Chr. iv 23, il est question des potiers de Nétayim et de Gédéra „qui demeurent près du roi et travaillent pour lui". C'est sans doute dans de tels ateliers que les estampilles ont été d'abord réalisées..

Lachish III [2]) contient des tableaux très précieux de classification des jarres à estampilles, avec leurs catégories et les lieux de provenance: les séries I et II ont été trouvées dans les niveaux correspondant aux 8e-7e siècles, d'abord à Lakish (310 estampilles), puis Tell en-Naṣbeh (86), Tell ej-judeideh (37) Beth Shemesh (19) puis Tell es Sandaḥannah (17) Tell Zacharieh (17) etc... Quant aux noms de villes inscrits, on peut en déduire qu'Hébron a été l'atelier le plus important et le plus ancien. Ziph, Socho, Memšat ont plutôt des estampilles des classes II et III. Nous ne traitons pas ici le problème de l'identification de ces derniers sites, car, jusqu'ici, l'archéologie n'éclaire pas le problème des ateliers royaux de poterie.

Nous ne voulons pas entrer ici dans le détail des controverses sur la détermination des mesures de capacité. Mais nous pensons qu'en dehors même des théories et des essais de systématisation, quelques faits positifs [3]) sont de nature à éclairer le problème.

A Lakish, deux jarres ont été reconstituées, l'une portant un sceau royal LMLK ḤBRN, l'autre portant un sceau privé; la première est datée sous Ezéchias et appartient à la classe II des jarres estam-

[1]) H. VINCENT: "Canaan", collection *Etudes Bibliques*, Paris 1907, p. 359.
[2]) *Lachish* III, Text, p. 342, 346, 347.
[3]) *P.E.Q.*, 1941 . 106-109 et Plate X.

pillées; la 2ème est probablement de la même période. C. H. INGE détermine ainsi la capacité de ces récipients: la première a une contenance de 45¹ 33, la 2ème, de 46¹ 667; il estime que la différence est trop minime pour que l'on puisse contester que les 2 jarres représentent une même mesure de capacité. Nous serions en présence du BAT.

Or, récemment, J. T. MILIK a évalué la contenance d'une jarre intacte de Qumrân; nous pouvons utiliser ses conclusions présentées dans le Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible [1]): la jarre de Qumrân porte une indication de capacité: „2 seah et 7 log". Des mesures effectuées avec de l'eau et du blé donnent respectivement 35¹650 et 33¹ 255 pour la contenance de cette jarre. A la suite de calculs sur la valeur du séah et du log, J. T. MILIK attribue à l'épha-bat (= 3 séah) les capacités de 46¹650 et de 43¹560. Ainsi à partir d'une jarre portant une indication de contenance et d'époque romaine, on aboutit à une évaluation du bat qui se rappoche singulièrement de celle que C. H. INGE proposait pour les 2 jarres de Lakish. Un système de capacité relativement fixe aurait donc persisté, en dépit des occupations et des influences étrangères, depuis le 8e siècle jusqu'à l'époque romaine. L'importance du règne d'Ozias est donc considérable si l'estampille introduite pour le bat royal a inauguré la fixation d'un système de mesures. Le roi est ainsi à la source d'une nouvelle période économique; il faut penser que la persistance de ce système est due aux milieux juifs très conservateurs qui, après l'Exil, vivaient autour du Temple.

Remarque

En fin de chapitre, signalons la question des *poids inscrits*. Trouvés surtout à Lakish et à Tell en Nasbeh, étudiés par D. DIRINGER [2]), ils portent un signe ou une des inscriptions suivantes: NSP, PYM, BQʿ.

Jusqu'ici, on hésite à les dater précisément: ils sont apparus entre le 8e et le 6e siècle. A notre avis, les quelques éléments d'épigraphie indiquent au plus tôt le 7e siècle, mais nous avons peu de possibilités de comparaison.

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[1]) *S.D.B.*, article *Métrologie*, col. 1234.
[2]) *Lachish* III, p. 348-356.

THE SUFFERING SERVANT — A NEW SOLUTION

BY

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Introduction

No single section of the Old Testament presents more immediate and cogent problems than those passages of Isa. xl-lxvi. which deal with the figure of the suffering servant of the Lord. Are they a literary unit in themselves or are they a part of the prophetic utterance of that sublime prophet whom Biblical scholars have come to designate as Deutero-Isaiah? Certainly the latter prophet developed the thought and figure of Israel, the people, as the *'ebed Yahweh*, "the servant of Yahweh". And throughout these so-called "servant passages", the *'ebed Yahweh*, "the servant of Yahweh", is indeed the central figure, and once (xlix. 3) the name, Israel, is even applied to him. On the basis of this, at first sight seemingly compelling, evidence many scholars have unhesitatingly ascribed these passages to Deutero-Isaiah and interpreted the title, "servant of Yahweh", here, just as elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah, as designating the people Israel. And the very fact that Deutero-Isaiah does represent Israel as chosen by Yahweh, the one, universal God, to be the agent of His salvation for all mankind, does indeed at first glance seem to accord perfectly with the role assigned to the servant in these passages.

Furthermore, scholars have come to refer to these passages as "the Songs of the Suffering Servant". Just why they should have done this it is extremely difficult to comprehend, for, even though these passages are cast in poetic form, poetry of high caliber indeed, there is absolutely nothing anywhere in them which suggests that they were songs, songs which could be sung or were intended by the author to be sung. Rather we shall see, and that too clearly and convincingly, that all these passages, assembled in proper sequence, together constitute a drama, a powerful drama indeed, patterned unmistakably after the classic Greek drama, with a succession of speakers and also with a chorus after the Greek pattern, each occupying the stage in turn, and with an exceedingly effective time-sequence manifest in the unfolding drama.

And inasmuch as this is certainly a new and perhaps even a somewhat surprising thesis, it will be well first to reconstruct the drama before seeking to interpret or to comment upon it. The reconstruction will in itself be so ready, so self-apparent and so complete as almost of itself to establish the thesis.

II

Text, Translation and Commentary

God is the speaker

42.1	הן עבדי אתמך־בו / בחירי רצתה נפשי	3/3
	נתתי רוחי עליו / משפט לגוים יוציא	3/3
2	לא יצעק ולא־ישא / ולא־ישמיע בחוץ קולו	3/3
3	קנה רצוץ לא־יִשָּׁבֵר / ופשתה כהה לא־יכבנה / ללאמים	
	יוציא משפט	3/3/3
4	לא יכהה ולא־ירוץ / עד־ישים בארץ משפט / ולתורתו איים ייחלו	3/3/3

Chorus

42.5	כה־אמר האל יהוה / בורא השמים ונוטהם / רקע הארץ וצאצאיה	3/3/3
	נתן נשמה לעם־עליה / ורוח להלכים בה	3/3

God addresses the Servant

42.6	אני־יהוה קראתיך בצדק / וְאחזיק בידך וְאצרך	3/3
	וְאתנך לברית עם / לאור גוים ‹אשימך›	3/3
7	לפקח עינים עורות / להוציא ממסגר אסיר / מבית־כלא ישבי חשך	3/3/3

The Servant speaks

61.1	רוח אדנָי יהוה עלי / יען משח יהוה אותי	4/4
	לבשר ענוים שלחני / לחבש לנשברי לב	3/3
	לקרא לשבוים דרור / ולאסורים פַּתֵּחַ זקים	3/3
49.9a	לאמר לעצורים צאו / לאשר בחשך הגלו	3/3
61.10	שוש אשיש ביהוה / תגל נפשי באלהי	3/3
	כי־הלבישני בגדי ישע / מעיל צדקה העטני	3/3
	כחתן יחבש פאר / וככלה תעדה כליה	3/3
	---- ---- ---- / ---- ---- ----	3/3

The Servant speaks

49.1	שמעו איים אלי / והקשיבו לאמים מרחוק	3/3
	יהוה מבטן קראני / ממעי־אמי הזכיר שמי	3/3
2	וישם פי כחרב חדה / בצל ידו החביאני	4/3
	וישימני לחץ ברור / באשפתו הסתירני	4/3
3	ויאמר לי עבדי אתה / ישראל אשר־בך אתפאר	4/3
4	ואני אמרתי לריק יגעתי / לתהו־והבל כחי כליתי	4/3
	אכן משפטי את־יהוה / ופעלתי לפני־אלהי	3/3
5c	ואכבד בעיני יהוה / ואלהי היה עזרי	3/3
5ab	ועתה אמר יהוה / יצרי מבטן לעבד־לו	3/3
	לשובב יעקב אליו / וישראל לו יאסף	3/3
6	ויאמר נקל מהיותך עבד־לי / להקים את־שבטי יעקב / ונזרי	
	ישראל להשיב	4/3/3
	ונתתיך לאור גוים / להיות ישועתי עד־קצה הארץ	3/4

Chorus

50.10	מי־בכם ירא יהוה / ישמע בקול עבדו	3/3
	אשר הלך חשכים / ואין נגה לו	3/3
	יבטח בשם יהוה / וישען באלהיו	3/3

The Servant speaks

50.4	אדני יהוה נתן לי / לשון למודים לדעת / לענת את־חרפי דבר	4/3/3
	בבקר בבקר יעיר לי / אזן לשמע כלמודים	4/3
5	אדני יהוה פתח־לי אזן / ואנכי לא מריתי / אחור לא נסוגתי	4/3/3
6	גוי נתתי למכים / ולחיי למרטים	3/2
	פני לא הסתרתי / מכלמות ורק	3/2
7	ואדני יהוה עזר לי / על־כן לא נכלמתי	4/3
	על־כן שמתי פני כחלמיש / ואדע כי־לא אבוש	4/3
8+9aβ	קרוב מצדיקי מי־הוא ירשיעני / מי־יריב אתי נעמדה יחד / מי־בעל	
	משפטי יגש אלי	4/4/4

Chorus

52.13	הנה יִשְׂכַּל עבד יהוה / ירום ונשא וגבה מאד	4/4
14	כאשר שממו עליו רבים / כן נשחת מאיש מראהו / ותארו מבני אדם	4/4/4
15	כן יזה גוים רבים / עליו יקפצו מלכים פיהם	4/4
	כי־אשר לא־ספר להם ראו / ואשר לא שמעו התבוננו	4/4

The peoples speak

53.1	מי האמין לִשמעתֻנו / וזרוע יהוה אל־מי נגלתה	4/4
2	ויעל כיונקת לפנינו / וכשרש מארץ ציה	3/3
	לא־תאר־לו ולא־הדר ונראהו / ולא־מראה ‹לו› ונחמדהו	3/3
3	נבזה וחדל אנשים / איש־מכאבות ויודע חלי	3/3
	וכמסתר פנים ממנו / ונבזהו ולא חשבנהו	3/3
4	אכן חלינו נשא / ומכאבינו ‹הוא› סבלם	3/3
	ואנחנו חשבנהו נגוע / מכה אלהים ומְענה	3/3
5	והוא מחלל מפשענו / מדכא מעֹונותינֻו	3/3
	מוסר שלומנו עליו / ובחבֻרתיו נרפא לנו	3/3
6	כלנו כצאן תעינו / איש לדרכו פנינו	3/3
	ויהוה הפגיע בו / אֶת עון כלנו	3/3
7	נגש הוא ונענֶה / ולא יפתח פיו	3/3
	כשה לטבח יובל / וכרחל לפני־גזזיה נאלמה ‹›	3/3
8	מעצר וממשפט לקח / ואת־דורו מי יוכיח	3/3
	כי־נגזר מארץ חיים / מפשעינו נֻגע למֹוֶת	3/3
9	וַיִּתֵּן את־רשעים קברו / ואת־עשֻׁי־רע במותו ‹שכב›	3/3
	על‹־אשר› לא חמס עשה / ולא ‹נמצאה› מרמה בפיו	4/4
10	ויהוה חפץ דכאו ויחללהו / באמת שם לאשם נפשו	4/4
	יִראה זרע יאריך ימים / וחפץ יהוה בידו יצלח	4/4

God is the speaker

53.11	מעמל נפשו יקריב ישע / ברעתו יצדיק‹עבדי לרבים / ועֹונתֹם	
	הוא יסבל	4/4/4
12	לכן אחלקֹ־לו ברבים / ואת־עצומים יחַלֵּק שלל	3/3
	תחת־אשר הערה למות נפשו / ואת־פשעים נמנה	4/2
	והוא חטא רבים נשא / ולְפשעים פגע	4/2

God is the speaker

42.1 Behold, My servant, to whom I hold fast,
My chosen one, in whom My soul delights!
I have set My spirit upon him;
Right order for the nations will he bring forth.
2 He will not cry out nor will he raise his voice,
Nor will he let it be heard in the street.

3 A crushed reed, he will not be broken,
Yea, a dimly burning wick, one shall not quench him;
Unto the peoples shall he bring forth right order.
4 He shall not be extinguished nor shall he be crushed
Until he shall have set right order in the earth.
Yea, for his revelation the Isles do wait.

Chorus

42.5 So declareth God, Yahweh,
He who created the heavens and stretched them out,
Who spread out the earth and that which springs forth from it,
Who giveth life to mankind upon it
And spirit to those who walk thereon.

God addresses the Servant

I, ii 42.6 I, God, have called thee with purpose,
And I hold fast thy hand and I guard thee;
And I give thee as a covenant of the peoples,
As a light of the nations do I set thee,
7 To open the blind eyes,
To bring forth the prisoner from the dungeon,
From the place of confinement those who sit in darkness.

I ii The Servant speaks

61.1 The spirit of my Lord, God, is upon me,
Because the Lord hath anointed me.
To bring good tidings unto the afflicted hath He sent me,
To bind up those broken of heart,
To proclaim freedom unto the captives
And the opening of fetters unto those who are bound,
49.9a To say to those who are confined, Come forth,
To those who are in darkness, Show yourselves.
61.10 I will greatly rejoice in the Lord,
My soul shall exult in my God;
For He hath clothed me in raiment of salvation,
With the robe of vindication hath He covered me.
As the bridegroom binds on an ornament,
And as the bride adorns herself with her jewels,

— — — — — — — — — — — — —

The Servant speaks

I, iv

49.1 Hearken, ye Isles, unto me,
And listen, ye peoples afar off.
The Lord hath called me from the womb,
From my mother's loins He pronounced my name.
2 And He made my mouth like a sharp sword;
In the shadow of His hand He concealed me.
Yea, He made me a polished arrow;
In His quiver He hid me away.
3 And He said to me, My servant art thou,
O Israel, through whom I shall be glorified.
4 But I thought, in vain have I toiled;
For naught and vanity have I spent my strength.
Yet surely my case rests with the Lord;
Yea, my recompense is with my God.
5c And I was esteemed in the eyes of the Lord,
Yea, My God has been my helper.
5ab But now sayeth the Lord,
He who formed me from the womb to be His servant,
To bring back Jacob unto Him,
And that Israel might be gathered unto Him anew ;
6 Yea, He sayeth: It is too light a thing that you should be a servant unto Me
In order to raise up the tribes of Jacob
And to bring back the scattered ones of Israel;
So I have appointed thee as the light of the nations,
To the end that My salvation may reach to the end of the earth.

Chorus

50.10 Whoever among you is a fearer of the Lord
Let him hearken to the voice of His servant.
Whoever is one who walks in darkness,
So that he has no light,
Let him put his trust in the name of the Lord,
And let him lean upon his God.

The Servant speaks

Act II, i

50.4 My Lord, God, hath given unto me
The tongue of experts to know how

To give answer unto my blashphemers.
Day by day He stirs up for me
An ear to hearken as do disciples.
5 My Lord, God, hath opened for me (my) ear
And I did not rebel;
Backwards I did not turn.
6 My back I gave to the smiters
And my cheeks to those who plucked (my) beard,
My face I did not hide
From shame and spittle.
7 But my Lord, God, was a helper unto me;
Therefore I did not let myself feel humiliated.
Therefore I set my face like a flint,
For I knew that I would not be put to shame.
8+ Close at hand is my Vindicator; who then would prove me in
9aβ the wrong?
Whoever would enter into litigation with me, let us stand up together;
Whoever would have a case at law against me, let him draw nigh to me.

Chorus

52.13 Behold the servant of the Lord hangs suspended;
He is raised aloft and lifted up and is very high.
14 Even while the masses watched him with amazement
His appearance was marred beyond human semblance
And his form beyond that of the sons of man.
15 Thus many nations kept staring at him;
At him kings puckered up their mouths;
For something never told to them before they were beholding,
And something unheard of they were pondering over.

The Chorus speaks in the role of the Peoples

53.1 Who has put faith in our report,
And the power of God, to whom has it revealed itself?
2 For he grew up like a suckling plant before us,
Yea, even as a root out of arid soil.
He had neither form nor comeliness, so that we should observe him,
Nor had he stateliness, so that we should hold him in esteem.
3 Despised, yea, lowliest of men,

A man of affliction and acquainted with disease,
Yea, even as one who hides his face from us;
So we despised him and esteemed him not.
4 But actually he was carrying our sicknesses,
Yea, our afflictions, them he was bearing.
But we regarded him as plagued,
Stricken by God and afflicted.
5 But he was pierced because of our transgressions,
Crushed because of our iniquities.
Chastisement for our well-being was upon him,
And through his wounds there was healing for us.
6 We all like sheep have gone astray,
Each one in his own direction have we turned.
But the Lord has imposed upon him
The iniquity of us all.
7 He was oppressed and humiliated,
Yet he would not open his mouth,
As a lamb that is led to slaughter,
Yea, even as a sheep before its shearers remains dumb.
8 From imprisonment and judgment was he taken.
And as for his generation, who can hold it responsible
That he was cut off from the land of the living,
Because of our transgressions he was plague-stricken unto death?
9 And his grave was set among the wicked,
Yea, with the doers of evil he lay in his death,
Even though he had committed no crime,
Nor was deceit found in his mouth.
10 But the Lord willed to crush him, so He let him be pierced.
In truth he has given himself as a guilt-offering.
But he shall see posterity which will endure for long;
So the purpose of the Lord shall prosper in his hand.

God is the speaker Act III

11 Through his personal suffering he shall bring salvation nigh;
Through his own evil fate shall My servant turn the masses to righteousness,
While their iniquity he will bear.
12 Therefore will I assign to him the masses as a portion,

And the mighty ones shall he divide as spoil,
In exchange for having exposed himself to death
And having let himself be counted among the transgressors.
Yea, the sin of the masses has he borne,
And for the transgressors has he made entreaty.

Here, at the beginning of the drama, God is the speaker. He formally presents His Servant to the world, as the agent of whose salvation He has chosen the Servant, and announces that the task of the Servant is to bring משפט, "right order", into the world. He intimates to His audience that the discharge of his mission by the Servant will surely be attended by ultimate success, but that in his labors for this goal the Servant will experience manifold suffering and eventual extinction. This announcement quite naturally creates a highly dramatic air of anticipation.

xlii. 1. הן as the word of presentation is obviously emphatic and so must receive a beat. It is significant that the titles עבד and בחיר are here applied to the Servant precisely as in Ps. lxxxix. 4 they are applied to David. The spirit of Yahweh might rest upon various persons, but apparently as a rule for only a limited time. During this limited period the person so treated was endowed with superhuman powers, as warrior, leader, prophet, poet, artist (Ex. xxviii. 3; xxxi. 3; xxxv. 31; Num. xxiv. 2; xxvii. 18; Deut. xxxiv. 9; Jud. iii 10; vi. 34; xi. 29; xiii. 25; xiv. 6, 19; xv. 14; 2 Sam. xxiii. 2 *et passim*). Upon Saul, however, in his role as king, the spirit of Yahweh abided permanently from the moment it seized him (1 Sam. x. 10; xi. 6) until, with the anointing of David, it passed from Saul to his successor (1 Sam. xvi. 13 f). Upon David and likewise upon his successors the spirit of Yahweh rested from the moment of anointing until death or the anointing of a successor in his stead. Isa. lxi. 1 states specifically that the spirit of Yahweh rests upon the Servant, and impliedly will continue to rest upon him until his death, just because Yahweh has anointed him, and all this in order to endow him with such superhuman qualities as were indispensable for the successful discharge of his divine commission. תמך ב׳ "to hold fast to; to uphold, to support" (cf. Ex. xvii 12; Ps. xli. 13; lxiii. 9). The thought-parallelism of the two stichoi of the first distich necessitates the translation, "Behold, My Servant, to whom I hold fast". משפט, "justice, right"; but since the clear implication is that this משפט is, as the result of the Servant's successful discharge of his mission, to obtain henceforth

among all the nations of the world, "right order", as evidenced by just and enduring personal and international relations, expresses precisely the thought implicit here and wherever the word occurs in this Servant drama.

2. Quite plainly קולו is the direct object not only of ישמיע in the second stichos but also of ישא in the first stichos. Usually נשא קול is associated with the idea of weeping (Gen. xxi. 16; xxvii. 38; Jud. ii. 4, *et passim*), but occasionally it connotes "to raise the voice in a loud shout" (Jud. ix. 7; Isa. xxiv. 14; Ps. xciii. 3). Linked with the two following vv., v. 2 gives a clear intimation that the role of the Servant will be one of extreme suffering, which, however, he will endure silently and heroically.

3. As v. 4 indicates unmistakably, the Servant is the crushed reed and the dimly burning wick [1]); accordingly read, = נלכוה יִשָּׁבֵר. The subj. of יכבנה is the impersonal "one". This is the only instance in the entire O.T. where אמת is governed by ל; elsewhere the expression is באמת, "in truth". KITTEL, and also many other eminent scholars, would vocalize לְאֶמֹת. However, אֻמֹּת occurs only in Gen. xxv. 16, where it means, not "peoples", as the context here would require, but rather "clans" [2]). In Ps. cxvii. 1 the masc. form, האמים, the only instance of this word in the O.T., should certainly be emended to הלאמים; accordingly here emend to ללאמים (cf. xlix. 1), certainly a very modest emendation.

4. For יָרוּץ read, with *G*, *Targ.*, RASHI, KIMCHI, R. MARCUS, יִרוֹץ; cf. Ezek. xxix. 7. From the fact that the two verbs are 3rd sing., and especially so יכהה (whose subj. can accordingly not be פשתה of v. 3), it is clear that the Servant must be the subj. here, and that accordingly he is here identified with the crushed reed and the dimly burning wick of v. 3. בארץ, "in the earth", i.e. "among all mankind". תורתו here, "his revelation" rather than "his law", as usually rendered. ייחלו, interpreted here as indicating present rather than future time.

Vv. 3-4 together constitute a 3/3/3 double-tristich, just as vv. 1-2 together constitute a 3/3 triple-distich. The effect is highly artistic.

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[1]) So also CORNILL, GIESEBRECHT, and, most recently, R. MARCUS, "The Plain Meaning of Isaiah 42.1-4", *Harvard Theological Review*, XXX (1937), 253.

[2]) According to kinship traced through the mothers; cf. MORGENSTERN, "*Beena* Marriage (Matriarchat) in Ancient Israel and Its Historical Implications", *ZAW*, n.F., VI (1929), 91-110.

xlii. 5. Inasmuch as the first two personal utterances of the drama, xlii. 1-4 and 6-7, are by the Deity, xlii. 5, which comes between them and records the divine nature and works of the Deity, serves effectively to separate the one speech from the other and as the transition from the one to the other, and likewise to tell in fitting manner just who the present speaker is. Thus it fills some of the roles of the Chorus of the Greek drama and may accordingly be interpreted as uttered by the Chorus here, and so retain its present position in the text of the drama and be regarded as an integral part of the text thereof. האל, "the one, universal God". ונוטיהם of *MT* refers of course to the Deity and so should be sing., just as is בורא; accordingly read ונוטהם. Inasmuch as לעם־עליה expresses a single idea and לעם is a monosyllabic word, the two words together should, for the sake of the meter, be read as a single beat.

In this next scene, if, for convenience, we may call it such, God addresses the Servant and informs him that He has called him for a specific purpose, tells him in broad terms what that purpose is and assures him of divine protection while that purpose is being fulfilled by the Servant.

6. אני־יהוה, the two words together constitute the name of the Deity [1]) and so must be read together as one beat. בצדק, "with purpose" cf. xlv. 13. The three verbs, ואחזק, ואצרך and ואתנך, express action beginning at the present moment and continuing into the future; accordingly the *MT* reading of the ו introducing each verb as a ו connective rather than as a ו consecutive is correct; however, we should of course vocalize וְאַחֲזִק. ואחזק בידך expresses practically the same thought as אתמך־בו in v. 1. ברית עם only here and in xlix. 8; there the clause in which it occurs agrees verbatim with the passage here, seriously disturbs both the thought and the meter and is unquestionably an editorial gloss mechanically copied from here. עם here has the connotation, "mankind", i.e. all the peoples, in close parallelism with גוים. Accordingly a ברית עם would be "a universal covenant", a covenant of which the Servant is both the symbol and the agent. The theme of the Servant as "the light of the nations" is repeated in xlix.6, where it is supplemented by the statement that through this service by the Servant divine salvation will reach to the very ends of the earth. Quite plainly a word, necessary for the

[1]) Cf. MORGENSTERN, "Deutero-Isaiah's Terminology for 'Universal God'", *JBL* LXII (1943), 269-280.

meter, has been lost at the end of the line, the most frequent place in the texts of Biblical poetry where words have been lost [1]); accordingly supply אשימך and thus recover a very effective chiastic parallelism.

7. This v. is a 3/3/3 tristich, the third such in these initial six vv. of this drama, and, like its two predecessors, it too brings the scene to a close. Just who the blind, the prisoners in the dungeon and those in confinement who sit in darkness may have been is not altogether clear, but these terms suggest that they were the innocent victims of injustice and oppression, to whom will come release from this unhappy state as the result of the Servant's successfully fulfilling his mission, proclaiming his divine message, establishing right order and dispensing salvation to the peoples of the world. The Servant's mission is to the nations and peoples of the earth, i.e. it has a collective implication; yet here and elsewhere in the drama (lxi. 1; xlix. 9a; l. 10; liii. 5f., 11 f.) it seems to have a decidedly individualistic implication, quite as if the salvation which the servant is to mediate will be experienced by the peoples of the earth as individuals rather than as nations, as the fundamental units of human existence. Quite obviously this drama was composed at a time when individualism was making definite headway in the Jewish thinking of the day. This was certainly later than the time of Deutero-Isaiah, who thought and spoke only in terms of universal, collective salvation.

In this scene the Servant communes with himself, takes stock of his preparedness for the divinely imposed task, of which he has just been informed, and finds himself well equipped therefor because of the superhuman powers bestowed upon him through divine favor.

lxi. 1. For אדֹנָי read here and also where, spoken, as here, by the Servant, it occurs elsewhere in the drama (l. 4, 5, 7), אדנָי; certainly the pronominal suffix used with the sing. form of the noun expresses a more real personal relationship between the Deity and His Servant than would the use of the more formal plu. of the noun. The ל of לנשברי should be interpreted as a preposition rather than as an Aramaic sign of the accusative following a transitive verb; therefore literally "to bind up for those broken of heart". It is particularly noteworthy in this v. and in fact throughout the drama that the

[1]) Cf. MORGENSTERN, "The Loss of Words at the Ends of Lines in Manuscripts of Biblical Poetry", *HUCA* XXV (1954), 41-84.

author dispenses with the article frequently where in ordinary prose it would be required. פקח־קוח is plainly the result of textual corruption; פקח is used only with עינים, "eyes", as the object; accordingly, were פקח to be retained it would be necessary to emend קוח to עינים; moreover the linking of the idea of "opening the eyes" with "those who are bound" or "fettered" would be altogether meaningless; for אסור בזקים, "bound in fetters", cf. Jer. xl. 1; Job xxxvi. 8; for פתח עינים cf. Jer. xl. 4; accordingly for פקח־קוח read פַּתֵּחַ זקים.

It is significant that this v. tells that the divine spirit rests upon the Servant just because God had anointed him in order that, as His agent, he might discharge a specific task. Possession by the divine spirit confers upon him the power to complete his mission successfully. It suffices to note here that anointing, with the result that the divine spirit came upon him and transformed him into a person of superhuman character and power (1 Sam. x. 1-9; xvi. 13 f.) was the rite by which the king, and especially the kings of Judah, all of the Davidic line, were inducted into the royal office. lxi. 1 is quoted, in Lk. iv. 18 f.

That xlix. 9a is the immediate continuation of lxi. 1 is almost self-evident. Quite plainly it is not a thought-unit with v. 9b and the passage which follows, but here it continues in perfect manner both the thought and the literary and metrical form of lxi. 1. However, the repetition of לאסורים in xlix. 9a almost immediately after its occurrence in lxi. 1 would be literarily inelegant and ineffective. Moreover, the verb, צאו, "come forth", hardly expresses the thought naturally linked with אסורים, "those who are bound" or "fettered"; accordingly emend to לעצורים, "those imprisoned" (cf. Jer. xxxiii. 1; xxxvi. 5; xxxix. 15; Neh. vi. 10).

lxi. 10. יעטני is of course impossible since, outside of this one passage, יעט occurs nowhere in the entire Bible; accordingly emend to העטני (cf. Ps. lxxxix. 46); this establishes a perfect parallelism with הלבישני in the first stichos of the distich. This is the only Biblical passage in which כהן, as a verb, would connote something other than "to function as a priest"; Kittel would emend to יכן, obviously in an endeavor to keep the unavoidable emendation to minimal extent, but this is hardly the verb to be used with פאר; accordingly, on the basis of Ezek. xxiv. 17, for יכהן read יחבש; this is unquestionably a rather drastic emendation, but it expresses the thought expected here and likewise supplies the awaited parallel to תעדה of the second

stichos of the distich. Certainly a distich has been lost at the end of the v., to which the present final distich of the v. was the introduction. With the close juxtaposition of ישע and צדקה here and their consequent close thought-relationship cf. liii. 11, as we have emended that v. It is hardly likely that lxi. 10 was the immediate continuation of lxi. 1 + xlix. 9a; in all probability several vv., which have been lost, intervened and developed further the thought of the Servant's soliloquy.

Now the Servant addresses the nations for the first time and introduces himself to them and thus actively inaugurates his mission unto them. He explains to them the reason for his speaking to them, and particularly for speaking as he is about to do, and he tells them wherein his authority for this lies, viz. in that he is speaking as God's servant or agent, and His servant or agent not merely unto Israel alone, His immediate people from of old, as they might perhaps have imagined from his previous service until this moment, but as His servant or agent especially unto them, the nations and peoples of the world, even those most distant.

xlix. 1. Note the close parallelism between איים and לאמים מרחוק; the איים are accordingly not merely the so-called "Coastlands" of western Asia but are rather the lands and islands of the entire Mediterranean world; the picture obviously embraces the entire then known world and is definitely universal in character. The implication of the second distich is far-reaching indeed. It says not merely that from very birth, from emergence from the mother's womb, had God summoned the Servant and called him to perform a difficult and all-important task, but also that in so doing He had cited him by name, and so, since this happened just at birth, He must have been the very first to speak the Servant's name, must therefore have given him his name. And since at the time of the composition of this drama it had long been the prerogative of the father to name the child [1]), there may be here the implication that, to some degree at least, the father-son relationship existed between the Deity and the Servant. Of this more in due time. ממעי אמי, two short words together expressing a single thought and obviously in parallelism with מבטן of the first stichos of the distich; accordingly they must be read as a single beat and thus the 3/3 meter of the distich be achieved. It should be noted that in

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[1]) Cf. MORGENSTERN, "*Beena* Marriage (Matriarchat) in Ancient Israel and Its Historical Implications", *ZAW* n.F. VI (1929), 97 f.

the first distich both stichoi are introduced by verbs whereas in the second distich both stichoi end in verbs or a verbal thought; this is artistically a very effective chiasm.

2. There is obviously close parallelism between the two distichs of the v.; and since the first distich is plainly a 4/3, the second distich should be so also; accordingly read וישימני, a four-syllabled word with both prefix and suffix, and likewise באשפתו, a three-syllabled word also with prefix and suffix, each as two beats. The double-distich expresses a double-thought; the first stichos of each distich tells that, impliedly at birth, God endowed the Servant with the qualities of an effective instrument or weapon, which He planned to use in the discharge of His universal purpose and program, to use when the proper moment for this should arrive. The second stichos of each distich tells that God concealed the Servant, His instrument or weapon, securely, awaiting the right moment for His use thereof. The first stichos of the first distich implies furthermore that the Servant would fulfil his divinely appointed task, in part at least, by the effective use of his mouth, i.e. by instruction and persuasion. The likening of his mouth to a sharp sword implies that his speech will be sharp, incisive, penetrating and effective.

3. Here we are confronted with one of the basic problems of this drama. The Deity addresses the Servant specifically by the name, Israel. Does this imply that in this drama, just as in the utterances of Deutero-Isaiah, the Servant is to be identified with Israel, the people? That must of course be the opinion of those scholars who still hold that the Servant "Songs" are the work of Deutero-Isaiah. But many eminent scholars [1]), who hold that the Servant is a single person, would omit ישראל as a gloss and thus obviate the confusion as they see it. The v. is manifestly a 4/3, just as are the two distichs of v. 2, immediately preceding and the first distich of v. 4, which follows; but by giving אשר and כן each a full beat, a quite unusual, though a by no means impossible, metrical procedure, the 4/3 meter could be preserved. However, according to v. 5b here one of the initial tasks of the Servant in preparation for his destined, larger service, was the return of Jacob and the regathering of Israel unto Yahweh. Here Israel is in close parallelism with Jacob and obviously designates the people. Immediately the question arises: If Israel is the people,

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[1]) For a list of these scholars cf. PFEIFFER, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 459; among them most recently MOWINCKEL, *He that Cometh*, 462 ff.; ÖSTBORN, *Torah in the Old Testament*, 57.

the people who had been separated from Yahweh, its god, and to bring whom back was the initial task of the Servant, how could the Servant be identical with Israel, the people? Furthermore, v. 6 defines this initial task of the Servant in different terms, "to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to bring back the scattered ones of Israel". Here not only is Israel again identical with Jacob, the people, but very plainly the Servant is here an individual person, the agent of the salvation and restoration of crushed and dispersed Israel. From this passage it is plain that under no condition, even though the Servant's name be Israel, or at least even though he be called by that title, may the Servant be identified with the people, Israel. The Servant must be an individual, an individual destined by Yahweh to minister to His own people, Israel. What individual could he be; what individual could appropriately bear the name, Israel, and, moreover, bear it, it is clear, in a particularly meaningful sense? Now it is significant that in Mal. ii. 11 the name, Judah, occurs twice. In its first occurrence it is fem. and obviously, in conformity with a fundamental principle of the Hebrew language, designates the country, Judah. But in its second occurrence it is masc. And of this masc. Judah it says that he would marry the daughter of a foreign god, i.e. of the king of Tyre. Here the name, Judah, can designate only the king of Judah and none other [1]). And certainly the designation of a king by the name of his country or his people is appropriate in every way. Accordingly the application to the Servant of the name, Israel, here in v. 3, can imply only one thing, that he is a royal figure, a king of Israel and none other. And those scholars who, largely in support of their hypothesis that the Servant is an individual, and not the people, Israel, and that he is a royal figure, a king of Israel, would delete ישראל from v. 3, would by so doing immediately forfeit what is perhaps the strongest support of their hypothesis. There can be no question that ישראל in v. 3 is the name or title of the Servant in his role as a king of the people, Israel. This conclusion, that the Servant is an individual rather than the people, Israel, that he is a royal figure, a king of Israel, finds strong support in the Servant's statement, in lxi. 1, that God's spirit rested upon him because He had anointed him, and thereby had endowed him with superhuman powers; for, as we have learned, anointing, with resultant possession by the divine spirit and consequent endowment with superhuman powers,

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[1]) Cf. Morgenstern, „Jerusalem — 485 B.C.", *HUCA* XXVIII (1957), 19-44.

was the prerogative of the kings of early Israel and of subsequent Judah, and particularly those of the Davidic line. Of all this more later. For the present it suffices to have established beyond any possibility of challenge, so we believe, that the Servant is not the people, Israel, but is rather an individual figure, one of royal character, a king of Israel.

אתפאר as a *hitpa.* literally, "that I may win glory for myself."

4. אמרתי, "I said", i.e. "to myself; I thought" (cf. Est. vi. 6). The first distich of this v. should, like vv. 2-3, be read as a 4/3; accordingly, since the two words, לתהו והבל, together express a single idea and together are in parallelism with לריק in the first stichos of the distich, read them together as a single beat. אכן, as frequently (cf. Isa. liii. 4; Ps. xxxi. 23), introduces a thought which is the reverse of that just expressed; accordingly translate "Yet surely". משפטי here means "the final judgment of me", i.e. whether I have worked well or ill, have fulfilled my divinely assigned task, or not"; accordingly "my case" is a fitting rendition of the word (cf. Isa. xl. 27; Ps. xvii. 2). Inasmuch as *S* reads לפני for each את of *MT*, and inasmuch also as in xl. 10; lxii. 11 פעלה is used with לפני, for the second את read לפני; this change of prepositions heightens the literary effect of the v. The implication of this v. seems to be that the Servant now realizes that he has a double mission, divinely imposed upon him, first to Israel, and then, after this should have been performed, to the rest of the world, to the other nations. Moreover, the ministry to Israel has been difficult and exacting, and the Servant, with becoming modesty, questions whether it has been performed adequately, whether he has succeeded in bringing Israel back to its god. How then dare he even think of undertaking the new and more formidable and exacting service to all the nations together? This seems to be the thought of this v. and to be basically implicit in vv. 5-6.

5. My colleague, Professor Sheldon H. Blank, holds, and I agree with him, that the thought of v. 5c does not follow well upon that of v. 5ab. On the other hand, it follows perfectly upon that of v. 4 and supplements this effectively; accordingly rearrange v. 5 in the order 5cab. For עזי read, with *DSIa*, Tg עזרי; and certainly the vocalization, עוֹרי, "my helper", expresses a more vivid and effective thought than would עֶזרי, "my help" (cf. l. 7, 9). ועתה quite obviously introduces the Servant's statement of what he understands his new commission to be; in fact the three words together, ועתה אמר יהוה, imply clearly that the Servant feels that this is a new revelation to

him of God's purpose with him, a revelation made only just now. In v. 5b for לא read, with *DSIa*, Qre, a′, Tg, לו. In יאסף the *nif.* has actually a reflexive sense, "to gather itself; to return of its own accord" (cf. Ex. ix. 19; Jer. xlvii. 6).

6. For נקל followed by the מ′ of comparison cf. 2 Sam. vi. 22; Ezek. viii. 17. לי should certainly be transposed to follow עבד (cf. לעבד לו in v. 5) and the two words read together as a single beat; only thus can a proper meter, 4/3/3, be obtained for the tristich. For ונצירי, following a hint from *G*, read וזרי, "and the scattered ones" (cf. Ezek. vi. 8; xxxvi. 19). לאור גוים implies an intellectual, spiritual, enlightening service unto the nations, the ultimate goal of which will be their salvation by God. This is the only passage in this Servant drama where ישועה occurs; lxi. 10 employs ישע. But inasmuch as Deutero-Isaiah employs only תשועה to connote "salvation [1]), and never either of these two words, we have further evidence of the non-Deutero-Isaianic authorship of this drama. The second distich of the v., the final distich of this scene and this act, must be read as a 3/4, a very unusual meter, employed occasionally, manifestly with a pronounced climactic effect, to conclude a strophe, or, as here, some other form of poetic unit [2]).

The passage of the Servant document which in *MT* follows next in order is l. 4-10. In vv. 4-9 the Servant is once again the speaker, but v. 10 is quite plainly the utterance of a different speaker. In vv. 4-9 the Servant communes with himself and takes stock of his insignificant achievement thus far in his ministry to the nations and its cost to him in personal suffering and humiliation. Obviously the Servant's mission to the nations has been under way for some time. Accordingly there must have been a distinct time-lapse between the Servant's address to the nations in xlix. 1-6, with which he inaugurated his mission to them, and this personal soliloquy by him. It would be surprising indeed, and would even occasion not a little difficulty and confusion, if this time-lapse and momentous change in the Servant's situation were not indicated, and likewise if these two utterances by the Servant were not separated from each other, in some effective manner. Certainly here, if anywhere in the drama, we expect some word from the Chorus, if this drama indeed follows

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[1]) Cf. MORGENSTERN, "The Message of Deutero-Isaiah in Its Sequential Unfolding", *HUCA* XXIX (1958), 19.

[2]) Cf. MORGENSTERN, "The Message of Deutero-Isaiah, etc.", *HUCA* XXX (1959), 13.

the Greek pattern. Accordingly transfer l. 10 to intervene between xlix. 6 and l. 4 and assign it to the Chorus. Unquestionably it is spoken by neither the Deity nor the Servant, the only, speakers in the drama thus far. Its admonition to the people at large to hearken to the Servant's word and to rely upon his God fits in much better here, after the Servant's initial address to the peoples, than it does in its present position in *MT*, following the Servant's soliloquy and the statement by him of his belief that he had failed thus far in the discharge of his new and larger mission. Moreover, the section of the Servant document which in *MT* follows the Servant's soliloquy in l. 1-9 is lii. 13-15; and we shall see that this passage records another utterance by the Chorus. Undoubtedly it is well to separate these two distinct choral utterances. This is another consideration which supports our transfer of l. 10 to the position which we propose for it. This utterance of the Chorus consists of a single v., a 3/3 triple-distich. But despite its brevity it is complete and very effective in its reenforcement of the Servant's first message to the peoples of the world by charging them, and especially the unfortunate and unhappy among them, to hearken to the Servant's word and to put their trust in his God. Probably, with *G* and *S*, for שמע we should read ישמע as the obvious parallelism with יבטח and likewise the context suggest or even demand. The interpretation of the v. which we offer necessitates that אשר here be regarded as a distributive pronoun, "whoever" (cf. Ex. v. 11; Jer. xxii. 25; Ruth i. 16). This necessitates also that for הָלַךְ we read הֹלֵךְ, which in turn establishes a perfect thought-parallelism between the first distich and the second and third distichs; in fact this brings it about that the entire second distich parallels the first stichos of the first distich and the entire third distich parallels equally perfectly the second stichos of the first distich. For the sake of the meter read באלהיו as two beats. The antecedent of the suffix of באלהיו is of course the Servant. Here יהוה can not possibly mean or designate Yahweh, Israel's national and particular god, for these words are plainly addressed to non-Israelites. It can mean only "God" or "the Lord" in a universalistic sense [1]).

The Servant soliloquizes again. His new and larger mission, that to the nations, is now well under way. He has thus far encountered naught but stubborn resistance to all his efforts, accompanied by abundant torture and contumely. But his faith in God and in his

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[1]) Cf. Blank, "Studies in Deutero-Isaiah", *HUCA* XV (1940), 14-18.

divinely commissioned service has not faltered in the least. And so he climaxes this soliloquy with the affirmation that he knows that his Vindicator is close at hand, all this coupled with the implication that he will persist in his task, whatever its outcome may be. But this one fact should be noted, viz. that at this stage of the unfolding of the drama he apparently has as yet no thought nor suspicion of what his eventual fate as God's agent unto the nations will be.

l. 4. Both textually and metrically this v. presents many difficulties. For אדנָי read here, just as in lxi. 1 and also in v. 5 here, אדנִי; לעות, if retained here, would be a hapaxlegomenon of decidedly questionable meaning; in all likelihood it is the result of textual corruption; accordingly, following a vague suggestion of *G*, emend to לענת, certainly an emendation of minimal character; for ענה דבר cf. Jer. xliv. 20; Ps. cxix. 42. Certainly יעף too is meaningless here and represents a further textual corruption; accordingly, conforming to the thought which Ps. cxix. 42; Prov. xxvii. 11 suggest, emend to חֹרְפִי, again a not too extreme emendation and one which fits the context admirably. In the second distich there is plainly one word too many for the meter; accordingly omit the first יעיר, certainly misplaced, altogether superfluous and even disturbing, and plainly a dittograph; with this omission the expected 3/3 meter of the distich is recovered. בבקר בבקר, "daily" rather than "every morning" (cf. Isa. xxviii. 19; Ezek. xlvi. 13, 15; Zeph. iii. 5). It is tempting to interpret למודים as meaning "instruction", as do both *G* and *S*; but *qiṭṭul* nouns in Hebrew regularly connote something concrete [1]); therefore translate "learned ones, experts, disciples" (for this last connotation cf. Isa. viii. 16; liv. 13).

5. פתח אזן, "to open the ear", i.e. "to impart information suddenly; to give a revelation". The v. represents the Servant as saying that when God suddenly revealed to him what his new, larger and far more difficult and exacting task was to be, he did not rebel nor turn away therefrom, even though he understood full well what it might cost him.

6. This v. which graphically describes the tortures and ignominy to which the Servant was subjected and his submission thereto, is, quite fittingly, a double 3/2 distich, the established meter for expressing sad, elegiac thought. The verbs in the perf. here and in v. 7 must be interpreted as expressing action beginning in the past and continuing into the present.

[1]) Cf. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, § 37cß, p. 53.

7. Since יעזר is followed by לי rather than by the direct obj., it seems well to read, with *G* and *V*, עֹזֵר, just as in xlix. 5c.

8. As it stands in *MT* the v. seems to be a 2/4/4; but this defies a basic rule of Hebrew metrics. Inasmuch as the second and third stichoi are each of four beats, we may safely infer that the first stichos was also of four beats. Furthermore, since the present two words or beats of the first stichos express a complete idea, we may assume that the missing two beats likewise expressed a complete idea and one which, when supplied, would make this first four-beat stichos of the tristich parallel closely the second and third stichoi thereof. Now v. 9aα repeats practically verbatim what has already been stated in v. 7aα; and since this repetition serves no valid purpose there, it is probably the result of erring scribal duplication. Moreover, the thought of v. 9b does not accord in any way with what precedes, nor is there in v. 9a any possible antecedent for the 3rd plu. pronouns of v. 9b. This latter half-verse is undoubtedly an intrusion here. What remains after the removal of v. 9aαb, viz. v. 9aβ, is meaningless when left standing alone where it is, but when transposed to the second half of the first stichos of v. 8 it supplies completely both the thought and the two beats which we have missed here and provides the expected parallelism of this first stichos with the remaining two stichoi of the v. Obviously it was misplaced from its original position through careless copying and should be restored here to its proper position. The language of this v., as thus reconstructed, is decidedly reminiscent of court procedure and strongly suggests that the Servant anticipates here that he may at some time in the future have to appear for trial in court in order to defend himself against his adversaries (cf. liii. 8 as we shall interpret that v.).

Once again the Chorus takes the stage and addresses, not the nations nor mankind at large, for they, or their representatives, had themselves witnessed all that is related here, but rather the theoretical audience to whom this drama is directed. The Chorus tells that the Servant is dead and recounts the manner, strange indeed in many details, in which death had befallen him. This suggests that for the drama these details are of particular significance. And the tenses of the verbs in these vv. suggest that the situation which the Chorus describes is still present and continuing. This paves the way with dramatic force for the next scene. This entire utterance of the Chorus is, very effectively from a dramatic standpoint, cast in the stately four-beat meter.

lii. 13. It requires very little thought to realize that ישכיל can hardly be the original word here. In this record of the Servant's present, tragic state to say that he is or will be acting wisely or prudently or piously or successfully can not accord in any way with the thought of the passage; accordingly emend to יִשָּׁקֵל, "he is suspended; he is hanging", again an emendation of relatively minimal extent. In Biblical Hebrew שקל has apparently the single connotation, "to weigh (money)". But the fundamental meaning of this root is evident from its connotation in the various Semitic languages; cf. in Accadian, *šuḳalulu*, "to hang, to sway"; in Arabic *šaqala*, "to raise up high; to suspend"; in Ethiopic, *šaqala*, "to suspend; to crucify"; in Syriac, both *taqal*, "to hang down; to suspend" and *šaqal*, "to suspend"; accordingly there is no reason to doubt that in Hebrew too the fundamental connotation of the root was likewise "to hang down; to suspend", and that in both Accadian and Hebrew it acquired the secondary connotation, "to weigh", from the fact that things were weighed hanging down, suspended from the scale. The thought thus expressed here by ישקל, that the corpse of the Servant was hanging, suspended on high and exposed to the startled gaze of the masses, accords perfectly and vividly with that of the remainder of the v. and of this entire scene and paves the way with remarkable dramatic effect for the next scene. As it stands now there is plainly one beat lacking in the first stichos; accordingly for עבדי read עבד יהוה; were the *MT* reading retained, this pronominal suffix would indicate that the Deity must be the speaker in this scene; but the very thought and nature of the scene precludes this; accordingly the reading which we propose not only restores the correct meter of the v. but also removes one fundamental difficulty in the correct interpretation of this scene. The impf., ירום, is followed by two pfs., each with a ו consec.; all three verbs thus express a present action or state of being. הנה here and also כן in vv. 14 and 15 are emphatic and so should each have a full beat.

14. כאשר frequently has a time-connotation, "while; just when"; usually it is followed by the ו consec., but occasionally for emphasis, just as here, by כן. שממו, "they looked at fixedly; they gazed upon with admiration, wonder or horror". For עליך it is certainly necessary to read עליו since the reference is plainly to the Servant and since throughout this scene he is referred to in the 3rd person. Certainly a corruption lurks in משחת; *DSIa* reads משחתי; but inasmuch as we have already indicated that there is in this entire scene no possi-

bility whatever of the use of the 1st person, and also since the meaning of משחתי, "I have anointed", would not accord at all with the picture portrayed in this scene, and furthermore, since that verb could not possibly be followed by the preposition, מ', this reading must be rejected. GUILLAUME has proposed [1]) that a Hebrew verb, משׁח, to be correlated with the Arabic *masaḥa*, "to change appearance for the worse; to become ugly or repulsive in appearance", may with reasonable probability be conjectured and read here; and certainly this would voice the very thought which the context here seems to require; however, a simpler and more reasonable emendation seems to be to read נשחת; for שחת in the *nif.*, "to become marred; to deteriorate; to decay" cf. Jer. xiii. 7; xviii. 4.

15. Certainly יזה is impossible here and must be the result of textual corruption; *G* suggests an original reading, יחזו; this reading has been accepted by LOWTH and is most probably the original reading here; however, it seems advisable to affix the pronominal suffix and read יַחֲזֻהוּ. קפץ פי usually connotes "to close the mouth; to become silent" (cf. Ps. cvii. 42; Job v. 16); *'A*, however, interprets the expression quite literally, "they will bring their mouths together". i.e., "they will fold or pucker up their mouths", of course in amazement at the sight which they were beholding; precisely this seems to be the picture which we would expect here. התבוננו, "they were pondering over"; cf. Job xxxvii. 14; this verb paves the way effectively to the next scene, which tells the significant conclusion with regard to the Servant to which these kings and nations came as the result of their pondering over the strange fate of the Servant, as they were beholding it. לא־ספר must be read as a single beat for the sake of the meter; לא here has once again the force of the English negative prefix, "un-".

The speakers now are the Chorus, consisting of the kings and nations of the preceding scene, who have been redeemed by the Servant's self-sacrifice. Having pondered over the awesome sight of the suspended corpse of the Servant and having slowly arrived at the full import thereof, they now confess their iniquities, acknowledge that they have completely misjudged the Servant, that he had died voluntarily for them after enduring extreme humiliation and suffering in their behalf, that he was indeed the scapegoat for them, that in all this, even in the manner of his death, he had consciously and of

[1]) "The Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah", *JBL* LXXVI (1957), 41 f.

his own free will carried out God's purpose, and that a long-enduring, i.e. a never-ending, eternal posterity will succeed him, through which God's universal purpose will come to sure fulfilment. Obviously this scene grew directly out of the scene immediately preceding. But there is plainly a time-lapse between the two scenes, long enough for the speakers here to ponder over and finally arrive at a fitting interpretation of the amazing spectacle which they had beheld.

1. Inasmuch as the second stichos consists of four beats, the first stichos must also have four beats; accordingly read לשמעתנו, a five-syllabled word with both prefix and suffix, as two beats. For על read, with *DSIa* and *V* and also as the context demands, אל. For זרוע meaning "power; might" cf. Ps. lxxi. 18.

2. For כיונק read כיונקת; יונק connotes "a suckling child (still at the breast of its mother)"; on the other hand יונקת means regularly "a young plant; a shoot"; thus emended, the parallelism between the two stichoi of v. 2a becomes complete. For לפניו, the pronominal suffix of which has no possible antecedent here, read לפנינו, as the context requires. Actually the three לא 's of v. 2b, each immediately preceding a noun, have the force of the English negative prefix, "un-", and so must be linked each with its noun as expressing a single idea, and so each set of two words together be read as a single beat; thus, literally, לא־תאר, "formlessness", לא־הדר, "lack of dignity", לא־מראה, "ugliness". As it stands in *MT*, the second stichos in v. 2b plainly lacks one beat; accordingly insert, with *DSIa*, *G* and apparently also *S*, לו after מראה.

3. אישים as the plu. of איש occurs also in Ps. cxli. 4; Prov. viii. 4, and may be a poetic form; however, since the substitution of a י for a נ is a quite simple and common textual corruption, it seems best to read in all three passages the regular plu, אנשים. חדל אנשים seems to express a superlative idea (note the implication of the plu.); perhaps then "the most lacking, the least endowed, the lowliest, of men"; cf. Ps. xxxix. 5. For וידוע read, with *DSIa* and practically all the vss., ויודע. The customary translation of v. 3bα, "and as one from whom men hide their faces", is grammatically and syntactically not impossible; but far more probable and certainly fitting the context better, is the translation which we propose; the underlying picture here is that of a man afflicted with leprosy (cf. vv. 4, 8; so also Duhm, Nyberg, Buber and Lindblom). The second נבזה should undoubtedly be emended, with DSIa *S* and probably also with *V*, to ונבזהו; the initial ו may well have been lost through haplography; certainly

the context requires this reading; and certainly too the repetition of נבזה in this v. would have been from a literary or a dramatic standpoint decidedly inelegant and ineffective.

4. The v. is plainly, like the greater part of this scene, cast in 3/3 meter; accordingly as it stands in *MT* in v. 4aα there is one beat too many while in 4aβ there is one beat too few; to relieve this difficulty transfer, in agreement with *V* and *S*, הוא from the first stichos to the second and there set it immediately before סבלם. This v. is quoted, practically verbatim, in Matt. viii. 17. This v., like v. 3, affirms that the Servant was, or at least appeared to the people to be, a sick man, probably a leper; but they now realize and acknowledge that it was only their own illnesses, diseases and deformities, transferred to him as the scapegoat for them, which he was bearing, that his miserable and repulsive condition, as it appeared to them, was but the reflection of their own actual state.

5. For מחלל with the connotation, "pierced; stabbed", cf. Ps. lxxxix. 11. In v. 5aβ מעונתינו, again a five-syllabled word with both prefix and suffix, must be read as two beats for considerations of meter. Reading, with *DSIa*, the plu., ובחבֻרותיו, comports far better with the context than does the sing., ובחברתו, of *MT*. Perhaps, in the light of Ps. lxxxix. 11; xciv. 5, and also since both here and in v. 10 it is in close parallelism with מחולל, מדכא here should be translated, "slain".

7. As the context plainly demands, transpose the ו of והוא to the beginning of, נענה and read as a perf., וְנָעָנָה. The repetition of ולא יפתח פיו at the end of the v. is certainly disturbing both as to thought and meter; also it weakens the thought-parallelism of the two second stichoi of the v.; it is plainly a dittograph and should be omitted. Vv. 7b-8abα are quoted in Acts viii. 32f. in practically their *MT* form.

8. עֹצֶר, from עצר, "to confine; to imprison" (cf. 2 Ki. xvii. 4; Jer. xxxiii. 1; xxxvi. 5; xxxix. 15, and our reconstruction of xlix. 9a), may well mean "imprisonment"; ממשפט, "from judgment", i.e. from trial in court, in other words "from the opportunity to prove his innocence by judicial procedure". This interpretation of these two terms finds strong support in the consideration that the Servant, whose corpse hangs suspended, exposed to the gaze of both kings and masses, has obviously been executed, and this too publicly, either as the result of unjust condemnation by some court for some presumptive crime falsely attributed to him, or else of having in some

way been snatched from the holding of the court by the rabble, and this too before the trial was completed and his innocence established, and having been put to death by hanging, crucifixion or in some comparable manner. Plainly the manner of the Servant's death, with all its attendant details, implicit in this entire scene and even in the entire act, supports the interpretation of the two words, manifestly key-words, מעצר and ממשפט, which we have offered. לקח, "he was taken away", impliedly by violence. The meaning of v. 8aβ is anything but clear, and probably some textual corruption lurks in the sentence, though what it may be we can only conjecture. MARTI, following a suggestion of CHEYNE, would emend דורו to דרכו and translate, "And his fate who would consider?" ישוחח is certainly meaningless here; the emendation which we hesitatingly propose, יוכיח, "blame; rebuke; hold responsible", is conjectural and so is far from certain. In *MT* of the final stichos of the v. there is one word too many for the meter; moreover, עמי here is disturbing for several reasons; in the first place, since the Deity is not the speaker in this scene, the 1st sing. suffix has absolutely no place here; furthermore, it was not for the transgressions of Israel that the Servant was afflicted with the plague but rather for those of all mankind; accordingly for מפשע עמי read מפשעינו. For נֻגַּע read, with *G*, נֻגַּע. For למו read, with *G*, למות.

9. For וַיִּתֵּן read either וַיֻּתַּן or, with *DSIa*, ויתנו, for certainly the context requires that the verb be interpreted in a passive sense or else as the impersonal 3rd. plu.; inasmuch as the first reading involves no change in the consonantal text, it seems preferable. For עשיר read עשי רע, and thus recover the effective parallel to רשעים of the preceding stichos. For the almost meaningless במותיו read the simple and expected במותו. Inasmuch as the two words, עשי רע, express a single idea, one, as we have seen, in close parallelism with רשעים of the preceding stichos, and since even together they consist of three short syllables, they should be read together as a single beat; therefore the second stichos of the first distich of the v. seems to lack a beat; accordingly supply שכב at the end of the line, another instance of the loss of a word at the end of a line in O.T. poetry [1]). In v. 9bα insert for syntactical reasons אשר after על and read the two words as one beat. Inasmuch as v. 9b, precisely as the double-distich in v. 10, is

[1]) Cf. MORGENSTERN, „The Loss of Words at the Ends of Lines in Manuscripts of Biblical Poetry," *HUCA* XXV (1954), 41-83.

a 4/4, there is manifestly a word missing in the second stichos; moreover, the negative, ולא, without a verb following it, would raise a problem here; accordingly, with *G*, insert נמצאה after ולא.

10. For החלי, which is in itself an impossible verbal form, read, with *DSIa*, and in accord with the statement of v. 5, ויחללהו, "and He let him be pierced". For אם־תשמי which is altogether meaningless and impossible here, read, by supplying only a single letter and a different word-division, באמת שם. The context requires that for אשם we read לאשם. To יראה prefix a ו connective, lost by haplography. An important question, impossible to solve with certainty, is who is the antecedent of the suffix of בידו, the Servant himself or his posterity, mentioned in the stichos immediately preceding. The distich may well imply that his posterity will continue the Servant's work and so bring to complete and enduring fulfilment the purpose which the Deity initiated through the Servant. But inasmuch as the entire drama deals only with the Servant and the divine mission of which he is the chosen agent, it seems more reasonable to regard the Servant himself as the one to whom the pronominal suffix refers. So interpreted, this last stichos of this scene, spoken by a large group of speakers, who have just acknowledged themselves benefitted and redeemed by the Servant's ministry coupled with his death in this strange manner, would have the effect of summarizing the Servant's career and announcing their realization that not only his life but also his death were meaningful and that by both he had completely discharged his mission and so had brought God's purpose to complete fulfilment. Such a thought at this climactic point in this drama paves the way effectively for the next and final scene. The statement that the Servant will behold a long-enduring, yes, an eternal, posterity [1]) calls to mind strikingly God's covenant with David (cf. 2 Sam. vii. 16; Ezek. xxxvii. 26; Ps. lxxxix. 29-38; cxxxii. 12), and so seems to confirm our belief that this drama represents the Servant as a royal figure of the Davidic line.

Here very fittingly, and with positive dramatic effect, in this drama God is the last speaker, just as He was the first speaker. His words are addressed to the public at large. He evaluates positively the Servant's life-work and affirms that the Servant has indeed wrought

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[1]) Cf. ENGNELL, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East*, 119, note 7.

salvation for mankind and has thus fulfilled his mission. The masses have been vindicated and have been freed from oppression, while "the mighty ones", their oppressors have been overcome and perhaps even reduced to that state of subjection in which they had formerly held the masses. Even the former transgressors have found divine forgiveness and salvation through the Servant's intercession and self-sacrifice for them. Apparently, as the result of the Servant's labor and self-sacrifice right order prevails in the world at last.

liii. 11. יראה, as a transitive verb, if original here, must of course have an object; but this is completely lacking. That a second verb, ישבע, should follow יראה immediately is surprising indeed; accordingly for ישבע read ישע; then transpose the surplus ב׳ of ישבע to יראה and emend this to יקריב, a by no means overly drastic emendation.

This double-emendation provides just the thought which we expect here. For בדעתו read, with KITTEL, an emendation of minimal extent, ברעתו, "through his misfortune; his evil fate". Plainly in the second stichos of the v. there is one word too many for the four-beat meter; accordingly omit the altogether meaningless and disturbing צדיק, plainly a dittograph of יצדיק. The v. thus becomes a 4/4/4 tristich. With the thought implicit in the expression, יצדיק לרבים, cf. that of Dan. xii. 3.

12. The interpretation of this v. is attended with many difficulties, and its full meaning, even after textual revision, is anything but clear. The v. seems to close in a 4/2 double-distich, following a 3/3 distich, certainly a dignified meter, well suited for an effective ending of the drama. The second stichos of the second distich is quoted in Lk. xxii. 37. The verb, חלק, in the first stichos of the first distich, has no direct object; and since this verb in the *pi.* is always transitive and so must have an object, it is undoubtedly well to read it here as a *qal*, אַחֲלֹק; for חלק ל׳ "to assign a portion to some one", cf. Deut. iv. 19; xxix. 25; Job xxxix. 17; for that in which a portion is assigned, governed, as here, by ב׳, cf. Job xxxix. 17. Moreover, reading thus, the powerful antithetical parallelism between the two stichoi of the distich, the first telling what the recompense of the masses is to be, viz. to henceforth belong to the Servant and so to stand in close and happy relations with him, while the mighty ones, hitherto the ruthless oppressors of these masses, will be given to him as spoil, no doubt to be treated in accordance with their just deserts, becomes immediately and effectively apparent, which would not be at all the case did we retain the *MT* vocalization. In the following stichos the *pi.* may

be retained since עצומים is obviously its direct object. Just who the רבים and the עצומים were is not certain, although it does seem that the latter, "the mighty ones", were the antithesis of the רבים, "the masses", since the two words stand here in antithetical parallelism; the עצומים would seem then to be the oppressors of the masses, the real sources of the social injustice and oppression in the world. Perhaps then "I will assign to him the masses as a portion" means "I will set his lot with the masses" or "I will appoint him as champion of the masses". נמנה, a *nif.*, may well be translated as a reflexive, "he let himself be counted"; just what this clause means is not clear unless it be that, beholding him executed, the masses had inferred at first that he must have been a criminal, perhaps even a political rebel. נשא חטא was the particular function of the scapegoat (cf. Lev. xvi 22). Inasmuch as פשעים is used without the article in the second, the parallel, stichos of the second distich, and since also, as we have noted, the article is repeatedly dispensed with in this drama, it seems well to read ולְפשעים in the second stichos of the third distich. For יפגיע *DSIa* reads the *qal*; accordingly, following this clue and with *S* and possibly also *V*, read פגע.

(To be continued)

THE LITERARY FORM AND LITURGICAL BACKGROUND OF PSALM LXXXIX

BY

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Ps. lxxxix is in many ways the most interesting and important of the royal psalms. Taken as a whole it is a lamentation (vss. 39-52) over the frustration of God's promises to the Davidic dynasty (vss. 20-38), which were made possible by his cosmic sovereignty (6-15). The first part of the psalm recalls the hymns of Yahweh's enthronement (xlvii, xciii, xcv-c), the second, the oracle of Nathan (2 Sam. vii; Ps. cxxxii), and the third, the individual lamentations of the Psalter. This complexity of form and content has led most commentators to divide the psalm into two or three originally separate poems, and to interpret their significance more or less independently of each other. It is the aim of the present study to demonstrate the formal integrity of the psalm as it appears in the Psalter, and to discover, if possible, its original liturgical setting.

Literary Form

Only a few modern commentators have accepted the psalm as a literary unit in its present form [1]). Most have considered it a composite, compiled from two or three originally independent poems and given a tolerable unity through skillful editing [2]). One has even denied the editorial unity, explaining the present text as the fortuitous juxtaposition of two totally unrelated psalms [3]). Any conclusion concerning the literary form will depend upon an examination of its meter, pattern of ideas, repetition of key words, and similar phenomena.

We may take as a point of departure in discussing the integrity of the psalm the common critical division into three poems: a hymn (vss. 2f., 6-19), an oracle (vss. 4f., 20-38), and a lament (vss. 39-52) [4]).

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[1]) E.g., Weiser, Kissane, Eerdmans, König.
[2]) E.g., Oesterley, Gunkel, Kittel, Duhm.
[3]) Buttenwieser.
[4]) Cf., e.g., Gunkel, Schmidt, Kittel, Oesterley.

Is it possible to support this division? The shifts in meter among these sections are generally adduced as the principal foundation for it. And it is true that the oracle exhibits a predominately 3: 3 rhythm, against the predominately 4: 4 of the hymn. But a closer examination discloses a much more complex metrical arrangement than is usually allowed. The last three lines of the so-called hymn (vss. 17-19) are not in 4: 4 at all but 3: 3, like the oracle which follows. Yet these lines clearly belong with the hymn and not with the oracle. Again, the lament that concludes the psalm is partly in 3: 3 (vss. 39-46) and partly in 4: 4 (vss. 47-52). A division on metrical grounds thus appears hazardous. The common assignment of vss. 2f. to the hymn and vss. 4f. to the oracle, because of the shift of meter in the introduction (vss. 2-5), is quite uncalled for, in view of the same shift in the hymn and the lament.

Further, we must note that there is no strict uniformity of meter within the dominant 3: 3 and 4: 4 sections. There are seven-stress lines in both the 3: 3 (vs. 27 and perhaps vss. 31, 34, 35, and 42) and 4: 4 sections (vss. 47 f., 50, and perhaps 49), and five-stress lines in the 3: 3 sections (vss. 20 a, 32-36, 41, 43, 45). [1]) Nevertheless, if we consider only the dominant rhythms, we find that they do not correspond simply to the usual division of the psalm into separate components.

Turning to the pattern of ideas in the poem, we find, I believe, a beautifully articulated unity. We must examine this pattern concretely, paying attention to the shifts in meter that accompany the movement of thought. The psalm opens with an acknowledgment of the two aspects of the kingship of God which will be expounded more fully in the body of the poem, namely the eternal, cosmic foundation of God's covenant love and fidelity (vss. 2 f.) and the divine choice of David as his earthly vicegerent (vss. 4 f.). Both statements are in the first person singular. The first is uttered by the psalmist in 4: 4 meter, the second by God in 3: 3. Following this brief introduction comes the elaboration of the first theme.

The psalmist extols the unique and majestic lordship of Yahweh over the powers of heaven (vss. 6-9) and earth (vss. 10-13) and affirms the cosmic dimensions of righteousness and covenant love (vs. 15). This portion is in 4: 4 meter. It begins with an injunction to the heavenly assembly to praise God (vs. 6) and concludes with

[1]) Taking the particles in the last group as unaccented.

a corresponding statement of the blessedness of the earthly community that worships him (vs. 16).

This last, eight-stress line is transitional to the next portion of the psalm, and the idea it contains is repeated in different terms in the following two lines, both of which are 3: 3. To the last of these (vs. 18) is conjoined vs. 19, in which the intimate relationship between God and David is alluded to. Both lines begin with the emphatic כִּי. Vs. 19 is in turn transitional to the following celebration of the covenant oracle to David (vss. 20-38). Taken as a whole the four lines, vss. 16-19, form a bridge in the movement of thought from the cosmic to the historical dimensions of God's sovereignty. The cosmic section of the psalm is in 4: 4 meter, the historical in 3: 3. Within the bridge the meter shifts from the one to the other.

God's choice and apparent rejection of David, the bearer of the covenant leadership of Israel among the nations, is the theme of vss. 20-46. The contrast between the oracular promise to David (vss. 20-38) and the threatened demise of the Davidic dynasty (vss. 39-46) is heavily accented. God is the speaker in the former section, the king in the latter.

Finally, the whole dilemma of the psalmist (king) is stated in vss. 47-52. If the covenant with David is frustrated during his all-too-brief lifetime, how can it ever be fulfilled? Here the historical dimension of the dynastic covenant is fused with the cosmic dimension of man's mortality, which stands in stark contrast to the eternity of God (vss. 6 ff.). In this concluding plea the psalmist returns to the eight-stress line (vss. 47-52) with which he had begun (vss. 2 f.), though in a mood opposite to the joyous exultation of the opening. Note that the 4: 4 meter is employed throughout the psalm in dealing with the cosmic dimension of the problem, whereas the Davidic covenant is treated always in 3: 3.

Here we have no accidental juxtaposition of disparate poems but an intelligible unity. The psalm as it stands presents a dramatic movement of ideas, poetically integrated, that proceeds to the logical climax in the poignant plea of the last six lines.

Turning now from the general contents and form of the poem to the actual wording, we find again an integrated pattern. From it we must conclude that the poet employed from first to last a conscious repetition of key words to contribute to the formal and substantial unity of his poem. These repetitions will be most clear if presented in tabular form (at end of article).

Twenty-six significant terms are common to both the hymn and the oracle, and many of them appear more than once in either or both. Should we assign vss. 2-3 to the hymn and vss. 4-5 to the oracle, as GUNKEL and others do, we would find thirty key words common to these two parts of the poem (those on the chart plus בנה, vss. 3, 5, 6, and לדר ודר vss. 2, and 5), and fifteen to the hymn and the lament. Even if we take only the most distinct parts of the three major divisions of the psalm, namely vss. 6-15, 20-38, and 47-52, omitting for the moment the introductory and transitional portions, we discover six terms common to all three, twenty-two to the first and second, and eleven to the second and third. Furthermore, these are not trivial words; they comprise the very substance of the psalm. It is especially important to note the large common vocabulary of the hymn and the oracle, those portions most often considered to be independent compositions.

Given the present integrity of the psalm, it seems idle to suppose that it is a composite created out of two, or three, originally separate poems by some hypothetical editor. It is not a patchwork but, from beginning to end, the deliberate composition of a skillful poet who knew exactly what he was doing from line to line, section to section. That there are shorter psalms in the Psalter similar in form and content to portions of Ps. lxxxix (compare, e.g, Pss. xciii, xcvi, xcviii with lxxxix 6 ff., and cxxxii wich lxxxix 20 ff.) is really quite irrelevant. Each of these poems is unique, taken as a whole; and there is nothing to gainsay the assertion that Ps. lxxxix is in its present form an "original" composition.

Is it possible to divide the psalm into strophes? If we define a strophe in terms of the poetic canons of some other literature than that of ancient Israel, the answer is surely no. Attempts have been made to analyze the psalm on the basis of such definitions. They are arbitrary, artificial, and unconvincing [1]). There is no precise, fixed pattern of strophic arrangement in the psalm. There are discernible groups of lines, however, which can be called strophes in a broad sense.

The introduction (vss. 2-5) is a closely articulated quatrain, comprising two couplets (2-3, and 4-5). Note the parallels: בנה and כן in both 3 and 5; עולם and לדר ודר in both 2 and 5 (and עולם again in 3); אשירה and אודיע (vs. 2) // אמרתי (3) // נשבעתי (4); חסד and אמונה (2) //

[1]) E. PODECHARD, *Revue Biblique*, 34 (1924), 5-31, has refuted these analyses.

ברית (4). The present recognition of God, vs. 2, and the transcendent nature of his love and power, vs. 3, are, respectively, the response to his previous covenant act, vs. 4, and the guarantee of the future covenant relationship, vs. 5.

The nature of the act of worship (vs. 2), that embodies both memory (vs. 4) and expectation (vss. 3, 5), is elaborated in what follows, in both its heavenly (vss. 6-15) and earthly (vss. 16-19) dimensions.

Vss. 6-9 form a second quatrain. *Heavens* (6a)//*skies* (7a); and this repeated image is itself parallel to the repeated *round about thee* (8b, 9b), tying the lines together from beginning to end. Again, *holy ones* (6b)//*sons of God* (7b)//*holy ones* (8a)//*hosts* (9a). *Who is like Yahweh* (7a, b)//*who is like thee* (9a). These four lines give a unified picture of the heavenly assembly praising God, and they close with the climactic reference to the *faithfulness* of the Lord [1]). The next four lines, vss. 10-13, also treat a single theme, God's triumph in creation over the forces of chaos. They are bound together by the constant repetition of the second person pronoun. The recurring אתה (10a, 10b, 11a, 12b, 13a) and ־ך (twice in 11 b, twice in 12a, once in 13b) produce a staccato that sounds consistently through the whole unit.

Vss. 14-17 can also be distinguished as a quatrain. The oft repeated ־ך carries over here from the previous quatrain. *Thine arm* (14a) and *thy name* (17a) are balanced in the first and last lines. The repeated פניך (15b, 16b) joins the middle lines together. And the decisive stress upon צדק in the last stichos (17b) echoes the צדק ומשפט and חסד ואמת of the second line, binding up the whole. The exultation of the congretation of Israel in the festal procession (vss. 16-17) corresponds to the praising of God by the psalmist (vs. 2), the heavenly assembly (vs. 6), and the sacred mountains (vs. 13). And the concluding phrase of the third quatrain, בשמך ירננו (13b), is taken up again in the closing line of the fourth בשמך יגילון (17a).

The entire opening portion of the psalm is brought to a climax in vss. 18-19, both of which begin with the emphatic כי. The parallel terms *our horn* (18b) and *our king* (19b), coming at the ends of the two lines of the couplet, serve both to punctuate the opening hymn and to provide a point of transition to the oracle that follows. The play on קדש in vss. 6 and 19 is also significant formally.

[1]) If חסין יה is a corruption of חסדיך (so Buhl, Weiser, *et al*), the repetition of the paired חסד . . . אמת (cf. vss. 2, 3, 15, 25, 34, 50) is doubly significant.

The oracle (vss. 20-38) consists of five quatrains: (1) 20a, 20b, 21, 22: (2) 23-26; (3) 27-30; (4) 31-34; and (5) 35-38. The following repetitions and parellels exhibit the structure of this portion of the psalm, which the poet has again carefully articulated: the coupled חסד and אמן in the last couplet of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th quatrains (אמן alone in the last); כסא in the last couplet of the 3rd and 5th; זרועי–ידי and ימינו–ידו in the last line of the 1st and 2nd; הרימותי בחור and תרים קרנו in the 1st and 2nd; כין in the last line of the 1st and 5th; קדש and דוד in the 1st and 5th; שום in the last line of the 2nd and 3rd; חלל in the 4th and 5th; לעד...שמים and עולם...שחק in the last line of the 3rd and 5th; ברית in the 3rd and 5th. The third (vss. 27-30) and the fifth (vss. 35-38) quatrains are formally almost identical and reiterate the same ideas. The alternate sections, two and four, are parallel antithetically, describing the exaltation and chastisement of the royal officeholder, respectively. In this section, then, there is a fairly clear structure.

The eight lines of vss. 39-46 divide themselves equally well into quatrains. The *crown* of the 1st parallels the *scepter-throne* of the 2nd. The *reproach* of the 1st is balanced by the *shame* of the 2nd.

The final six lines of the poem are cast in the eight-stress rhythm of the hymn. In this last portion the psalmist is not dealing specifically with the Davidic covenant, for which theme he has employed the six-stress line almost entirely, but with the common humanity of the king whose own inevitable death is one example of the universal mortality of man. The meter of the conclusion thus balances that of the opening couplet (vss. 2-3). Vs. 47, with its reference to Yahweh's wrath, is an apt connective between the preceding group of quatrains and the final six-line prayer. The prayer in turn comprises two triplets. In each of these the third line (vss. 48, 52) is a synonymous parallel to the second (vss. 47, 51); while the middle line of each begins with the injunction *Remember*! The mood and content of the final lament are set in stark contrast to those of the opening hymn: gloom against joy, the mortality and suffering of the king against the eternal sovereignty of God.

Having thus analyzed the psalm largely into four-line strophes, it is a simple matter to go back and observe that the quatrains are composed of paired couplets throughout. The parallelism within some of these couplets (e.g., vss. 14f.) is weaker than that of others; but, in observing the pairing of lines as well as the grouping of couplets into quatrains, we must remember that the movement of thought

through the entire poem must finally take precedence over the composition of the constituent parts. Therefore the connectives between parts are as important as the formal integrity of the parts themselves. We are dealing, after all, with a single poem. Nevertheless, the couplets and strophes are discernible as subordinate elements.

The organic unity of the psalm has recently been defended on liturgical grounds [1]). However correct or incorrect such a theory may be, the demonstration of the psalm's integrity does not depend upon it. This is one reason why we have argued for its unity on solely literary grounds. An investigation of the setting of the psalm reinforces our conclusions, nevertheless, and is important for its own sake.

THE LITURGICAL BACKGROUND

Two principal theories have dominated contemporary interpretation of Ps. lxxxix. According to the first, the psalm is an exilic lament over the fall of the Judean monarchy, incorporating an old Northern Israelite hymn (vss. 6-19) and a stock Judean recollection of the oracle of Nathan (vss. 20-38; cf. 2 Sam. vii; Ps. cxxxii). The latter has been influenced in its imagery by the Oriental "courtstyle" which the Judean monarchy borrowed from its neighbors, but which was not meant in Israel to be taken as literally true [2]). The alternative theory is that Ps. lxxxix, either wholly or in part, was employed in a regularly repeated, national ritual in the pre-exilic period. Some scholars hold that the individual lamentations, at least those where the Israelite king is clearly the speaker, such as Ps. lxxxix 39 ff., presuppose a ritual humiliation of the monarch at the annual New Year's festival. Extremists of the divine-kingship school assert that the king represented the dying and rising nature deity in this cultic renewal ceremony [3]). Others deny the currency in Israel of the dying-god myth while affirming the ritual humiliation of the king [4]). The

[1]) See, e.g., A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, 1955), p. 22.

[2]) Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1933), pp. 140 ff., *Die Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1926), pp. 384-96. See, also the commentaries of Schmidt, Oesterley, Kittel, Kissane, Leslie, Buttenwieser, and McCullough.

[3]) E.g., I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Uppsala, 1943), pp. 170-210; G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im AT und im Judemtum* (Stuttgart, 1955), pp. 62 ff; and G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm* 89 (Lund, 1959).

[4]) Thus, A. Bentzen, *Messias, Moses Redivivus, Menschensohn* (Zurich, 1948), pp. 21 f.; and H. Ringgren, *Z.A.W.*, 64 (1952), 144 f., *The Messiah in the OT* (Chicago, 1956).

best statement of this position, which also does justice to the distinctive Israeilite theology and its normative control of cult institutions, is that of A. R. JOHNSON [1]). The exodus and Sinai traditions and covenant theology take their righful places in his analysis. Still others deny the theory of ritual humiliation while assigning the royal psalms to pre-exilic ritual celebrations of the kingship [2]). A major variant of the cultic position is one that gives the primary place to the exodus and Sinai traditions in the reconstruction of the pre-exilic festivals, the *Sitz im Leben* of the royal psalms. The primary ritual is here seen as a covenant renewal that took place at the New Year, with which the Davidic-covenant and ark traditions (2 Sam. vi-vii; Pss. lxxxix, cxxxii) were associated [3]).

The structure of Ps. lxxxix and its affinites to other psalms of the Judean ritual-treasury indicate that it might well have been recited at coronations of Judean kings, and, if there was an annual renewal of the kingship, also in that celebration. Vss. 20-38 bear a strong resemblance to the coronation psalms (ii, lxxii, cx). They recall the divine election [4]) and coronation [5]) of David (vss. 20 f.), whose kingship is to be renewed in his descendants through the ages (vss. 30, 37). This celebration of the Davidic oracle is here given an explicit ritual setting (vss. 16-19) that bears the marks of a pilgrimage festival. The people are actually *walking* (vs. 16b) in the procession toward the sanctuary. The repetitive, ritual character of the psalm is also implied in the extravagant promise of everlasting worship (vs. 2) which no individual, but only successive generations (vss. 2, 5), could fulfill. Further the appearance of the Davidic oracle in

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[1]) *Op. cit.*, pp. 94 f., 98-103.

[2]) Cf. H. SCHMIDT, *Die Psalmen* (Tübingen, 1934), pp. 165-69, *Die Thronfahrt Jahves* (Tübingen, 1927), pp. 36 ff.; and S. MOWINCKEL, *Psalmenstudien II* (Kristiania, 1922), pp. 113-17, *III* (1923), pp. 32-38, *He That Cometh* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 56-95.

[3]) A. WEISER, *Die Psalmen*, third edition (Göttingen, 1950), *in loc.*; cf. *Festschrift für A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), pp. 513-31; H. -J. KRAUS, *Gottesdienst in Israel* (München, 1954); cf. *Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im AT* (Tübingen, 1951), *Psalmen* (*Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament*, XV. Neukirchen, 1958 ff.).

[4]) The usual rendering of בחור (vs. 20b) as *one chosen* is supported by the parallels *anointed* (21b) and *found* (21a). Cf. 1 Sam. xvi 8-10, 2 Sam. vi 21, xvi 18; Dt. xvii 15; 1 Kings viii 16; Pss. lxxviii 68, 70, lxxxix 40.

[5]) Reading נזר for עזר in 20b. The parallel מעם suggests separation through consecration, for which נזר is a better complement (cf. Gen. xlix 26; Dt. xxxiii 6: 2 Kings xi 12; 2 Sam. i 10). The poetic pattern of the psalm also supports the change. Thus the *rejected, anointed, servant, crown* of vss. 39f. exactly parallel the *chosen, anointed, servant, crown* of 20b-21a. Cf. Pss. xxi 4, lxxxii 18; 2 Kings xi 12.

three independent versions (omitting 1 Chr. xvii) in the OT (Pss. lxxxix, cxxxii; 2 Sam. vii) also indicates that it was well-established among the liturgical resources of the Jerusalem sanctuary.

The exalted titles assigned by the psalmist to the king suggest the exaggeration of an official ceremony: servant (vss. 4, 21, 40), chosen one (vss. 4, 20), anointed one (vss. 21, 39, 52), firstborn (vs. 28), holy one (vs. 36), shield (vs. 19) [1]), horn (vs. 18), highest (king) (vs. 28), and hero (vs. 20). This is the typical titulature of a coronation ritual. VON RAD has shown that the rite included not only the anointing, crowning, and official designation of the new son of God, but also the announcement of a covenantal agreement between the king and God [2]). The throne name (cf. 1 Kings i 47) and titles (cf. Is. ix 5 f.) were here declared, and the divine promises concerning the duration and extent of the royal dominion (Ps. lxxxix 26, 30, 37) were conveyed to the king and people. These are the *testimonies* of 2 Kings xi 14; 2 Chr. xxiii 13, xxxiv 31, which are identical with the covenant of Pss. lxxxix 4, 35, 40, cxxxii 12 [3]).

The announcement may have been made in the form of a prophetic oracle, recited before the assembled worshippers in the national rite. lxxxix 20, "Thou didst speak in a vision to thy faithful ones (לחסידיך)", clearly implies such a situation [4]). That the oracle of Nathan was originally pronounced in a public ceremony is indicated by the juxtaposition of 2 Sam. vi and vii and the association of the oracle with the theme of the ark festival in Ps. cxxxii; 2 Sam. vii 1 (cf. viii 1) seems to place the oracle at a different time from that of the ark ceremony; but this editorial comment, coming either from the final editor of 2 Samuel or from his source, is obviously later than the original oracle-tradition.

The common cultic setting of the dynastic oracle and the ark procession has been described by several scholars recently on the

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[1]) מגנו is clearly a synonymous parallel to מלכנו. Similar usage appears in Ps. xlvii 10, cf. lxxxiv 10.

[2]) *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 72 (1947), cols. 211-16.

[3]) VON RAD admits the antiquity of ברית in Ps. cxxxii but unaccountably denies it in Ps. lxxxix and 2 Sam. xxiii 5 (*ibid.*, cols. 213 f.). But see PROCKSCH, *Festschrift R. Kittel*, B.W.A.T., 13 (1913), 112-25; GUNKEL, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, p. 146; and JOHNSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff.

[4]) The plural לחסידיך of the MT is supported by the versions. The common emendation to the singular is incorrect. The oracle speaks of David in the third person, and is, therefore, addressed to the people.

basis of Ps. cxxxii [1]). The hypothesis seems plausible to me. Is it possible, however, to relate Ps. lxxxix to the ark procession on the basis of its own allusions? It seems to me that just such an association is suggested by the first major portion of the psalm, vss. 6-19. These verses are closely related to the hymns of Yahweh's enthronement (xlvii, xciii, xcvi-c) [2]). That these hymns would be appropriate for use in a Davidic coronation ritual is manifest. The promise to David of an everlasting dynasty is only possible because Yahweh is the king in the heavenly assembly (lxxxix 6-15) and is able to employ whatever agents he pleases and to guarantee their dominion. This is presupposed even by Ps. cxxxii 11 f., though the acknowledgement of God's heavenly kingship is not elaborated there as it is in Ps. lxxxix and the other royal psalms (ii 4, xviii 8-18, xx 7, xxi 8, lxviii 12-25, 33-36, cx 1-3, 5-6, cf. xlvii 2-5, 8-11).

The cultic affinity of the enthronement psalms and the Davidic coronation psalms is tacitly acknowledged by the Chronicler in 1 Chr. xvi-xvii. Not only does he follow 2 Sam. vi-vii in placing the dynastic oracle and the ark procession together, but he also quotes from the enthronement psalms to provide a hymn appropriate for the ark procession (1 Chr. xvi) [3]). Ps. lxxxix 6-19 is thematically similar to 1 Chr. xvi 23-33 (cf. Ps. xcvi 1-13). The psalm presented here by the Chronicler is undoubtedly not one that was sung on the day David brought the ark to Jerusalem. Yet it probably was drawn from the body of psalms traditionally employed in the Jerusalem cultus to celebrate that event.

Ps. lxxxix 9 employs the familiar *Yahweh Sabaoth* which is used so frequently in early texts in association with the ark and the armies of God (1 Sam. xv 2, 2 Sam. v 10, vii 8, 26 f.) The ark and the cherubim (cf. the angelic beings of Ps. lxxxix 6 ff.) were, of course, the two

[1]) A. Bentzen, *J. B. L.*, 67 (1948), 37-53; J. R. Porter, *J. T. S.*, 5 (1954), 161-173; H. - J. Kraus, *Königsherrschaft Gottes*, pp. 73 ff.

[2]) Compare Ps. lxxxix 6 with xcvi 6; lxxxix 8 with xlvii 3, xcvi 4, and xcix 3; lxxxix 12 with xcvi 5; lxxxix 13, xcviii 8; lxxxix 14 with xcviii 1; lxxxix 15 with xcvii 2; lxxxix 16 with xlvii 2, 6, and xcciii 6; lxxxix 19 with xlvii 10; lxxxix 10 with xciii 3 f.

[3]) Cf. Pss. xcvi, cv, cvi. 1 Chr. xvi 35 f., quoted from the doxology to the fourth book of the Psalter (Ps. xvi 47 f.), are shown by the tell-tale words with which they are introduced ("Say also") that they, and not the entire section, vss. 8-36, are a late addition to Chronicles, added by an editor who knew the present text of the Psalter. There is thus no reason to deny the originality of this section in its present place.

related symbols of the invisible presence of Yahweh (cf. 1 Sam. iv 4, 2 Sam. vi 2).

Again, the *shout* (תרועה) of Ps. lxxxix 16 recalls the ark procession to Jerusalem (2 Sam. vi. 15, cf. Pss. xlvii 6, xlii 5, and xlviii 10-15). The people seem here to be walking into the sanctuary behind the ark (יהוה באור פניך יהלכון; cf. Pss. xxvii 6, xlii 5, xliii 3, cxviii 27). For the ark was the visible throne of Yahweh (lxxxix 15). The image of Yahweh, enthroned in the heavens and surrounded by his legions of angels, that we have in vss. 6-15, is the very kind of picture that we would expect the symbolism of the ark, the cherubim, and the sanctuary of Jerusalem to call up (cf. Is. vi; 1 Kings viii 1 ff; Ez. 1). The celebration of the thrones of Yahweh and David as symbols of their cosmic and terrestrial sovereignty is an important dual theme in the psalm. Both thrones are "supported" by חסד and אמת (vss. 15, 31 ff., cf. lxi 8).

This reference to the ethical qualification of the Davidic covenant (vss. 31 ff.) leads us to the question concerning the relationship between Ps. lxxxix and the exodus and Sinai traditions. The psalm is a covenantal psalm from first to last. The covenant words חסד and אמת (אמונה) comprise the central theme that runs through each of its major sections (vss. 2, 3, 9, 15, 25, 34, 50) [1]). This phraseology is distinctive of what WEISER calls the theophanic covenant tradition, whose background is the alleged covenant-renewal festival that originated in the Sinai experience and was relived in the rites from which the psalms derived [2]). E. J. KISSANE has taken the presence of these terms in Ps. lxxxix as evidence that vss. 6-20 are a recitation of the covenantal events from the exodus to the establishment of the Davidic dynasty and the sanctuary in Jerusalem [3]). On the other hand, L. ROST has sought to prove the sharp dichotomy between the Davidic and the Sinaitic covenants [4]). ROST's thesis, that the Davidic covenant superseded the Sinaitic in Judean national religion from David to Josiah, is correct to the extent that the royal ideology did tend to obscure Israelite tribal religion in the interest of exalting the royal house. Nevertheless, it is impossible to deny the elements

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[1]) On the covenantal character of these terms, see N. H. SNAITH, *The Distinctive Ideas of the OT* (London, 1944), pp. 94 ff., and WEISER in G. FRIEDRICH, ed., *Theol. Wörterbuch z. NT*, VI, p. 185.

[2]) *Die Psalmen*, p. 23, cf. pp. 9-61.

[3]) *The Book of Psalms*, Vol. II (Dublin, 1954), pp. 89, 94.

[4]) *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 72 (1947), cols, 129-134.

of continuity between the prophetic tradition, based on the older covenant, and the official religion of the southern monarchy.

The explicit link between Ps. lxxxix and the ethical tradition of prophetic Yahwism is the moral condition laid upon the Davidic king in vss. 31 ff. (cf. 2 Sam. vii 14; Pss. lxxii, 12). The implication is strong that the coronation ritual included not only the recitation of God's promises to David and the statement of royal prerogatives, but also the definition of the responsibilities of the king to God, and thus to the covenant people. The terminology of lxxxix 31-32 is often judged to be Deuteronomic. Taken singly the phrases in question are not distinctively late or Deuteronomic [1]). The grouping of them thus may, however, imply Deuteronomic influence, since they are characteristic of the sermons of Deuteronomy. Yet, surely not every parallel in the OT is dependent upon the latter. Compare, e.g., Pss. xviii 21 f., lxxii 1 ff.

The question whether the psalmist had the historical episodes of the exodus tradition or the eternal, cosmic sovereignty of God in mind in vss. 6-15 cannot be answered with certainty. The strong affinity to the mythological materials from Mesopotamia and Ugarit is apparent. Yet such imagery does not exlude historical antecedents. Angelic beings are elsewhere associated with the exodus tradition (Ex. xv 11; Dt. xxxii 8 f., xxxiii 2 f.) The wonders of God (פלאך, vs. 6)[2]) are, in the Psalter, most characteristically the saving events of the *Heilsgeschichte*, from the exodus to the establishment of the Davidic kingdom (Pss. cv 5-22, lxxviii 67-72, cf. lxxvii 15, lxxviii 4, 11, 12, 32, xcviii 1, cvi 7, 22, cxi 4, cxxxvi 4). Though the term is often used in a general way of divine redemption (e.g., Pss. ix 2, xxvi 7, xl 6), this usage would carry little conviction without the background of the *Heilsgeschichte*, which it preseupposes.

In addition to the manifestly mythological connotation of *rahab* in lxxxix 11 and *yam* in vs. 10, these terms may also have suggested the Lord's mastery over the Reed Sea in the exodus (cf. Ez. xxix 3; Is. li 9-11). There may be another dual allusion to mythology and the exodus tradition in Ps. lxxxix 13, if EISSFELDT's interpretation

[1]) עזב תורה occurs in Prov. iv 2 for example; שמר מצות is found in Amos ii 4 and 1 Kings ii 3; חלל חקת is a *hapax leg.*; and הלך במשפט occurs elsewhere only once, Ez. xxxvii 24.

[2]) 2 Heb. MSS, LXX, Peshitta and Psalt. iuxta Heb. read the plural, preserving the sense of the original. The defective spelling may date from a time prior to the use of *yodh* as a *mater lectionis*; cf. CROSS and FREEDMAN, *Early Heb. Orthography* (New Haven, 1952), p. 38.

of the line is correct [1]). Mt. Saphon (vs. 13a) was Baal's North Syrian palace, established, according to the myth, after his victory over Yam. It may be, as EISSFELDT has suggested, that the myth of Baal-saphon was derived from the region so named on the N.E. coast of Egypt (Ex. xiv 2, 9; Num. xxxiii 7) during the exodus period. Had the Israelites known of the myth then, the subsequent historization of it in reference to the exodus would have been very natural [2]).

The parallelism יד//זרוע in lxxxix 14, referring to Yahweh's deeds, almost always denotes the exodus in passages where the content of the action is explicitly stated (Dt. iv 34, v 15, vii 7, xi 2, xxvi 8; Pss. xiv 4, cxxxvi 12; Jer. xxxii 21; Ez. xx 33, 34, and perhaps 1 Kings viii 42 and Ps. xcviii 1). The only exceptions are Jer. xxi 5 and lxii 8, which refer to *future* acts. All other references are vague generalizations. The use of זרוע alone is almost as closely related to the exodus. Again taking only those passages where the actual content of the divine deed is described, we find the allusion to be to the exodus eight times (Dt. ix 29; 1 Kings xvii 36; Ex. vi 6, xv 15; Ps. lxxvii 16 (cf. vs. 20); Is. li 9, lxii 12; Ho. xi 3), and other acts only thrice (Jer. xxvii 5, xxxii 7 (but cf. vs. 21), and Is. xxx 30). Thus the primary source of this image in Hebrew literature seems clearly to have been the exodus. It was applied secondarily in general and eschatological contexts. We can probably infer that the psalmist intended the allusion to recall the exodus to the mind of the worshippers.

The תרועה of lxxxix 16 is also frequently associated with the memory of the exodus (1 Sam. iv 8; Num xxiii 2 f.; Pss. lxvi 1, cf. vs. 7, lxxxi 1-5, xcviii 4; Is. xliv 27).

What of Ps. lxxxix 39-52? Do these lines represent a ritual humiliation of the Davidic king? Do they imply the destruction of the Judean monarchy and Jerusalem in 587 B.C.? First the theory of ritual humiliation. Since the attribution of dying-god ideology to the Israelite royal cultus has been successfully refuted, we need deal only with the variant form of the theory, namely that a mock battle was fought in the ritual, in which the king was temporarily defeated by foreign powers prior to his final cultic restoration and exaltation.

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[1]) Emending ימין to אמנה; cf. *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer* (Halle, 1932); and W. F. ALBRIGHT, *Festschrift Bertholet*, pp. 1 ff. Hermon (vs. 13b) and Amana (13a) are linked together in Song of Songs iv 8.

[2]) ימין (MT), if original, might refer to Sinai (EISSFELDT, *op. cit.*, pp. 12f.) or Zion (J. BOEHMER, *Bibl. Zeitschrift*, 23 (1935/36), 333ff.), but the term is never explicitly used for either in the OT.

Thus the king's humiliation would be a demonstration of his dependence upon God, in fulfillment of the terms of the royal covenant. This is JOHNSON's position [1]). The theory seems to contradict the plain sense of the psalm, however. To be sure, the psalmist is fully aware of the king's dependence upon God and the conditional nature of the covenant (vss. 20-22, 31-34). Nevertheless, the present plight of the monarch, far from showing his own proper humility, represents a blatant violation of the covenant by God. This is explicitly stated in vs. 40 and is unmistakably suggested by the adversative force of vs. 39, which JOHNSON himself recognizes [2]). The covenant provided for the disciplining of the royal office-holder (vss. 31-34), but not for a change in the fundamental status of the dynasty (vss. 25-30, 34-38). Such an alteration is what is now threatened.

A second objection is that the psalm describes no restoration of the humiliated monarch, nor does the lament itself (vss. 39-52) assert the psalmist's *certainty of a hearing*, after the fashion of the conventional lament of the individual. One can supply the missing portion of the ritual by juxtaposing Pss. ci, xviii, ii, cx, and xxi, as JOHNSON does [3]), but such action presupposes, without sufficient warrant, that these psalms were employed in the same ritual drama as Ps. lxxxix, and that their proper place in that drama was after, rather than before, the humiliation. If Ps. lxxxix is the product of a ritual drama, however, its form definitely implies that the reverse was true, since the exaltation (vss. 20 ff.) here precedes the humiliation (vss. 39 ff.). A more natural explanation of the lament is that the nation had actually suffered a worse catastrophe than it might have expected under the conditions of the covenant, and that this was a disaster experienced in international conflict.

The psalm not only lacks the certainty of a hearing that one would expect if it were a conventional, individual lament. There is also no royal confession of sin, based on the assumption that the king's punishment is due to his iniquity, in accordance with the covenant (lxxxix 31 ff.). On the other hand, the king makes no protestation of his innocence, in the manner of the Babylonian kings. Nevertheless, the psalmist implies that the terms of the covenant do not account for the severity of the present crisis, and thus virtually accuses God of abrogating the covenant altogether. He does not threaten to cease

[1]) JOHNSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 ff., 104.
[2]) *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[3]) *Ibid.*, pp. 105-22.

worshipping God (cf. Pss. vi 4, lxxx 19) nor provoke him by noting the divine disrepute among the heathen (cf. Pss. lxxix 5, 18, xciii 3). His appeal is made only on the ground of the brevity of his life (vss. 47 ff.; cf. xc 13) and the justice and mercy of God (vss. 50 ff.; cf. Pss. vi 4, lxxix 20, xciv 12 ff.).

Is there any evidence in the other royal psalms of the existence of a sham battle and ritual humiliation of the king in the Jerusalem cultus? In Ps. ii we have the familiar picture of the threatened rebellion of vassal kings on the accession of a new sovereign. They are warned against such a venture, because of Yahweh's sure support of his vicegerent. No rebellion has occurred; it is merely threatened. Ps. xviii seems to provide the closest parallel to Ps. lxxxix 39 ff. among the royal psalms. The Davidide has been encompassed by the cords of death (vs. 5) in an apparently fatal engagement with armed foes (vss. 18, 35-37). Thus far the theme is similar to Ps. lxxxix 39 ff. But in Ps. xviii the king rejoices in the deliverance that God has wrought on his behalf. The psalm as a whole is a thanksgiving psalm, depicting both the predicament and the divine salvation. The psalmist stresses the virtue of humility (vs. 28) which, according to JOHNSON, was dramatized in the royal liturgy. But note that here he anticipates the deliverance at the very outset of the poem (vs. 4), stresses its actuality continually through its course, and concludes with a paeon of praise because of it (vss. 47-51). In Ps. lxxxix, on the other hand, there is no anticipation of the deliverance and no acknowledgement that any has occurred or is about to occur.

Ps. xx is a prayer for royal victory in battle and is therefore incomparable to Ps. lxxxix. No humiliation has been met, and none is anticipated. Ps. xxi is another thanksgiving psalm on the occasion of a military triumph. Whatever conflicts are described in Ps. lxviii belong to the nation's glorious past (vss. 12 ff., 16 ff.). No oppression either ritual or historical is experienced in Pss. lxxii and ci. Ps. cx exalts the Lord who will "scatter kings on the day of his wrath" (vs. 5) and make the king's enemies his footstool (vs. 1) but laments no royal suffering. Ps. cxxxii mentions no enemies of the king.

Only in Ps. cxliv 1-11 is there a real parallel to the unfulfilled plea of lxxxix 39 ff. In this lament, which most recent commentators separate from vss. 12-15 as an independent fragment [1]), the Davidic king (vs. 10) pleads with God for salvation from the hands of his

[1]) E.g., GUNKEL and OESTERLEY. If the psalm is a unity, as KISSANE and SCHMIDT, *e.g.*, hold, it is then not parallel to Ps. lxxxix.

foes (vs. 11). In this lament, however, the Davidic covenant is not invoked as the basis of a claim upon God, and nothing in the psalm indicates that it originated in a coronation festival. Indeed, JOHNSON never mentions the psalm in his reconstruction of the royal liturgy.

Thus all of the other royal psalms which deal with the theme of the king's conflict with his enemies are either prayers or thanksgivings for victory, and there is nothing in them to indicate that they were used ritually in an annual coronation festival rather than at the approach or conclusion of actual military engagements.

Ps. lxxxix is quite unlike the others in that it laments a wholly unanticipated crisis that threatens the royal covenantal establishment and therefore the foundation of cosmic order, namely the fidelity of God, who has promised that the dynasty would endure and would become universal. Without external controls against which to check the theory of a ritual humiliation, either in the narrative portions of the OT or in the royal psalms, we are thrown back upon Ps. lxxxix itself for an answer to the question of its liturgical background. And there is no ground in the psalm for supposing that the crisis is a mere sham, a dramatic device and nothing more. This is not to say that Ps. lxxxix was not employed repeatedly in the national cultus, but rather to assert that the determining factor in bringing the ritual about was not the intention merely to demonstrate the king's humble dependence upon God, but an actual political experience, or series of experiences, of the nation.

Several possible situations, typical of other royal psalms, seem to be ruled out immediately. Ps. lxxxix is no mere pre-battle plea for divine aid. Such pleas (e.g., Pss. xx and cxliv 1-11) are couched in very general terms that denote no more than the warrior's grim anticipation of pitched battle. In Ps. lxxxix the disaster is already past (though its consequences carry over into the present), and the picture is vivid and concrete. Again, Ps. lxxxix is not simply a post-battle lament over a royal defeat. More than a battle has been lost. The dynasty itself is in jeopardy. The crisis is far more severe than any extremity contemplated in the other royal psalms (e.g., xviii, lxxii, xxii, cxliv 1-11). Some of the images of vss. 39-52 may indeed be figurative; this is no photographic reproduction of the actual events. Yet, if these images are metaphorical and hyperbolic, we must determine the actual situation by reference to the terms of the covenant (vss. 20-38) and not to the situation of other psalms.

Must we, therefore, conclude that the debacle which gave rise to

the lamentation was the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C., and that Ps. lxxxix taken as a whole is a late, mixed composition (*Mischung*) in GUNKEL's classification, reflecting no living cultic situation? There is no evidence that demands such a conclusion. To support this answer, let us first examine the terminology of lxxxix 39 ff. Most of the terms describing the divine rejection are indefinite here. שבט (*rod*, vs. 33) probably means a politico-military affliction (cf. Ps. ii 9; Is. x 5, 15, 24, xiv 29). נגע (*stripe*, vs. 33) can mean disease (Pss. xxxviii 12, xxxix 11), especially leprosy (Lev. xiii-xiv), assault (Dt. xvii 8, xxi 5), or military disaster (Ps. cv 15). זנח (*cast off*, vs. 39) elsewhere refers to military disaster (Pss. lx 3, cviii 12) and the destruction of the temple (Lam. ii 7, iii 17; Ps. lxxiv 1). מאס (*reject*, vs. 39) is used of the fall of Israel (Ho. iv 6; 2 Kings xvii 20), the fall of Judah (Jer. vii 29, xiv 19, xxxi 37; 2 Kings xxiii 27; Lam. v 22), and the rejection of the house of Saul (1 Sam. xv 23, 26, xvi 1; Ps. lxxviii 59, 67). עבר (*be wroth*, vs. 39): God's wrath in the wilderness (Ps. lxxviii 21), his rejection of Saul and Shiloh (lxxviii 59, 62), and his future judgment (Ho. v 10; Is. x 6; Jer. vii 29, Ex. xxii 21, Job xxi 30). נאץ (*renounce*, *despise*, vs. 40): foreign oppression (Is. lx 14), the fall of Jerusalem (Lam. ii 6), the destruction of Judah and the exile (Jer. xiv 21, xxxiii 24, referring to the covenant with David, which, nevertheless, the Lord will not break!). שסס (*despoil*, vs. 42) is used in many instances of military affliction, usually not with the connotation of total desolation (1 Sam. xvii 53; Judg. ii 14; Is. xiii 16; Zech. xiv 2). We must conclude that the divine judgment is almost certainly military, but that the desolation, while severe, is not necessarily total.

The description of the plight of the royal office is equally indefinite. Ps. cxxxii 18 shows that any military reversal would have been seen as a defilement of the Davidic crown (lxxxix 40, cf. 2 Sam. xii 29 f.), although the image is used elsewhere as an allusion to the Babylonian exile (Jer. xiii 18; Lam. v 16; Ex. xxi 26 f.). Vss. 39-40 indicate a major military catastrophe, but none in particular. In the light of Ex. xix 11-14; Jer. xlviii 17, and Is. xlvii 1, Ps. lxxxix 45 might imply the fall of Jerusalem, though it could mean the end of an individual king (cf. Is. xiv 9) rather than the dynasty.. In view of Ps. cx 2 (cf. Ps. ii), this alone would be terrible and unanticipated. Exilic parallels to vs. 42 are numerous, to be sure, (Lam. i 21, ii 15, iv 21 f.; Obad. 10; Ps. cxxxvii 7) but the absence of any allusion in Ps. lxxxix to the destruction of the temple, which was so important in the later development of Judean royal ideology (2 Sam. vii 13; Ps. cxxxii),

precludes the simple identification of the situation of the psalm with that of the Book of Lamentations, for example. Again, we must conclude that the crisis is politico-military and that it is extreme; but we cannot say more. For any king promised the place of firstborn above the kings of the earth (vs. 28), and sovereignty "from the sea to the rivers" (vs. 26), vassalage to a foreign ruler, or even loss of a major portion of his territories, would certainly be construed as a casting of his throne to the ground. Vs. 46 might refer to Jehoiachin, as many commentators have held, but there are other possibilities, for example Jehoram (cf. 2 Chr. xxi 18 f.), Ahaziah (cf. 2 Kings viii 25 f.), Hezekiah (cf. 2 Kings xx 1 ff.), or Josiah (cf. 2 Kings xxiii 29).

In Ps. lxxxix the king survives, as king, to plead for restoration of his former status. Such a petition would have been most improbable after 587. It could hardly have been used publicly during the exile or any subsequent period of Judean vassalage. Therefore, if it were written after 587, it would have been a private literary composition. The question of liturgical background would then pertain not to the psalm as a whole, which would have none, but to the enthronement hymn (lxxxix 6-19) and the oracle (20-38), or rather the models for these which the psalmist drew from the treasury of pre-exilic Judean psalms (e.g., such poems as Pss. xlvii, xcv f., cxxxii).

We need not look to the destruction of Jerusalem for the sufficient explanation of lxxxix 39-52, however. The division of the Davidic-Solomonic kingdom, and the failure of Judah to realize its grandiose hope of universal dominion (lxxxix 22-28, cf. Pss. ii, lxxii, cx), is a more likely occasion for the lament. If one objects that the cultic expression of that hope was figurative and hyperbolic, influenced by Oriental courtstyle, we will answer that the lament is equally hyperbolic. Therefore, such an argument is irrelevant. If the socio-political triumphs of the united monarchy gave rise to the pretensions of the royal psalms, as they probably did, then the major checks to the fulfillment of those pretensions, from the revolt of Jeroboam I to the final demise of Zedekiah, would readily have given rise to a lament such as Ps. lxxxix 39-52. Even in times of relative affluence the Judean monarchy fell far short of the promises of the Davidic covenant, and such a lamentation would have been appropriate in any national festival. In less prosperous times it would have had even greater meaning.

It is hard to imagine how the Judean court could have failed to use the dynastic oracle in every coronation after its original publica-

tion [1]). During the period from Rehoboam to Zedekiah the liturgy would quite properly have contained a lamentation over the frustration of the dynastic promise. Everything that we have said here would be equally true, incidentally, of the actual coronations of new kings and of any possible annual renewal of the kingship, if such existed. At the present time we cannot prove that it did, though it is not impossible.

Distribution of Key Words in Major Divisions of Psalm lxxxix

Word	Intro. Vv. 2-5.	Hymn Vv. 6-15,	Hymn 16-19.	Oracle Vv. 20-38.	Lament Vv. 39-46,	Lament Vv. 47-52.
אויב		11		23	43	52
√אמן	2,3	6, 9, 15		25, 29, 34, 38		50
אל		7, 8		27		
ארץ		12		28		
אתה		10, 11, 12, 13	18	27	39	
ברא		13				
ברית	4			29, 35	40	
גבר		14		20		49
דוד	4			21, 36		50
הלך			16	31		
זרוע		11, 14		22		
חלל		11		32, 35	40	
חסד	2, 3, 5	15		20, 25, 29, 34		50
יד		14		22, 26		49
ים		10		26		
ימין		(13), 14		36	43	
כון	3, 5			22, 38		
כסא	5	15		30, 37	45	
מלך			19	38		
משח		6		21	39	52
משפט		15		31		
עבד	4			21	40	51
עד				30		47
עולם	2, 3, 5			29, 37, 38		
עז		11, 14	18	23		

[1]) Beyond placing the psalm in the pre-exilic period after Solomon, we cannot be precise about the date of its composition. In its present form the oracle (vss. 20-38) is earlier than 2 Sam. vii 13, where the propaganda for the Solomonic temple has been imposed upon the earlier ark-tradition. Ps. cxxxii also represents the pre-temple form. If lxxxix 31-34 are Deuteronomic, we will have to date the psalm after 800 B.C., though just when in the following two centuries is uncertain.

SHORT NOTES

A TARGUM ON EXOD. XV 7-21 FROM THE CAIRO GENIZA

Among the Geniza fragments, which entered the Bodleian Library in Oxford after the redaction of COWLEY's catalogue [1]), there is a small-sized, double, vellum leaf (Ms. hebr. f. 102, fol. 5) containing part of a Targum on Exod. xv. In the typewritten supplement to COWLEY's catalogue the text is described as: "Targ. Jon. . . . . with variations from the editions". The text, which shows variations from both Targum (Ps.-) Jonathan and the (so-called) Fragmentary Targum, testifies once more to the diversity of targumic texts circulated till a relatively late date. Though several Targumim on Exod. xv are known to exist [2]) the text published here has some peculiarities of its own, but we will have to await the edition of the recently found complete manuscript of the "Fragmentary" Targum before an exhaustive examination can be made. In transcribing [3]) the text, which owing to its poor state of preservation is often very difficult to read, the following signs are used:

אַ = doubtful reading.

?
א = very doubtful reading.

‹א› = illegible, restoration probable.

//////// = illegible, restoration not self-evident.

[ ] = *lacuna*.

Oxford: Bodleian Ms. hebr. f. 102, fol. 5a [Ex. xv 7-13]

l.

]אמלא נורא קשא :(°)וברוח :ובמימר מן
קַדמיך אתעבידו מיא עורמן עורמן קמוך
ל]הון צרירין בזיקיא מיא נזליא קפון תַּהומיא
ב]פליגום דיַמא רבא :(°)אמר :אמַר פרעה רשַׁיעאַ

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[1]) A. E. COWLEY, *Catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1906.

[2]) Y. KOMLÓS' "Nosaḥ ha-Targum ʿal qᵉrīʿat Yam-Sūf" *Sinai* 1959, p. 223-228 was inaccessible to me.

[3]) Fol. 5ᶜ·ᵈ do not constitute the continuation of fol. 5ᵃ·ᵇ and as far as I can see they do not contain Targum.

5 ס[נאה ו]בעיל דבביא ארדוף בתר בני יש אעל[ע
י]תהון שרַיין עַל ימא אשבא מינהון שיביא רבא
א]בוז מינהון ביזא רבא ואפלג יתְ שבייתא לעמא
ע]בדי קרבא דאית עמי מן די תשתבע נפשי
מ]נהון מן בתרכן אשלוף חרבי ואישצי יתהון
10 ב]יד ימיני: (10) נשפת: אשיפת רוח מן קדמיך כסית
עליהון ימא אישתקע כאיברא בימא משבחיא:
(11) מי כמוך: מן כוותך באילי <מרומא> "מן כוותך הדיר
בקושא (sic) דחיל בתשב<חן> עבד ניסין ופליין לעמה
בני יש. (12) נטית: <י>מא וארעא הון מזדיין
15 כחדא ימא הוה א<מר> לארעא //////////////////
ואַרעא הות אמרא לימא ////////////ל//// יתהון
ארכינת י////[ ]////על////עא//////////// את <ת>בע
יתהון מינה [לעלמא דא]תי מן יד <פתחת> ארעא /////
פומה ובלע[ת יתהון: (13) ג]<ח>ית <:דב>רת בחסדך
20]— —[

Oxford: Bodleian Ms. hebr. f. 102, fol. 5b [Ex. xv 13-21]

l.

למדור בית שכינת קודש<ך:> (14) שמעו ////
שמעו אומייה ואתבהלו רתיתא אחדת יתהון
לכל דייריה דארעא דפלשת: (15) אז: בכן ///////
איבהלו רברבני אדומייא תקיפי מואבייא
5 אחדת יתהון רתיתא אמיק? דארעא לי/////////
בגיוהון דכל דיירה דכנע<ן>: (16) תפול: תפיל
עליהון אימתך ודחלתך יי בתקוף אדרע גבורתך
ישתתקון כאבניא עד זמן דיעברון עמך יי ית
נחלת דארנונא עד זמן ד(sic)יעברון ////// ל//////
10 די פרקת ית מגזת /// דיורדנה: (17) תביאמו
תעיל יתהון ותחסן יתהון מדור בית שכינת
קודשך אתר לבית שכינת אתקנת יי בית
מקד<שך> יי תרתין ידיך שכללן יתיה: (18) יי:
////////////////////////// יי היא מלכותא? עלמא
15 ////////////הה היא לעלמא דאתי יי מלך
//////////////////: (19) כי בא סוס: אר<ום> עלו סוסות
<דפר>עה//////// ובפרשוי בימא וחזר יי עליהון
ית מוי דימא ובני יש הליכו ביבשתא בגו <ימא>

(20) ותקף: ונסיבת מרים נביא[תא א]חתיה דאהרון
ית תופא ///////// ונפקן כל נש[יא ב]תרה בתופיא
//////////א//////////// [·(21)] נודי ונשבח

Leiden W. BAARS

ŠDYN IN JOB XIX 29

The word שדין in this verse has been very confusing for ages. However, it now seems to be unnecessary to separate it into ש דין(*). Rather, it should be understood as an old variant of שדי which is a very common divine name in the book of Job.

This view is based on the material found in *PRU* III [1]). In these Akkadian texts from Ugarit there are many personal names which have the ending *-i̯a-nu/na* [2]). The element *-i̯a* is probably either a pronominal suffix (1. c. sg.) or a hypocoristic ending [3]). The element *-nu/na* is more difficult. In Hebrew it could be a nominal afformative —either denominative or diminutive [4]). Also, it was a characteristically Canaanite ending for proper names [5]). GORDON discusses the ending *-yn* and sees it in Ugaritic as gentilic *-îy* plus *-ân* [6]). Final *-na* seems to be used in the Nuzu texts in the formation of place names [7]).

It is interesting that where in Akkadian a name can end in either *-i̯a* or *-i̯a-nu/na* the Ugaritic usually prefers the fuller ending written

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[1]) J. NOUGAYROL, *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit III*, Mission de Ras Shamra, VI, ed. by Claude F. A. SCHAEFFER, (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1955), p. 238 ff. Others have read *Shaddai* (GESENIUS-BUHL) but this material makes it certain.

[2]) Note the following: *aḫ-li-i̯a-na*, *am-mi-i̯a-nu*, *a-na-an-i̯a-nu*, *at-tu-i̯a-nu*, *e-ḫi-i̯a-nu*, *e-ri-i̯a-na*, *i-ḫi-i̯a-nu*, *kathi-i̯a-nu*, *kar-i̯a-nu*, *ki-ir-i̯a-na*, *nu-ri-i̯a-nu*, *be-i̯a-nu*, *sà-sí-i̯a-na*, *sú-uk-ri-i̯a-nu*, *šapši-i̯a-na*, *ta-bi-i̯a-nu*, *ta-ri-ya-nu*, *te-ḫi-iš-i̯a-na*, *tup-pí-i̯a(-nu)* and *ur-ḫi-i̯a-na*.

[3]) GELB, PURVES, and MACRAE, *Nuzi Personal Names*, (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1943), p. 294.

[4]) Note the discussion in KAUTZSCH-COWLEY, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 2nd ed. 1910, 1952 printing), p. 238 f. (§ 85 u) and p. 239 f. (§ 86).

[5]) W. F. ALBRIGHT, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1953), p. 127, and Cyrus H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Manual*, (Rome, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1955), p. 51.

[6]) GORDON, *op. cit.*, p. 51. Also note the use of *-n* with verbs p. 58 and his suggestion for the need of more study on the final *-n* on p. 91.

[7]) Leo OPPENHEIM, "Étude Sur La Topographie De Nuzi" *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 35, No. 3-4, 1938, pp. 136-155. See p. 142, note 1, "... *-na* servant a composer des noms de lieu ...". It is to be noted that the final *-na* at Nuzu (in Hurrian) is sometimes the plural article. The Hurrian postposition of the article might well have influenced the same phenomenon in Aramaic.

-yn. There are two names *bin-a-qa-ya* and *a-gi-ia-na*, and it is apparent that the n-form is preferred in Ugaritic *bn-ag yn*. The same can be said of *ili-ya* and *ili-ia-nu* which is found in Ugaritic as *ilyn*. Also note *šu-ia* and *šu-ia-nu* which appear as *šyn*. The exception seems to be *pa-ri-ia*(?)-*na* which is found in Ugaritic as *pry*.

The most important name for this paper is *ša-du-ya* and *šadû-ia-nu* [1]). This name is represented in Ugaritic by *šdyn*. Even if the equation of *šadû* = שדי is refused because of the doubling in Hebrew of the ד, the phenomenon of the final n-form is equal. Thus *šdyn* would certainly correspond to שדין which would be the preferred form in Ugaritic.

Finally, it makes good sense to read this as Shaddai. In other words they should fear the sword and also the punishment of the sword as a result of rage. They should be mindful of these things in order that they might know the Almighty.

Enid, Okla LOREN R. FISHER

DEUX INSCRIPTIONS VOTIVES PUNIQUES INÉDITES

Dans cette note je publierai deux inscriptions votives puniques, qui se trouvent depuis quelques années dans des musées néerlandais [2]). Elles appartiennent au genre stéréotypé.

I. La première se trouve au *Schoolmuseum* à la Haye (Hemsterhuisstr. 2 e). Le matériel est du calcaire jaunâtre. Il a été acquis par M. G.-A.-L. BISSELING, conservateur de ce musée, aux environs de la vieille Carthage.

lrbt ltnt pn bʿl wlʾ
[d]n lbʿl ḥmn ʾš ndr ʿbdm
lqrt bn ʾdnbʿl.

(A la Dame à Tanit, la face de Baäl et au Seigneur, à Baäl Ḥammon ce que a voué Abdmelqart fils de Adonibaäl.)

Ce texte ne présente aucune particularité. Le dernier *lamed* se trouve assez loin du *ʿajin* précédent, probablement pour empêcher qu'il se confondrait avec le *nun* de *ndr* de la 2ème ligne.

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[1]) Note in *PRU* III, 15: 91 and 16: 359 A. This name is also found at Nuzu. Note *ša-du-ia* in *Nuzi Personal Names*, p. 126.

[2]) Je puis publiér ces textes grâce à la bienveillance des directeurs de ces musées. M. W. BAARS a appelé mon attention sur l'existence de la première inscription.

II. Le deuxième texte se trouve depuis 1955 au Musée des Antiquités à Leyde (G 1955/5.1). Il a été également acquis par M. BISSELING aux environs de Carthage. Le matériel est du calcaire grisâtre.

[lr]bt ltnt pn bʿl w
lʾdn lbʿl ḥmn ʾš n
[d]r mtn bn mspb.

(A la Dame à Tanit, la face de Baäl et au Seigneur, à Baäl Ḥammon, ce qui a voué Mattan fils de MSPB.)

Il diffère seulement par les noms du texte précédent. Le nom MSPB m'est inconnu (la lecture me paraît très probable), il est possible qu'il soit d'origine libyque.

Leiden J. HOFTIJZER

NOTES SUR UNE ÉPITAPHE EN ÉCRITURE NÉOPUNIQUE

Il y a quelques années M. J.-G. FÉVRIER a publié une épitaphe en écriture néopunique, en se basant sur une copie, qui a été trouvée dans la succession du regretté J.-B. CHABOT [1]). Qu'il me soit permis de faire quelques remarques sur les trois premières lignes. Je me suis basé sur une photo de la copie citée plus haut, que M. FÉVRIER a ajoutée à son article.

M. FÉVRIER a lu le début de l'inscription comme suit: (1) *tpš šʿdjt hk*(2)*nt ʿdrt mnʿbt š*(3)*ʿnt šbʿm wšbʿ* et il a proposée la traduction suivante: *sépulture de Adiyat, la prêtresse éminente, ayant crû (pendant) 77 ans.*

Considérons d'abord la lecture *mnʿbt* et l'interprétation donnée pour ce mot comme une forme du verbe *nwb* (croitre, pousser). D'après moi l'expression *ayant crû pendant 77 ans* est une façon peu habituelle d'indiquer l'âge de la défunte [2]). M. FÉVRIER lui-même

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[1]) J. G. FÉVRIER, „Epitaphe d'une prêtresse", *Semitica* v, pp. 63s. M. FÉVRIER déclare, qu'il ne connaît aucune publication antérieure du texte. Pour autant que je puisse en juger ce texte n'a jamais été publié en effet. M. FÉVRIER ne dit pas, si l'endroit où la pierre se trouve est connu.

[2]) La traduction de la racine *nwb* par *croitre* ne me paraît pas tout à fait adéquate. Je crois qu'il vaut mieux la traduire par *prospérer*. Elle est utilisée dans ce sens en parlant d'hommes dans Ps. xcii 15 et Zach. ix 17 (dans ce dernier texte Poʿlel avec signification causale). Dans Ps. lxii 11 on le dit d'un capital (qui évidemment augmente). D'après moi il faudrait traduire Prov. x 31 par: la bouche juste prospère par la sagesse, la langue qui dit des faussetés sera arrachée. Voir également KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, Leiden,

Texte I (Opname Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden)

Texte II (Opname Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden).

parle ici d'ailleurs *d'une façon détournée -et contournée- d'indiquer son âge.* Aussi il me semble qu'il est préférable de lire au lieu de *mnʿbt* les mots *mtʿ bt*: *elle est morte à l'âge de* .... [1]) Cette lecture me paraît très probable parceque souvent l'écriture néopunique ne fait guère de différence entre le *nun* et le *taw*.

La lecture *hkn̄t* me paraît d'ailleurs également sujette à un doute justifiable. M. Février lui-même a déjà fait remarquer, qu'il est incertain, qu'on puisse lire dans le dernier caractère de la ligne 1 un *kap*.

En regardant la copie on serait en effet tenté de penser ici plutôt à un *nun* ou à un *taw*. En outre le premier caractère de la deuxième ligne est d'après moi non pas un *nun* mais un *kap*. Aussi je préfère à la lecture de M. Février (*hkn̄t*) lire *hnkt*, un mot d'une signification inconnue que l'on rencontre assez souvent dans des épitaphes néopuniques. Au lieu de la lecture *ʿdrt*, qui maintenant n'a plus de sens, on pourrait accepter la lecture, d'ailleurs bien possible, *ʿbnt*, un mot qu'on trouve assez souvent dans des épitaphes à côté de *hnkt* [2]).

M. Février a proposé pour le premier mot de l'inscription la lecture *ṭpš* (<grec τάφος), mais à en juger sur la copie il me paraît improbable que le texte commencerait par un *ṭet*. Sous un certain réserve je voudrais proposer la lecture *nʾpš* (dans le sens de *monument funéraire*; hébreu *nèpèš*) [3]).

Quand ces remarques sont justes la lecture des trois premières lignes serait: *nʾpš šʿdjt hn*(2)*kt ʿbnt mtʿ bt š* (3)*ʿnt šbʿm wšbʿ* (= le monument funéraire d'Adiyat, *hnkt ʿbnt*, elle est morte à l'âge de 77 ans).

1953 s.v. Sous cet aspect les substantifs dérivés comme *nib* et *tenuba* (fruit, produit) deviennent compréhensibles comme des signes de prospérité. Voir aussi M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the midrashic Literature*, Vol. II, New York, 1950, s.v. *nwb* et *njb*. Il serait en outre impossible d'interpréter *mnʿbt* comme une forme du Piʿel, comme l'a fait M. Février. Dans une forme intensive on s'attendrait plutôt à un Poʿlel (voir J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, Roma, 1951, § 164); *mnʿbt* ne pourrait être d'après moi que la participe du Yiphʿil, mais celui-ci devrait avoir un sens causatif.

[1]) Voir pour des exemples du *ʿajin* comme indication de la désinence de la 3ème pers. du sing. du parfait, Friedrich, *o.c.*, § 131. Nous trouvons également un exemple dans notre texte: *knʿ* (ligne 4).

[2]) Voir pour les textes avec *hnkt* et *ʿbnt* p. 346.

[3]) Un mot d'emprunt grec ne serait point usuel dans un texte néopunique, on s'attendrait plutôt à trouver un mot d'emprunt latin. Pour *npš* dans le sens de monument funéraire, voir Jastrow, *o.c.*, s.v. et les différents endroits dans des textes nabatéens et palmyréniens (cf. p. ex. CIS ii 159[1], 169[3], 3905[1], 3908[1], RES 1093[1], etc.).

Je voudrais terminer ces notes par quelques remarques qui contribueront peut-être à une meilleure interprétation des mots toujours difficiles *hnkt ʿbnt*.

On trouve ces mots dans d'autres inscriptions néopuniques dans les formules suivantes: *hnkt ʿbnt tḥt ʾbn st qbrt* (NP 66 [4]), *hnkt ʿbnt tʿt hbnt st qbrt* (NP 67 [4s·]), *hnkt ṣwʾjt tḥt ʾbn z ʿbnt* (NP 68 [4s·]) et dans NP 69[2s·] que CHABOT lit comme suit: *hnkt qjbr tḥt ʾbn st ʿbnt*. Le mot *hnkt* figure aussi dans deux autres épitaphes néopuniques, dans les formules: *hnkt nʿbn* et *hnkt nʿbnʿ* [1]).

Or il est très probable que les formes *ʿbnt* et *nʿbn*(ʿ) sont dérivées de la même racine, à savoir *ʿbn*. Ceci implique évidemment que la forme *nʿbnʿ*, dont CHABOT a déjà dit à juste titre qu'il s'agit ici d'un parfait 3 p.s.f. [2]), est un Niphʿal. (Je discuterai plus bas la question si *nʿbn* est un Niphʿal parf. 3 p.s.m. ou f.) [3]).

En comparant la formule *hnkt nʿbn*(ʿ) avec les autres formules citées ci-dessus, nous pouvons maintenant tirer la conclusion suivante: les formes *ʿbnt* et *qbrt* ne peuvent être que des participes (f. s. abs.) du Qal; *qbrt* est, vu le contexte, un participe passif; je crois en me basant sur une comparaison de *ʿbnt* avec *nʿbnʿ* (Niphʿal !) [4]), qu'il en est de même pour *ʿbnt*. L'interprétation de la racine *ʿbn* reste un problème difficile. Une comparaison des textes NP 66 et 67 avec NP 68 (dans celui-ci nous lisons *ʿbnt* à l'endroit où nous trouvons *qbrt* dans les deux premières) nous fait croire que *ʿbn* signifie *enterrer*. Cependant

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[1]) NP 66 a été publié dans P. SCHROEDER, *Die phönizische Sprache*. . . ., Halle, 1869, p. 271; tous les autres textes ont été publiés par CHABOT. NP 67-69 dans *JA* XI/vii (1916), pp. 93-95. On trouve l'épitaphe où figure *hnkt nʿbnʿ* dans *JA* XI/vii, p. 444, celle où figure *hnkt nʿbn* au p. 445.

[2]) *JA* XI/vii, p. 444.

[3]) Voir p. 347 n. 2. M. FÉVRIER dans „Paralipomena Punica V. Une formule funéraire néopunique", *Cahiers de Byrsa* (= *CB*) viii p. 25-29 a interprété les formes *nʿbn*(ʿ) et *ʿbnt* par respectivement Niphʿal Parf. 3 p.s.f. et Ophʿal Parf 3 p.s.f. de la racine *bnj*: „construire". Cette interprétation de *ʿbnt* ne me semble pas tout à fait convaincante. Le parfait du causatif phén. / pun. commence ordinairement par un *j* et en punique parfois par ʾ, *ʾj* ou *h*. Il serait très extraordinaire quand dans tous les cinq cas, où nous trouvons *ʿbnt*, nous aurions affaire à un causatif commençant par ʿ. En outre nous rencontrerions dans tous ces cas une désinence très rare (selon M. FÉVRIER due à une erreur orthographique) du Parf. 3 p.s.f.

[4]) En comparant toutes les formules citées, on peut difficilement croire que *ʿbnt* est un Puʿal Pf. 2 p.s., comme M. Z.-S. HARRIS (*A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, New Haven, 1936, p. 73 le propose sous un certain réserve; cf. déjà SCHROEDER, *o.c.*, p. 204). M. FÉVRIER *CB* viii 29 traduit la formule *hnkt ʿbnt tḥt ʾbn st qbrt* comme suit *la* (ou *un*) *caveau a été construit sous cette stèle* (*comme*) *sépulture*. Pour l'interprétation de *ʿbnt*, cf. n. 3. L'interprétation de *qbrt* comme „(*comme*) *sépulture*" me semble moins probable du point de vue syntactique.

le fait que *ʿbnt* et *nʿbn*(ʿ) peuvent figurer dans les textes sans aucune indication de lieu (p.ex. *sous cette pierre*) le rend improbable, que cette racine signifie simplement *enterrer*. Il est peut-être possible, qu'elle indique une façon d'enterrer qui était peu commune et qui était donc digne à figurer sur la tombe. Ceci implique plus ou moins qu'il était impossible de reconnaître cette forme d'enterrement en voyant la sépulcre [1]).

Il est clair que ce problème ne peut être résolu par les seuls moyens philologiques, l'aide de l'archéologie sera indispensable.

Le mot *hnkt* nous confronte avec un autre grand problème. Quand on compare les formules *hnkt ʿbnt* et *hnkt nʿbn*(ʿ) il paraît très probable que nous avons affaire ici à un substantif (ou une forme substantivée), le *h* pourrait être dans ce cas l'article. Comme on dit de *hnkt*, qu'il est *enterré sous cette pierre* (NP 66, 67) le mot indique probablement la dépouille mortelle. L'étymologie nous semble peu claire. On pourrait penser à une dérivée de la racine *nkj* = frapper, mais ce n'est qu'une hypothèse [2]).

Toutefois il y a une autre donnée avec laquelle il faut tenir compte en interprétant le mot *hnkt*. Dans un fragment d'une épitaphe néo-punique publié par CHABOT nous trouvons, après l'indication de l'âge atteinte par le défunt, un mot obscur *ḥnʿkt* (ou *hn nʿkt* ??) qui figure ici tout à fait isolé ou lié avec les mots suivants *skr* (*šm*)' (??) *l*(ʾ)*lm* [3]). D'après CHABOT le mot est „évidemment" identique avec notre mot *hnkt*. Quand cette identification est juste (on ne saurait la réfuter par des arguments orthographiques) l'interprétation de

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[1]) HARRIS, *o.c.*, p. 73, a proposé de considérer *ʿbn* comme un verbe dénominatif de *ʾbn* (= pierre) avec la signification de *to enclose in stone* (cf. déjà SCHROEDER, *o.c.*, p. 203, n. 3). Cependant vu le fait que le verbe est sans exception écrit avec un *ʿajin*, il me semble qu'il vaut mieux considérer cette dérivation avec prudence. Au lieu du *ʾalef* originel au début d'un mot, on peut trouver dans ce genre de textes un *ʿajin* (voir pour des exemples Ch. F. JEAN-J. HOFTIJZER, *Dictionnaire des Inscriptions sémitiques de l'Ouest*, Leiden, 1960, s.v. *ʾbn* et *ʾdn*), mais le fait que ceci se présenterait sans exception, dans tous les sept cas, où nous trouvons le verbe, doit nous inviter à la prudence. La comparaison de *ʿbn* avec l'arabe خبن, cf. SCHROEDER, *o.c.*, p. 203, est très improbable.

[2]) Il est admissible que, vu que j'ai dit plus haut, *nkt* est un subst. f. Ceci le rend probable que la forme *nʿbn* (comme *nʿbnʿ*) est un parf. 3 p.s.f., dont la désinence n'a pas été indiquée dans l'orthographe. Voir pour des exemples dans des textes puniques, p. e, FRIEDRICH, *o.c.*, § 131, 141. Voir encore p 348 n. 2. M. FÉVRIER *CB* viii 28s. pense aussi à un substantif *nkt* précédé de l article. Son interprétation du mot par „*caveau*" (*nkt* < *bet nekot* = chambre du trésor) me semble improbable. Son autre proposition d'interprétation (*hnkt* = *ḥnkt* = salle enfouie, cachée > caveau) est à mon avis aussi improbable.

[3]) Ce fragment a été publié dans *JA* XI/x (1917), p. 30.

hnkt par *dépouille mortelle* ou quelque chose de pareil est devenue impossible. Dans ce cas il faudrait séparer dans les formules citées plus haut *hnkt* des mots suivants. Il y a toutefois une objection contre cette interprétation: les mots *ʿbnt tḥt ʾbn st qbrt* (NP 66) et les formules identiques dans NP 67-69 ne se rattacheraient plus à rien [2]). Aussi je suis d'avis que pour le moment on fera mieux de ne pas considérer *hnkt* comme identique avec *ḥnʿkt*.

Leiden J. HOFTIJZER

ʾIḏ, ḏū AND PSALM LXII 12

The acute suggestion of 'eine Ugaritisch-Altsüdarabische Isoglosse' in certain numeral-adverbial expressions made by R. BORGER (*U.T.* X [1960], 72) prompts questions regarding the relationship and development of certain particles common to various branches of Semitic.

Although BORGER does not give his interpretation of the context of the word *šlṯt'd* in *CIH* 366 there can be no doubt of the correctness of his interpretation of that word as 'dreimal', after Conti ROSSINI, *Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis Epigraphica* (1931), 249 ('ter'), following PRAETORIUS, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Himjarischen Inschriften* (1872), 25-6 and followed in part by S. SMITH in this journal (II [1952], 285), as against the *Corpus* ('tripartitum') and other interpreters—as will be manifest from a forthcoming study of the verb *hʿ* and related texts by my colleague M. A. GHUL.

It may, however, be asked whether the relationship of the 'isoglosses' is quite as simple and direct as BORGER suggests. In the absence of any better proposal his association of Sabean *ʾd* with Arabic *ʾiḏ* as used in such expressions as *yaumaʾiḏīn* and *laylataʾīḏīn* may be provisionally accepted, though it must be observed that *yaum*^{un} and *laylat*^{un} are not numerals and that the force of *-ʾiḏ* is not numerative

[2]) Quand on croit que la lecture *ʿbnt* dans NP 69 est juste, ceci aussi ne plaiderait pas pour une identification de *hnkt* avec *ḥnʿkt*, parcequ'un participe au féminin serait hors de propos dans ce texte (il s'agit d'une tombe d'un homme). La lecture du *taw* reste malheureusement incertaine, on pourrait penser à un *waw*. La lecture du mot difficilement déchiffrable, pour laquelle CHABOT proposait *qibr*, ne nous avance pas non plus. La seule des autres épitaphes citées plus haut, qui est consacrée à un homme ne peut nous aider non plus à refuter cette identification, parce que la forme *nʿbn*, que nous trouvons ici peut être théoriquement aussi bien au féminin qu'au masculin.

but deictic, as may be seen from a comparison of *ḫīna'iḏin* and *ḫīna-ḏāka*. Incidentally it would seem that there is no connection between *'iḏ* and the verb *'aḏḏa* 'slice, cut', and the 'obsolete noun *'iḏ*un "time" ' (WRIGHT, *Arabic Grammar* I [3 1896], 292 A; cf. also S. SMITH, *loc. cit.*) is probably a ghost-word conjured up by Arab grammarians and lexicographers to account for the variety of interjections, adverbs and conjunctions which evolved from the deictic element (*'i*)*ḏ*(*ā*).

The Ugaritic forms *tltid* (G. D. YOUNG, *Concordance of Ugaritic* [1956], *sub* nr. 2036), *šbʿid*, *šbʿd* and *šbʿdm* (*ibid.*, *sub nr.* 1804), in contrast to the Sabean *šlṯt'ḏ*, lack the element *ṯ*, but this feature is without further significance, since Ugaritic cardinals without -*ṯ* may be used with either gender (C. H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Manual* [1955], § 7.5). It is more important to observe that the forms with and without the -*i*- occur with equal frequency and that in 89, 8-9 *šb d* / *w. šb id* must be translated with H. L. GINSBERG (*BASOR* 72 [December 1938], 19) 'seven times one way and seven times the other way'. It may accordingly be asked whether the termination -*ḏ*, if not also -*iḏ*, should not be treated as the immediate congener, not of Arabic *'iḏ*, but of Arabic *ḏū*, Hebrew זה and זו and Phoenician ז in their relatival uses. These uses are discussed by J. FRIEDRICH in *Mélanges Dussaud* (1939), 39-47; reference may also be made to Phoenician and Hebrew אז when used with relatival force, and these latter forms would provide a formal analogue to Ugaritic *id*. The word to be supplied after Ugaritic *d* and *id*, however, is not a verb but a noun (cf. GORDON, *op. cit.*, § 13.96), and that noun is almost certainly *pām* (*Glossary*, no. 1507) 'time', so that the complete expression may be restored as *ṯalāṯata* (*i*)*ḏā pa'amīma* 'three (in respect) of times'. With the apparently pleonastic (*i*)*ḏā* we may compare the alternate insertion and omission of *ḏ* in epigraphic South Arabian after *wrḫ* and before the month-name (A. F. L. BEESTON, *Epigraphic South Arabian Calendars and Dating* [1956], 12-14), the second element in the Arabic preposition *munḏu* (C. RABIN, *Ancient West Arabian* [1951], 189) and the occasional pleonastic employment of *ḏū* in Arabic.

While it would be highly speculative to associate the Sabean *šlṯt'd* directly with such an idiom in the absence of any similar use of *'d* in ESA (cf. the Tigriña evidence adduced by PRAETORIUS, *loc. cit.* and *CIH* 547, l. 4 with M. HÖFNER, *Altsüdarabische Grammatik* [1943], § 128) and while the foregoing suggestion cannot claim complete cogency it derives persuasive support from the evidence of Biblical Hebrew. In the first place the usual word for '(x) times' in Classical and later

Hebrew is פעמים and the word אחת can stand alone in the sense of פעם אחת 'once, on one occasion'. Secondly the relative-demonstrative word זה is used in the Bible over a score of times before numerals as well as to introduce various temporal expressions. This type of expression would appear to be an inversion of the form posited for Ugaritic, i.e. 'times (composed) of *x*' for '*x* of times', and expressions such as זה שלש רגלים and זה כמה שנים suggest that there was a greater flexibility of construction than in the other dialects of Canaanite. And lastly there is one example of the Ugaritic form of idiom in the Hebrew Bible, viz. Psalm lxii 12a, —

אחת דבר אלהים שתים־זו שמעתי

אחת here stands for 'once' and is correctly rendered by the LXX (ἅπαξ) and the Vulgate (*semel*). The latter part of the passage, however, has been misunderstood by many translators and commentators both ancient and modern. The structure of the passage is of the *x*, *x* + *l* pattern (GORDON, *op. cit.*, §§ 7.7, 17.3) in which the *x* + *l* element must be of the same order or category as the *x*. It follows then that if אחת is 'once' שתים־זו is 'twice' just as in the corresponding Ugaritic phrase; and there is a close parallel, but without the—possible puzzling and at all events archaic—זו in Job xl 4. Psalm lxii 12a is explained in this way by Qimḥi; the Authorised Version translates correctly,—'God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this', and the exegetical implications are succinctly stated by ROSENMÜLLER, *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum* III ii (1804), 2018 *ad loc.* Thus the Hebrew Bible affords an exact parallel to at least some of the Ugaritic examples of numeral-adverbial expressions.

St. Andrews A. M. HONEYMAN

JOB III 8

Verses 3 to 9 in chapter iii of Job are concerned with the day of Job's birth and the night during which he was conceived. Job curses the day he was born and the night a male child was conceived. The text is on the whole in good condition—save, perhaps, for some slight changes in the sequence of one or two verses. Darkness, gloom, and blackness are invoked against that fateful day, but the details of the curse on the night, apart from the wish of barrenness, are not quite clear. It has, of course, long been recognized that v. 6 obviously

refers to the day, for there is scarely need to summon darkness upon the night. The first two words of this verse were clearly transposed from v. 7 where they appear in their proper place.

The general interpretation of v. 8 is "let them curse it (i.e. the night) that curse the day who are ready to raise up Leviathan". I have not, however, seen it pointed out that instead of this improbable invocation we find in this verse the corollary to the darkness of the day, i.e. the expunction of the night of conception by the rays of light. Day is cursed by darkness and night by light. I derive יקבהו not from קבב 'to curse' but from נקב 'to pierce' and in אררי (plur. constr. of אור) I see a nominal pattern comparable to הררו-הר. It seems to me, therefore, that the natural rendering of this verse, required alike by context and language, is: "Let the light-rays of day pierce it (i.e. the night) apt even to rouse Leviathan".

Manchester EDWARD ULLENDORFF

REVIEWS

A milestone in Palestinian Archaeology.

The year 1960, it can be safely stated, has brought a major achievement in Palestinian archaeology. For the first time two studies have been published that are in complete accord with the standards of modern archaeological research. One is a shorter survey of the results of many former Palestinian excavations, corrected and emended by means of applying general methods of prehistoric research to the published material; the other is the first of a series of reports of a great excavation, Jericho, both works by the same author, Miss K. M. KENYON. In her work *Archaeology of the Holy Land* (London 1960) Miss KENYON has made an attempt to sort out what can be considered reliable evidence from excavations, and her study of Palestinian archaeology shows clearly what in fact has been achieved and what the Old Testament scholar can rely on while studying his texts. What are pure facts are clearly separated from suppositions, eroneous explanations and sometimes pure fiction. This has caused the loss of much glory—e.g. the 'Solomonic' stables at Megiddo—which however is greatly compensated for by the gain of certainty about what is reliable information and what is not. This study is not only important for the period which is covered by the Old Testament, but also for the clear picture of the cultural periods preceding the coming of the Israelites. And although the student of ancient religions and texts may sometimes feel that an archaeologist is not necessarily an authority in these branches of studies related to the Old Testament, the appearance of this purely archaeological study is of outstanding importance for Old Testament scholars.

Miss KENYON's second publication: *Jericho*, Vol. I *The Tombs* (London 1960), may seem only relatively connected with Biblical studies, yet from an archaeological point of view it is even more important, since with the recent Jericho excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem 'east and west' have finally met completely, in so far as the method employed can be readily accepted by the archaeologists of Red Indians, pre-Roman Britons or the Band-Ceramic culture of Limburg, which cannot be said of any of the major Palestinian excavations of the past. Therefore it is not only the amazing finds of neolithic Jericho, nor the working out of four groups of 'Amorites' or similar achievements which will make the Jericho excavations famous, but also the modern execution which alone made these results possible. Naturally this does not mean that all the results are final, and that no detailed criticism on various items should be made. However the discussion which has hitherto partly been centred around the question which has hitherto partly been centred around the question whether the so-called *Wheeler-Kenyon method* is better than others in Palestine is like using a battering ram against an open gate. Miss

KENYON did not invent but introduced into Palestine at the excavations at Samaria-Sebaste a standard of digging which (it must be stated) was already the accepted A B C of all prehistoric research, and real discussion of her results only becomes possible and useful when this A B C is considered not as a basic dogma but as a logical method of the discipline.

It is well worth stating here that a close co-operation of the professional archaeologist and the Old Testament scholar will be needed to avoid the danger that threatens so much modern science, namely, that after a while they will grow apart with a complete lack of understanding of what the other is doing. Careful reading of Miss KENYON's survey of the Palestinian archaeology already reveals this danger, whereas on the other hand many studies of Biblical literature appear where valuable archaeological evidence is neglected or misunderstood. Pure material archaeological evidence needs interpretation, and satisfactory results cannot be obtained without close co-operation between archaeologists and Biblical scholars. Thus the date of the fall of Late Bronze Age Jericho according to the discoveries of the last expedition (KENYON, *Archaeology of the Holy Land* pp. 209-212) and Miss KENYON's evaluation of the relevant biblical evidence should not escape discussion by Biblical scholars.

Recently Miss KENYON has announced her scheme for a joint expedition of the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem, the American Schools of Oriental Research and the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique de St. Étienne to excavate in the Old City of Jerusalem, which is to begin work in 1961. It seems highly satisfactory that international co-operation on such a large scale can be established and that this search for the city of King David and the earlier history of the site will be of the highest scientific quality.

Leiden H. J. FRANKEN

Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, vol. IV and V, 1960.

It is a great pleasure to have this new Annual to review after an unavoidable gap in publication since 1956. It is the first volume to appear since Mr. Lankaster HARDING ceased to be director of Antiquities in Jordan, and it is much to the credit of Dr Awni DAJANI, director since 1959, that such an excellent volume of studies has come out, containing as it does articles ranging from neolithic settlements in the Jordan valley to a translation of the Qumran Copper Scroll. If the scope of the articles be wide, so is that of the contributors. This Annual faithfully reflects the variety of scholars now working on archaeological studies in Jordan, and the Direktor may congratulate himself on inducing such veteran 'Jordanians' as Père DE VAUX, Miss Diana KIRKBRIDE and Mr. Peter PARR to publish in this Annual rather than in foreign journals.

Dr. DAJANI himself has published here a very useful study of MB II pottery and it is to be hoped that his departmental duties will not keep him from producing another article in due course about the imported wares of this period, as he promises on p. 111. His collegue, Farah S. MA'AYAH

describes briefly the recent archaeological discoveries in Jordan, and these interesting notes fully deserve to be enlarged into full publications, concerning as they do many important finds from the, archaeologically, comparatively unknown East Bank. ie. the MB tombs from Amman, the MB glacis at Sweileh, the painted tomb at Jerash (a photo of this occurs in *Revue Biblique*, Avril 1960, Pl. XI) and the Quailba finds, particularly the wide range of pottery. There is no space to mention all the articles and it must suffice to say that there are contributions on Jerash and Petra (KIRKBRIDE) Petra and Khirbet Iskander (PARR) 'Ain Feshkah (DE VAUX) and soundings in the Jordan valley (DE CONTENSON).

The quality of the photo reproductions, while generally fair, varies considerably. It is quite a tour de force that the Greek Convent Press in Jerusalem have been able to handle this production at all, but, as Father MILIK notes in his translation of the Copper Scroll, they lack the diacritical signs and so the Latin transcription of Semitic words could only be approximate. While whole heartedly applauding the decision to print in Jordan might it not be more satisfactory in future publications to change to one of the larger presses in Beirut? The proof readers have done a very thorough job and the text is practically word perfect.

One more suggestion for what the reviewer hopes will be a long, learned and happy life for this journal is that the editor would print its price in dinars, pounds and dollars, as well as an address from where copies can be obtained by foreign readers. The Arab summary of the English text not only adds considerably to the appearance of this Annual but ought to stimulate Arab readers both within and outside Jordan to a greater interest in their richly abundant historical inheritance.

Leiden H. J. FRANKEN

Charles-F. JEAN — Jacob HOFTIJZER, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest*, Livraisons I et II, כתב־א, XV + 128 S. klein 4°; Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1960. — 36 Gulden.

Die Epigraphik der alten westsemitischen Sprachen hat seit ihrer zusammenfassenden Behandlung durch LIDZBARSKI im Jahre 1898 so bedeutende Fortschritte gemacht, dass eine neue Zusammenfassung dringend erwünscht scheint, zumal für den Forscher, der nicht als engerer Fachmann mitten in der Fülle des weitverzweigten Stoffes steht. Die wichtigsten westsemitischen Inschriften selbst werden demnächst durch zwei deutsche Forscher in einer kommentierten Neuausgabe vorgelegt werden. In dem hier angezeigten, im Erscheinen begriffenen, Werke aber wird der W o r t s c h a t z der alten kanaanäischen und aramäischen Inschriften übersichtlich dargeboten. Auch der Alttestamentler kann ja an den westsemitischen Denkmälern und ihrem Wortschatz nicht achtlos vorbeigehen, denn gelegentlich fällt von dort auch Licht auf Unklarheiten des hebräischen Lexikons. Es sei nur an das durch ugaritisch *tt'* „fürchten" sowie durch die altphönizische Inschrift vom Karatepe (untere Torinschrift II 4) klar ge-

wordene שתע „fürchten" Jes. xli 10 und an das durch eine punisch-lateinische Bilinguis [1]) gesicherte מחז — forum = מָחוֹז „Markt" Ps. cvii 30 erinnert.

Die Notwendigkeit eines Wörterbuches der alten westsemitischen Inschriften hatte schon JEAN erkannt und zwei Lieferungen davon vor einigen Jahren im Verlage von Brill veröffentlicht. Sein plötzlicher Tod stellte das Weitererscheinen zunächst in Frage, bis es dem Verlage gelang, in J. HOFTIJZER einen neuen Bearbeiter zu finden, der nicht einfach JEANS Arbeit fortsetzte, sondern den schwierigen Stoff von Grund aus neu ordnete und die Veröffentlichung nochmals von vorn begann. Die vorliegenden zwei ersten neuen Lieferungen ersetzen zunächst einmal die von JEAN hinterlassenen zwei alten Lieferungen; die folgenden Lieferungen sollen möglichst bald das Werk vervollständigen.

Mit dem neuen Bearbeiter hat der Verlag eine glückliche Wahl getroffen, die neuen Lieferungen machen in jeder Beziehung einen besseren Eindruck als die alten von JEAN. Um den Stoff übersichtlicher zu gestalten, ist zunächst das von JEAN mit berücksichtigte ugaritische Sprachmaterial beiseite gelassen worden, da es eine Gruppe für sich bildet und bereits anderswo vollständig gesammelt ist. HOFTIJZER hat sich auf die kanaanäischen und aramäischen Inschriften und Papyri beschränkt. Dass er auch die Eigennamen beiseite gelassen hat, wird man trotz eines leichten Bedauerns doch vielleicht im Interesse der Übersichtlichkeit gut heissen; diese müssten in einem oder mehreren Namenbüchern gesondert gesammelt werden.

Der Übersichtlichkeit dient auch die neue Anordnung des reichen Sprachmaterials, eine gar nicht einfache, aber vom Verfasser sehr geschickt gelöste Aufgabe. Das Material jedes Stichwortes wird in zwei Teile geteilt, einerseits eine Aufzählung aller belegten Flexionsformen mit vollständigen Belegen, andererseits eine Zusammenstellung der Bedeutungen [2]) mit Belegen in übersetzten Satzgefügen. Wo in Lesung, Formendeutung oder Übersetzung des Satzzusammenhangs die einzelnen Forscher verschiedener Meinung sind, ist die wesentliche Literatur in aller Kürze notiert. Um zusammengehörige Wörter der verschiedenen Dialekte nicht auseinander zureissen und womöglich mehrfach zu behandeln, sind dort, wo kanaanäische und aramäische Formen desselben Wortes existieren, die aramäischen Formen mit unter den kanaanäischen notiert (bei der stark kanaanaisierenden Schreibung der altaramäischen Denkmäler ist das nicht zu schwer) und durch Verweise das Auffinden erleichtert; so stehen aramäisch אחד „ergreifen", דהב „Gold" usw. mit unter kanaanäisch אחז und זהב, und unter אחד und דהב ist ein Verweis gegeben. Bei den Belegen der Flexionsformen sind die einzelnen Untergruppen der Dialekte säuberlich auseinandergehalten als Phönizisch, Punisch, Moabitisch, Hebräisch, Jaudisch [3]), Altaramäisch, Reichsaramäisch, Nabatäisch, Palmyrenisch und Jüdisch-

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[1]) G. LEVI DELLA VIDA *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie VIII, Vol. IV (1949) S. 400-404 (Nr. 1 = Trip. 31).

[2]) Hier hätte man sich vielleicht gewünscht, dass die Bedeutungen durch den Druck besser abgehoben wären.

[3]) Die gesonderte Anordnung dieses Dialekts freut den Rezensenten besonders.

Aramäisch. Diese sehr geschickte, übersichtlich knappe und doch vollständige, Anordnung des weit verzweigten und schwer zu gruppierenden Stoffes ist ein besonderer Vorzug der neuen Ausgabe, dem Verfasser gebührt dafür unser herzlichster Dank.

Kritik an Einzelheiten scheint bei einem so weitschichtigen, aus heterogenem Material zusammengetragenen Werke nicht am Platze. Übrigens bemüht sich der Verfasser um eine möglichst unparteiische Stellungnahme und begnügt sich in strittigen Fällen mit einer Nebeneinanderstellung der verschiedenen Auffassungen. Gewiss kann man über manches verschiedener Meinung sein, z.B. über die Einordnung der verschieden gedeuteten (und gelesenen) Zeichengruppe אדלן in Z. 4 der phönizischen Tabnit-Inschrift unter דל III. Die Ableitung von ברזל „Eisen" aus dem Hethitischen [1]) ist unbedingt irrig, und die alte und vom Verfasser übernommene Gleichsetzung von punisch אטומטא (Beiwort eines Kalbes im Opfertarif) mit griech. αὐτόματος scheint dem Rezensenten schwerlich richtig [2]). Aber solche Kleinigkeiten fallen gegenüber der Fülle guter und richtiger Beobachtungen gar nicht ins Gewicht. Im Ganzen sind diese beiden ersten Lieferungen so vorzüglich und lobenswert, dass man den Fortsetzungen mit Zuversicht entgegensehen kann.

Berlin — Johannes Friedrich

Hans Walter Huppenbauer, *Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten. Der Dualismus der Texte von Qumran (Höhle I) und der Damaskusfragmente. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Evangeliums.* Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 34. Zürich, Zwingli Verlag, 1959. 132 pp. Price DM 19.—.

The dualistic thought of the Sect of Qumran has been early recognized as the most peculiar trait of its theology. The book before us is a presentation of the problem (p. 13) "with a view to its importance for NT studies" (p. 7), although the author does not follow this line into the early Christian writings. In the first five chapters he gives an exposition of the dualism in each of the five larger documents. A further chapter is devoted to the

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[5]) Wohl aus Koehler-Baumgartners *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* übernommen; in dessen *Supplementum* S. 142 übrigens richtig gestellt. Inzwischen ist im Hethitischen für „Eisen" ein ganz anderes (auch churritisches) Wort *ḫapalki-* festgestellt worden.

[5]) Ganz abwegig ist Dussauds Deutungsversuch des Wortes aus dem Semitischen (*Origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite*, Paris 1921, S. 320). Die punische Endung ־א (gesprochen *-e*) ist nur fur die maskulinische Endung *-us* lateinischer (nicht griechischer) Männernamen belegt (vgl. Rez. *ZDMG* cvii, 1957, S. 292-294), auch scheint die Annahme bedenklich, dass griech. αὐ- punisch nur durch א־ bezeichnet worden sei. Die punische Schreibung stimmt auch nicht zu griech. ἄτμητος „nicht kastriert", und ein griech. *ἀτόμητος, dessen Stamm am ehesten zu der punischen Schreibung passen könnte, scheint nicht belegt zu sein. Der Rezensent kann zur Deutung des schwierigen Wortes leider nichts beitragen.

longer fragments, whilst the last contains the summary of these studies. In the first chapter on the Manual of Discipline and related fragments (S, Sa, Sb), by far the longest, he surveys the various well-known opposites truth (righteousness)—perversion and light—darkness, which are the basic elements of the teaching in the catechism (S III, 13-IV, 26).

Whether it is possible to speak of a dualism God — Man (pp. 40 f., 67 ff.) may be questioned. The author introduces here a special type of dualism which he calls "metaphysical dualism" (pp. 10, 68, 104). Naturally there is a difference between God and Man, but the descriptive appositions ("weak" Man — "holy" God) are sufficient to show that Man and God are no genuine opposites which are hostile to each other and can never be united, such as light and darkness or righteousness and perversion (cf. here the clear definition of Paul in 2 Cor vi 14. See also the author's own remark in note 447). God has a definite purpose with Man (s. pp. 68 f., 102 below): Man can and must be raised from his inferior state and can attain to celestial glory in a life to come. This, however, is possible only if he belongs to those who are chosen and called (p. 107). The fight of God against his enemies in the end of the days (p. 72 f.) is, therefore, not the fight against "weak" Man, but the judgement God passes on "all Belial" (H III, 27 f.). Although this eschatological fight will be fought by "the heros of heaven" (III, 35 f.), we also know from the War-Scroll that this army will include the chosen from Israel. "Flesh", therefore, denotes sometimes not "weak" Man, but the nations over which Israel will rule one day (p. 87). The decisive line of division must be drawn between light (truth, righteousness) and darkness (perversion), and as Man can belong to either of the two camps the dividing line goes actually right through mankind (s.a. the author's own note 455). This division has its origin already in the act of creation (cf. H I, 7-9; IV, 38 f.; XV, 12-17; also S III, 18 ff.; IV, 16 ff.; Dam II, 7, 13, 15) or even (according to H XV, 14) in God's mind b e f o r e the creation. It is the *praedestinatio duplex* of Man which is the basic problem of the dualism of Qumran especially with regard to the human side. The author mentions it twice expressly (note 438 and pp. 111 f.) and alludes to it briefly when speaking of God's providence (pp. 60 f.; 64, 67, 74, 88, 95, 99), but does not, unfortunately, investigate into it. On one occassion he maintains that evil cannot come directly from God (p. 97), on another he admits that God is the creator of everything including the principle of evil, which is permitted to work among men for an appointed time (cf. pp. 95, 98, 99).

The author is surprised at finding that "just where the thought of the Sect culminates in an extreme monotheism, it becomes dualistic" (pp. 97 f.) or that the Sectarian dualism is "immer wieder durchbrochen" (p. 111). Following Nötscher very closely he concludes (p. 112), that the dualism of the Sect is not an absolute but a "relative dualism" "always with ethics as the main concern". Nötscher's formula was: "it is a relative, ethical dualism whose beginning and end are dependent on God" (*Terminologie*, p. 83, not fully quoted by Huppenbauer). So our author's findings do not go beyond Nötscher's statement. Two pages later the author says in his final remarks: "It is evident that the dualistic elements in the faith of the

Sect stand in the service of other theological tenets"—but these are rather his personal reflexions, not necessarily those of the Sect.

The dualism of the Sect is certainly a vexed problem which cannot be easily divorced from the question of its origin. Our author decided to leave this question alone (p. 13). K. G. Kuhn and Dupont-Sommer tried to trace the Qumran dualism back to the dualism of the Iranian religion, whilst K. Schubert prefers Stoicism as its source. Others, like G. Molin and to some extent H. Wildberger, have drawn our attention to certain statements in the OT on God as the God of light, older beliefs which may underlie the Qumran dualism, but suppose that the Biblical ideas have been influenced by Iranian conceptions. Huppenbauer seems to favour this latter view (s. his note 20) but makes no attempt to solve the riddle.

It is not very likely that a Jewish sect for which the Scriptures mean everything should go and borrow fundamental ideas directly from pagan religions or philosophies instead of accepting the Biblical traditions about the God of Israel. Yet the similarity with Iranian conceptions cannot be denied. Setting out from these two observations we have only one possible solution, and the key to it is Is. xlv 7 ff. This important passage has already been overlooked by S. Aalen in his monumental study. Huppenbauer quotes it (p. 97, not registered in his index), but only in order to deny the acceptability of its teaching! The passage follows immediately after the introduction of Cyrus as the Shepherd and Annointed One of God (Is. xliv 25-xlv 6), who, using him as his tool (xliv 28, xlv 13), will bring the false religion of the Babylonians to nought (xliv 25, xlv 16, 20). Cyrus was the representative of a new and distinctly different religion of light defeating darkness. But if Cyrus is the tool in the hand of God who has made everything (xliv 24, xlv 12; etc.) and who is the sole God over all the nations from the East to the West (xlv 5 f., 20-24), then God must also be the creator and lord of the two forces light and darkness (xlv 7). That these two opposites represent not only physical elements but stand as symbols for principles is evident from the parallel line: "who makes peace and creates evil". The Hebrew root *šlm* also implies "completeness" and "perfectness". Some translators have rendered *šalom* here, not unduly, by "welfare" and "salvation" (adopted also by Huppenbauer: "*Heil*"), and we can indeed place it, as the Second Isaiah does (verse 8), beside the other blessings of God, *ṣedeq* and *ješa'*. Two things must not be forgotten: (1) that the God of Israel and fire have very early been correlated and that fire gives light (Ex xiii 21) just as light can become fire (Is x 17); (2) that light and darkness are natural symbols for good and evil and were as such in use evidently before any Iranian influence can be ascertained (Is. v 20; Amos v 18, 20). The equalization of light and darkness with good and bad, true and false religion cannot, however, be assigned with certainty to the time before the rise of the Iranians (Is. xlii 16 f.; their identification with wisdom and foolishness is even later, Eccl. ii 13 f.).

It was no difficult step for the Second Isaiah to accept the Iranian dualism as form and symbol and to integrate it into his own religion. Light, that goes without saying, could only be with the true God, beside whom there was no one else (xlv 5 a, 6 b; etc.). Man, his creation, could not resist him

or call him to account (9 and 10). The God of Israel knows alone what is going to be and he alone must be asked about it (11), for he is the "hidden hand" (15) behind everything. The prophetic speaker saluted Cyrus as the Chosen One of God trusting that the conqueror would understand his calling and recognize and acknowledge the power of the God of Israel, the dispenser of "the treasures of darkness" (Babylonia; cf. xlii 16 f.), whom he had not known before as the true God of the universe (xlv 2-5 and 6). The Second Isaiah professes absolute monotheism but makes use—and one must say, ingeniously—of a form derived from the dualistic Iranian system without, however, taking over its actual contents. In the simple formula of verse 7 the Iranian religion—in whatever variety it may have presented itself to the Second Isaiah—appears completely transformed, digested and merged in the strictly monotheistic faith of Israel.

It is possible that the Sect when they conceived the dualistic view of men and their respective spirits went directly back to the basic dictum Is. xlv 7. But it is also possible that the dualistic tradition coming from the Second Isaiah saw its revival already before the Sect developped its theology. Traces of such a revival can be seen in the book of Daniel which, in its first part (chs. i-vi), also deals with the oncoming downfall of Babylon (!). It shows the God of Heaven (Daniel's God) as the highest God (ii 37 f., 47, iii 28, iv 31 f. with a literal quotation from Is. xlv 9), who must be asked (Dan ii 22 a, cf. Is xlv 15; Dan ii 28 a, 29); for he knows what is in the darkness and the light dwells with him (22 b). This last sentence refers in the first place to God's revealing power, but being at the same time the concluding statement it presupposes a general reflexion on the God in whose power are both, light and darkness. Even the missionary element from Is. xlv 4-6, 20, 22 is not missing, only that in the visionary book of Daniel the mission is immediately successfull (ii 47, iii 28 f., 33, iv 22 b-23, 31 f., 34, vi 26 f.; cf. also the so-called Prayer of Nabonid from Cave IV). From more recent finds in Qumran we know that the book of Daniel was in favour with the Sect and that other pseudo-Danielic literature was in existence.

The dependence of the teaching of Qumran on Is. xlv is hardly to be doubted, all the more so as the dualism of Is. xlv 7 must be described with the same words as the Qumranian dualism: it is "relative" dualism.

Jerusalem/Israel Hans Kosmala

BOOK LIST [1])

Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls. In memory of E. L. SUKENIK. Ed. by C. RABIN and Y. YADIN, assisted by J. LICHT. Jerusalèm, Isr. 1961. 239 pp. Hebrew text. Contributions by M. H. SEGAL, S. TALMON, N. AVIGAD, Y. YADIN, reprints from *Scripta Hierosolymitana* IV, 1958; and contributions by J. M. GRINTZ (time and authors of QM); C. RABIN (literary structure of QM); J. LICHT (eschatology); D. S. LOEWINGER (dialect in 1 QIs[a]); J. FINKEL, (Gen. Apocryphon and Esther); H. KOSMALA (Damascus Doc. VII 9-21) and D. FLUSSER, (Baptism of John and DS sect).

Le Jugement des Morts, Egypte, Assour, Babylone, Israél, Iran, Islam, Inde, Chine, Japon. Ed. Seul, Paris 1961, 285 pp. et index, par J. YOYOTTE, J. M. AYNARD, H. CAZELLES, M. MOLÉ, D. SOURDEL, J. VARENNE, N. VANDIER-NICOLAS, R. SIEFFERT.

Abr-Nahrain. An Annual under the auspices of the Department of Semitic Studies University of Melbourne, ed. by J. BOWMAN. Vol. I 1959-1960. 79 pp. Brill, Leiden 1961. Introduction (editor); contributions by A. GUILLAUME, Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography; W. CULICAN; F. I. ANDERSEN; M. WILCOX (Peshitta Origins); M. J. L. YOUNG; J. BOWMAN (Samaritan Ms in Leningrad).

Studies on the Books of Samuel. Papers read at 3rd meeting of Die O.T. Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika, Pretoria 1960 (P.O.B. 392). Price 10/—.80 pp. Contributions by I. H. EYBERS (Samueltexts from Qumran Cave 4); F. C. FENSHAM (Legal practices); C. J. LABUSCHAGNE (2 Sam. vii); E. S. MULDER (2 Sam. vii); L. M. MUNTINGH (Cherethites and Pelethites); J. P. OBERHOLZER (ʿibrim 1S.); A. VAN SELMS (The armed Forces) and A. H. VAN ZYL (Israel and the Indigenous Population).

G. AUZOU, *De la Servitude au Service*. Étude du livre de l'Exode. Coll. Connaissance de la Bible 3. Orante, Paris. 411 pp. avec indices.
Étude documentée des textes, faits, et institutions.

J. BARR, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*. 313 pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford Un. Press 1961. Price in U.K. 37/6 net. A study on Hebrew and Greek roots and ideas with discussion of recent theories, in particular those of *Kittel*'s *Theol. Wörterbuch z. N.T.*

J. DE FRAINE, *Esdras en Nehemias*. Roermond en Maaseik 1961. 142 pp. Translation and short commentary. Series: De boeken van het Oude Testament, Deel V, Boek II.

S. H. HOOKE, *Alpha and Omega*, a study in the pattern of revelation. xiv + 304 pp. Nisbet, Digswell Place, Welwyn, U.K. 21s.net. Series: Library of Constructive Theology

E. JACOB, *Ras Shamra-Ugarit et l'ancien Testament*. 132 pp. et 11 figures. Delachaux et Niestlé, Neuchâtel 1960. Cahiers d'Archéologie Biblique No. 12.
Excellante introduction aux fouilles d'Ugarit, à la cité et aux textes qui y ont été trouvés, aux rapports entre ces textes et l'ancien Testament.

O. KAISER, *Der Prophet Jesaja, Kap.* 1-12. Das A. T. Deutsch 17. Göttingen 1960 xv + 126 S.

J. J. PETUCHOWSKI, *Ever since Sinai*. A modern view of Torah. Scribe Publ., New York 1961. Price $ 2.95 vii + 132 pp.

G. POSENER, *De la divinité du Pharao*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale 1960 xv + 107 pp. Cahiers de la société asiatique.

F. ROSENTHAL, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*. Wiesbaden 1961. Porta Linguarum Orientalium. x + 99 S. DM 15,—

M. J. STÈVE, *Sur les chemins de la Bible*, Paris, Arthand 1961. 237 pp., 132 héliogravures.

[1]) The mention of books in this list neither implies nor precludes subsequent review at length.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT DEIR 'ALLĀ IN JORDAN

2nd season

BY

H. J. FRANKEN

Leiden

Work at Deir 'Allā was continued this year from January 2 until March 30. The director of these Dutch excavations was again the author, and the team consisted of fourteen members, including a representative of the Oudheidkundig Museum te Leiden, personnel from the Instituut voor pre- en protohistorie at Amsterdam, and a professional technical staff. Miss D. Kirkbride again continued the search for tombs and we welcomed two Americans, Prof. A. van Saur and Prof. P. Lapp who replaced the site supervisor who through illness had to return to Amsterdam. Another most welcome visitor in camp was W. N. G. van der Sleen, who came to study the beads.

The Department of Antiquities was again most helpful and cooperative. Their representative on the team was a young graduate in Islamic Art, Mr. Adil Ajash. Mr. Y. Sa'ad, Curator of the Palestine Museum, and the Arab legion (through the kindness of Brig. Street) saved us untold discomfort by lending us tents. The American School of Oriental Research also kindly lent us a large marquee.

As our first aim is to study the stratigraphy and the relative chronology of the site (see *V.T.* Vol. X, no. 4, p. 386) our season proved highly satisfactory. Material evidence for both aspects was excavated in great quantities. Cf. Fig. 1 and note on p. 363. The number of archaeological problems that crop up during the excavations increases steadily, besides which there are a number of historical problems, some of which are mentioned below.

One important aim of our work this season was pushing on down with the excavation of trench D. We were, as we expected last year, very close to Late Bronze Age levels, so the bulk of our finds this year date from that area.

Last season we stopped work in trench D at a level in which a large flattened stone was to be seen, and which we supposed to be connected with the smelting furnaces of the early Iron Age, perhaps

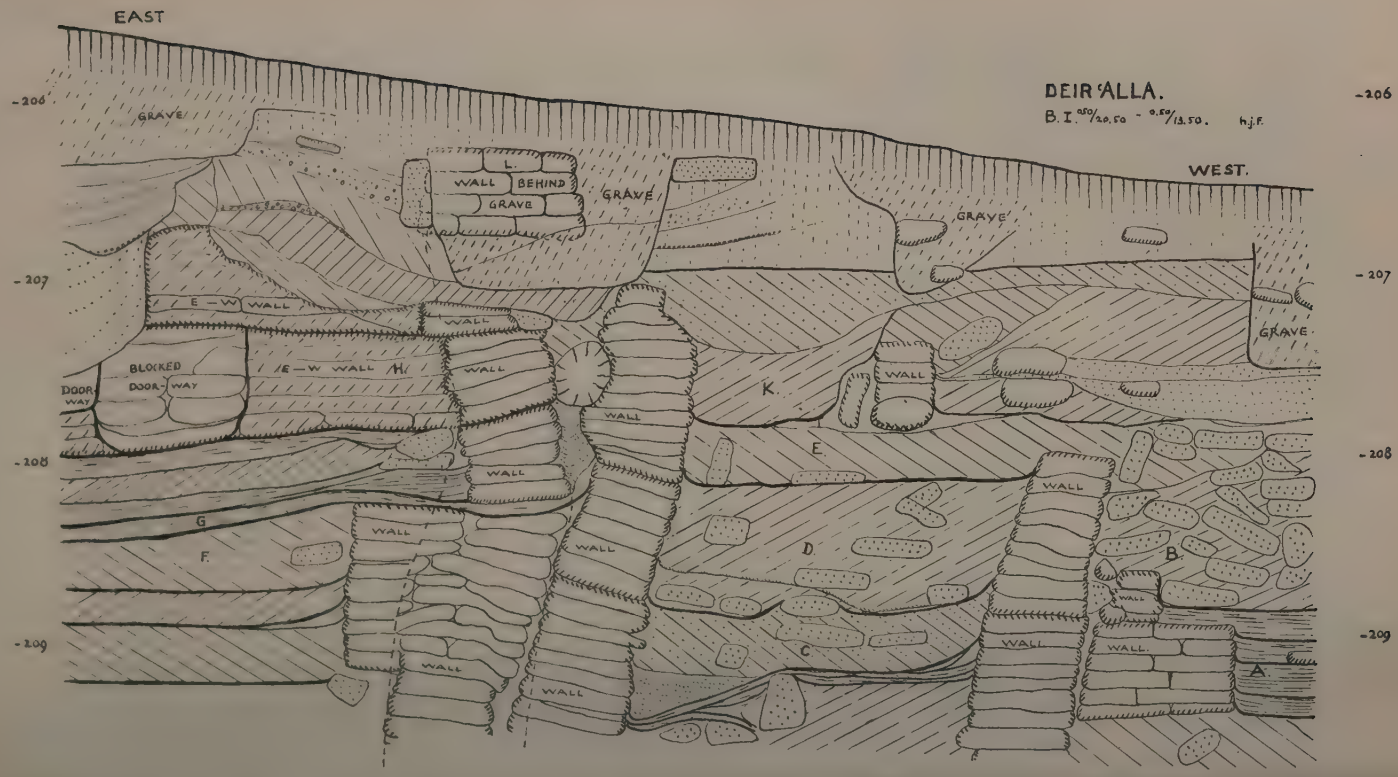


Fig. 1. Section through Iron Age levels (see pl. 3(2))

as an anvil. However now that it and its environments are more fully excavated, it is quite clear that it served another purpose altogether. It is the last of a series of stone altars, four of which have been uncovered (Pl. 2). The stones are dressed in roughly rectangular shapes with a fine pointed adze. Each stone seems to belong to a different phase in the history of a sanctuary. [1]) The lowest of these overlying sanctuaries was just touched in our deepest sounding and lies almost immediately above the natural clay. It was destroyed by an earthquake. The earliest sanctuary contains very fine L.B. Age pottery including a light goblet decorated in a continuous frieze of eyes. It is painted in light red on a whitish slip, and the paint on this vessel and many of the other fragments recovered from this level appears to have been applied after firing, as the lightest touch can remove it.

This sanctuary was rebuilt and at regular intervals the floor was heightened about 20-30 cms. This seems to have been done in order to keep the floor level with the continuously rising street and house levels of the town. The sanctuary was sited against the south wall of a building that can certainly be associated with the defences of the city, though its exact character remains problematical until

[1]) Our area of excavation only includes a portion of the sanctuary, so that it is not yet possible to publish complete plans.

Fig. 1. Part of the South wall of area B (E-W section), showing some main features of the development of the Iron Age city. Heights are indicated in meters below sea level. For convenience the numbers of the deposits of the soil have been omitted in this section drawing and some letters have been added. Thick black lines indicate major surfaces or floorlevels.

A. A thick deposit of floor levels points to a long use of the room. There is one rebuilding of the east wall.

B. Debris of a house that was broken down to clear space for the excavation of the 'cistern'.

C, D and E, phases of a kitchen (pre-cistern). The lowest one was destroyed by flooding, when the north wall collapsed. E was demolished at the same time as B, which shows the difference in height of a contemporaneous level.

The two complexes of walls and the adjoining floor levels show clearly that changes in the plan of the city were constantly made.

G. This set of floor levels runs up to the east wall of room D and may indicate that the original plan of F was completely abandoned.

H is a cut lengthwise through an east-west wall, showing a blocked doorway and the later doorway to the east of it. This room was rebuilt slightly further east. This rebuilding is the end of the period in which the 'cistern' was used; it was in use at the same time as room K.

L. (Wall) became visible after the fill of a grave had been washed down by rainwater during the 1961 season.

further excavation is done. This building is remarkable for Deir ʿAllā in that it has a stone foundation and part of the superstructure is also built of undressed stones, on which lies a mud brick wall, not unlike the west gate of Tell Balata. As far as it is uncovered it resembles a casemate wall, but may in fact be part of a city gate as it lies on the very edge of the earliest hill surface. If it proves to be the gate it will help to explain the regular raising of the sanctuary floor. Heavy winter rain, such as we experienced this year in Deir ʿAllā, washes down a considerable amount of mud from the roofs of houses and the accumulated dust and dirt of a mud brick town. The only exit for the stream of filthy water flowing down from the highest parts of the city would be the gate way. And if a sanctuary placed next to the gateway was to avoid regular flooding then its floor level would have had to have been regularly raised.

In fact the floors were kept remarkably clean, and every time the floor was re-newed a new large stone 1.40 × 1.25 m. was placed on top of the existing altar stone. Owing to the apparently peaceful re-building of the sanctuary, no important objects were left in the intermediary stages. The last phase, however, is almost obliterated by the strength of the fire which destroyed it. The fire was lit against the outside of the town wall, and fanned inwards by the north wind, penetrating not only through the wall but also right through the sanctuary itself. It seems that the intensity of the fire was such, that falling masonary trapped it, and instead of it burning itself out comparatively swiftly, it smoldered on for perhaps weeks, as a moor or fen-land fire will do. Evidence for this is that while the wall and sanctuary are burned bright red (cf. EB walls in Jericho) the areas furthest from the seat of the fire are burnt black or grey. This black burning penetrated right down through the underlying sanctuary levels, to bed-rock.

Bricks were totally decayed or fused together for a radius of several metres, and this combined with the black burning made the study of the stratigraphy exceptionally difficult. Also the mediaeval Arab graves which were dug down into the upper sanctuary levels complicated the scene. The superstructure of the defences had collapsed northwards down the slope, leaving a gap between it and the north wall of the sanctuary, which was filled with broken bits of this wall and floor levels. Finds which must originally have come from the sanctuary were recovered on the stump of the wall as well as further down the slope. A faience necklace is a good example of this. Egyptian

in pattern it can be closely compared with a finer example from Structure III in the Fosse Temple at Lachish. Its beads and pendants were found scattered over the sanctuary floor, in the gap next to the wall, and down the slopes.

It is remarkable that in such a destruction recognisable objects were still recoverable. A useful collection of ritual pottery vessels came to light, including coarsely painted goblets, a cup-and-saucer, a shrine, lamps and offering bowls. The shrine is certainly the most interesting object. It stands 43 cms high, and is made on the wheel, as if it were a storage jar which is closed instead of having a mouth. In its side an opening is cut, a clay frame surrounds this door way, supplying two bolt holes, and a sort of plinth above the doorway with two existing knobs on the corners and the broken stump of another knob, or where, by analogy with more elaborate shrines, a dove perched. The shrine was smashed, and there was no clue as to what it once contained, nor were there any traces of a door. Made of coarse clay, extremely thick below, and very thin above, it was very heavy and cumbersome. It bore no traces of burning inside.

Fragments of a bone plaque depicting an incised animal hunt with a lion (?) springing on the back of an ibex, and a broken gaming board of alabast, chequered on top and bearing on one side an almost obliterated relief of a kilted man between palm trees, were two of the most artistic finds from this area. The style of the carving on the gaming board is strongly northern in feeling, perhaps even Hittite, whereas that of the bone plaque can be compared with the more complete example from Beth Shan, now in the Palestine Museum.

A stone goblet and part of a basalt bowl also came from this area. A tiny fragment of gold leaf and a ring of twisted gold wire also comparable to one from the Fosse Temple were the only obvious treasures found. However for historical purposes a far more valuable if less obviously attractive find was the blackened remains of a faience jar bearing part of an Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription with the cartouche of Ramses II. This gives us a terminus post quem of ca. 1350 B.C., and shows that Deir ʿAllā fits into the normal pattern of a 13th century destruction. It is still far too early in the study of this site to do more than hazard a guess at the identity of the attackers. We have one useful clue to follow up: the discovery of several pieces of scale armour plating. These bronze fragments were recovered from both inside and outside the walls as might be expected. We know from the O.T. that Goliath the Philistine wore armour, there is

pictorial evidence from Egypt that 18th Dynasty soldiery wore scale mail, and this is also the case in Mari. There is a strong Egyptian influence reflected in the better sanctuary finds; there was a Philistinian garrison in a strongly Egyptianized city nearby on the opposite side of the Jordan valley, Beth Shan, and the Hurrians were active raiders in the end of the LB. One crux of the problem is, of course, did the armour belong to the attackers or defenders? Until this becomes certain, the possibility of the attackers being Israelite cannot be ruled out.

Apart from Egyptian contacts with the sanctuary which were obvious from the imported faience fragments, the Deir ʿAllā sanctuary also produced several cylinder seals of Mesopotamian make.

An accidental find in the last few days of excavation was an LB house of approximately the same date as the earliest sanctuary and perhaps destroyed by the same earthquake. The tomb search team had exhausted all probable burial sites apart from those lying under cultivation, and as by analogy from other sites it was quite possible that burials had been made in the slopes of the tell itself, the team began to open up an area which was thought to be outside the line of the city walls. However owing to the fact that the tell is based on a natural hill, a fact which only became clear later (about which, see more below) and erosion had been very severe in the area opened up, the team almost immediately struck a floor level containing a mass of pots, broken but in situ. In order to get the stratigraphical evidence of these pots clear a much larger area had to be excavated than had originally been contemplated. The finds were far too close to the top soil to dare leave them for the following season. However owing to the shortage of time before the camp broke up, much of the pottery has had to be packed away to await repairs and drawing till next season.

Half of the building has disappeared through erosion, so it is not possible to say with any certainty exactly what the ground plan of the various rooms so far excavated is like.

The first room found has the unusual feature of the brick wall being broken into niches. It seems probable that this room was a chapel or private house sanctuary. It contained among other things, a shrine of much the same style as that found in the latest level of the sanctuary in Trench D. It was somewhat rounder, and quite plain except for impressed string decoration. Again there was nothing that could be associated with it. In the same smashed group, lay the

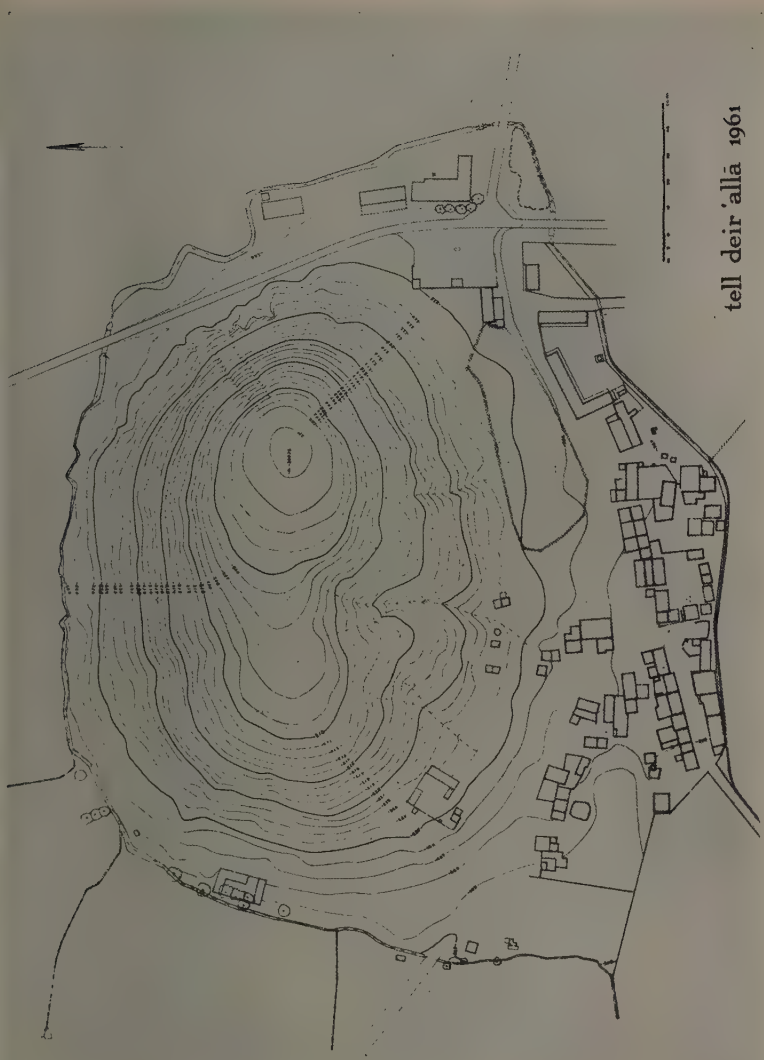
remains of a jug which when reconstructed, showed itself to be made in the form of a life size duck. The head and pedestal foot are missing. The ware is coarse, greenish white, and it is decorated in faint reddish brown paint over a self slip. The most unusual feature was a hollow funnel which led up from the inside of the foot till it almost touched the inside of the animal's back. It is curious to record that water jugs working on exactly the same principle: that of being filled from the base and being poured out from a narrow spout on the shoulder of the vessel, are still made to-day in the neighbouring refugee camp at Karama. In antiquity there seems to have been a similar vessel found at Gezer. There were several shallow bowls and juglets of local ware, and three Mycenean false necked stirrup juglets with two absurd local imitations. Some vessels contained organic matter which will in due course be analysed. Apart from pottery there were also several bone objects, possibly connected to the art of spinning or lace making. All were highly polished, and some bore incised decoration. More cylinder seals appeared and fragmentary faience vessels and beads. One of the most problematical of the finds were two horn cores, from different animals, which while recognisably plain horn cores were certainly worked with a tool.

Everything in this room was damaged by fire. The reason for this became clear when the second room was opened up. An earthquake had destroyed this kitchen, and fire had broken out. An earthquake crack ran across the chapel floor. But there was greater drama to be found in the kitchen, where a victim of the disaster had fallen on his (or her) back across a stone bench, and was pinned there by the falling roof. The skeleton was very fragile, the bones being burned to a pale blue ash. It was possible to recover fragments of the skull, and some other bones. The fire here, again exposed to the northern wind, must have reached a high intensity as the mud bricks are in places melted and fused together, forming an extremely hard debris which, with its bright red, green and white colours is more rewarding to the colour photographer than the excavator of fragile objects. Part of the roof bearing the impress of reeds witnesses to the fact that LB man at Deir 'Allā used the same roofing material as his modern descendants. An interesting architectural feature which is difficult to explain are some wedge shaped blocks of clay, roughly plastered and generally with a groove across the tapering top. They are much the same shape as a keystone of an arch, and it is just possible that some rooms were domed or arched.

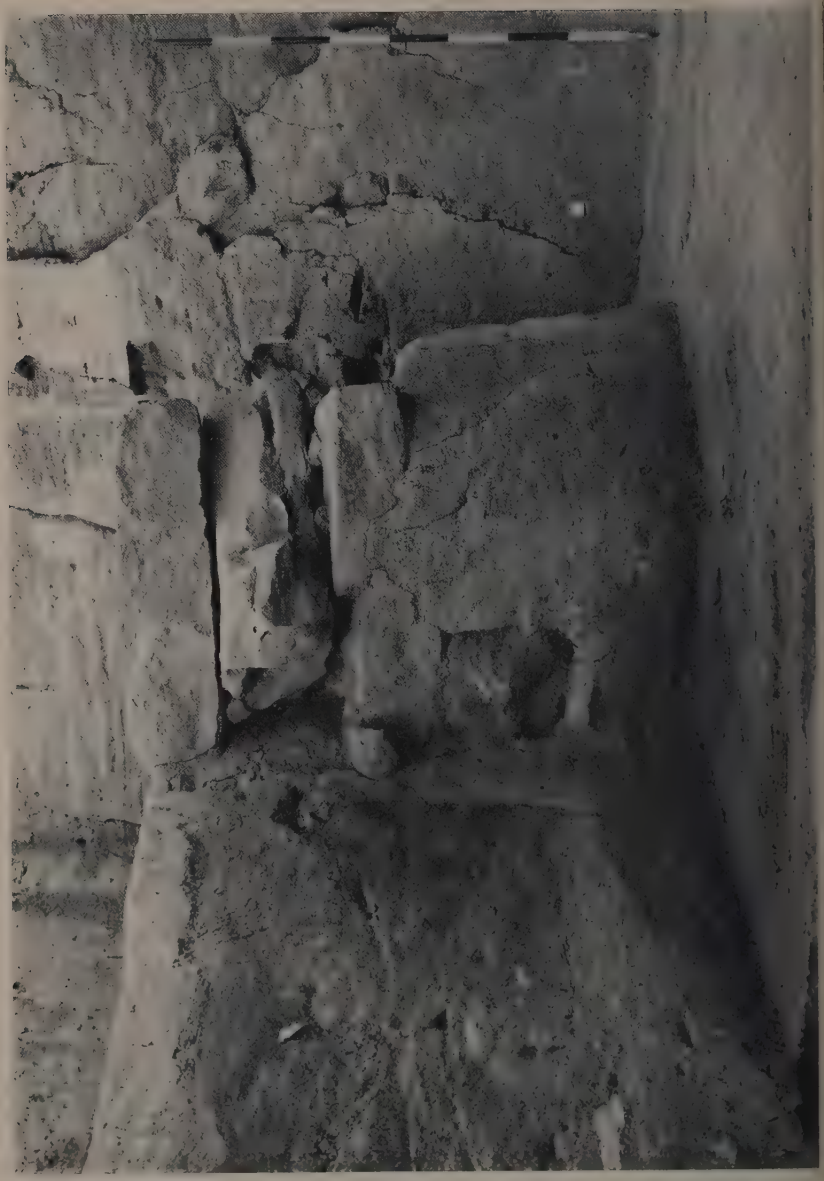
In general the pottery in this area, including much that had eroded down the slope of the tell bears a strong likeness to MB traditions, while being quite definitely LB. There are many carinated forms, and the ware is harder and finer than is generally the case in Palestine. Much of the pottery is painted in the LB style, but with a difference in technique. Found in fragments out of context, it could be possible to confuse the two periods and this is possibly the reason why GLUECK thought Deir ʿAllā to be a MB site. Evidence recovered this year (see below) makes it most unlikely that the tell was inhabited during the MB age.

Apart from these rooms, a series of what seem to have been retaining walls built at a curious angle to the main city wall were uncovered. This suggests that then as now the population felt the necessity of some protection against the Spring gales from the east, which co-inciding as they do with the rainy season can play havoc with mud brick walls undermined by rainwater lying in puddles along their bases. These walls seem to have been cut partly into the hill which may be an indication that the earliest city gate was sited here, which later was moved further west along with the retaining walls, and for the same reason.

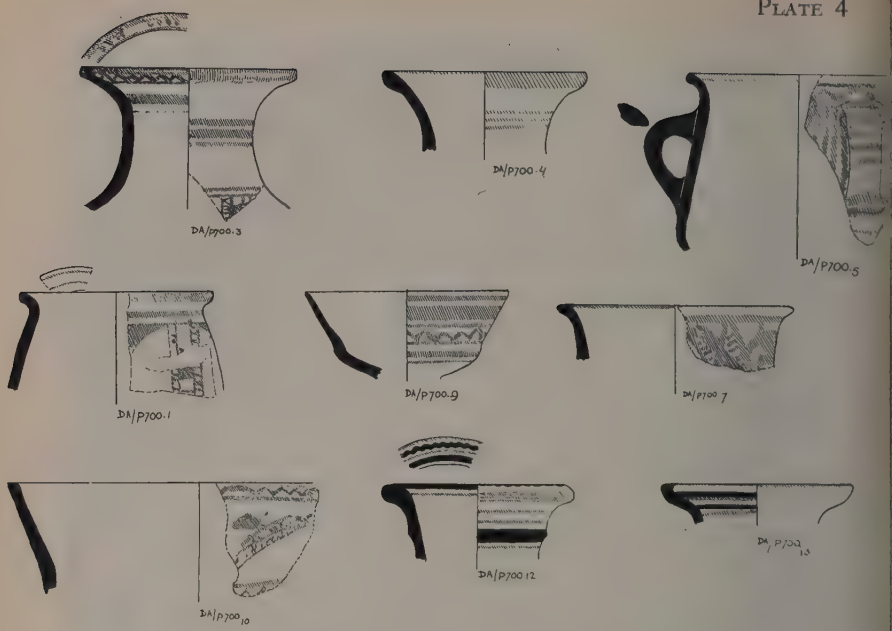
The Iron Age levels (see fig. 1). Work continuing in Area A produced the first substantial building of this period. The walls are approx. 1 m. thick, and each brick course appears to have been sandwiched between two courses of wooden beams, laid lengthwise, in the N. Syrian style. Most puzzling is the total absence of a floor level, which can be traced in every other house. There are however signs that this structure may have had a wooden floor. Nor up to date is there any indication as to what was its purpose. It was re-built on a higher level when the street east of it rose to such a level that winter flooding became likely. The examination of these street levels has continued to a depth of 2 m. but the earliest level has not yet been reached. Two streets of different periods were found north and east of the big cistern, one of which slopes steeply down in the direction of the round tower. This is another indication that the gateway may well be in this area. Further excavation in the area of the tower has shown that the round tower which was thought to have been an additional feature of the town wall, was only built after the destruction of that wall and belongs to a later town wall which is almost completely eroded away in this area. The Iron Age levels lie immediately upon those of the LB age. Inspite of the massive



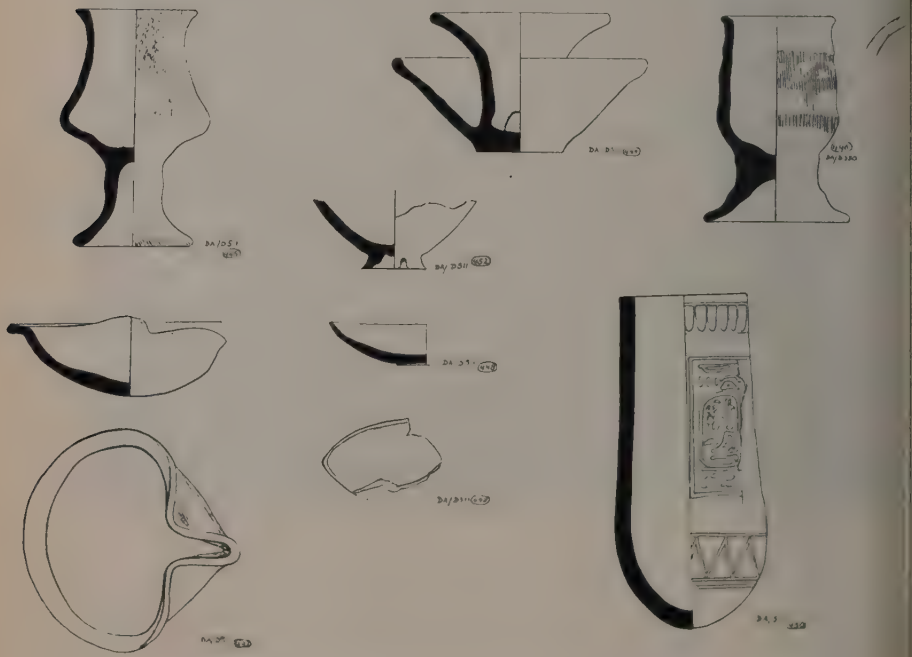
Plan of tell Deir 'Allā.



Stone construction in L.B.A. defences. Many stones burst in the heat of the fire during the destruction.

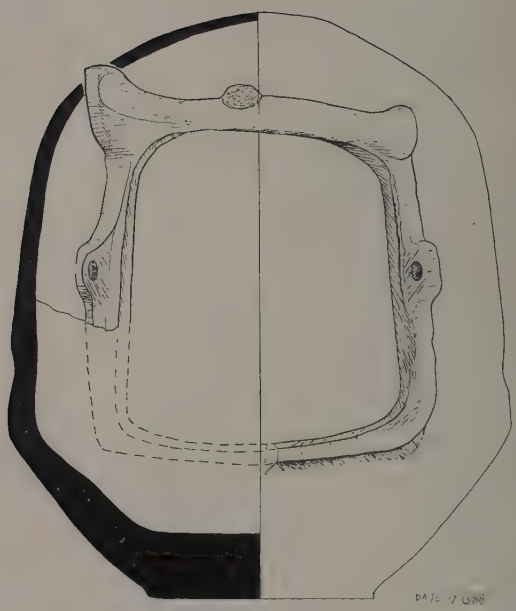


a. Decorated pottery fragments of the Late Bronze Age.



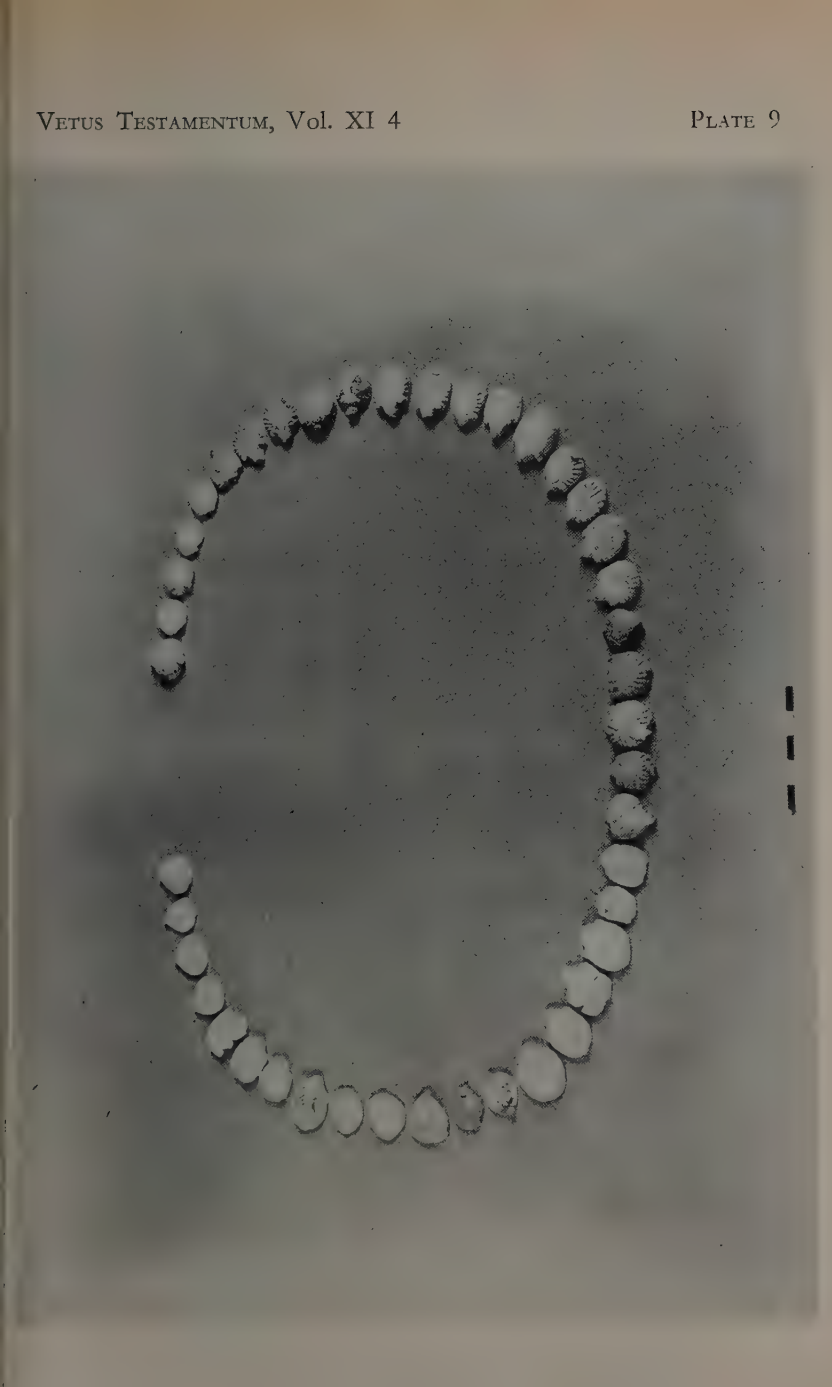
b. Pottery vessels and faience fowls from the temple.

Faience vase with cartouche from the temple.

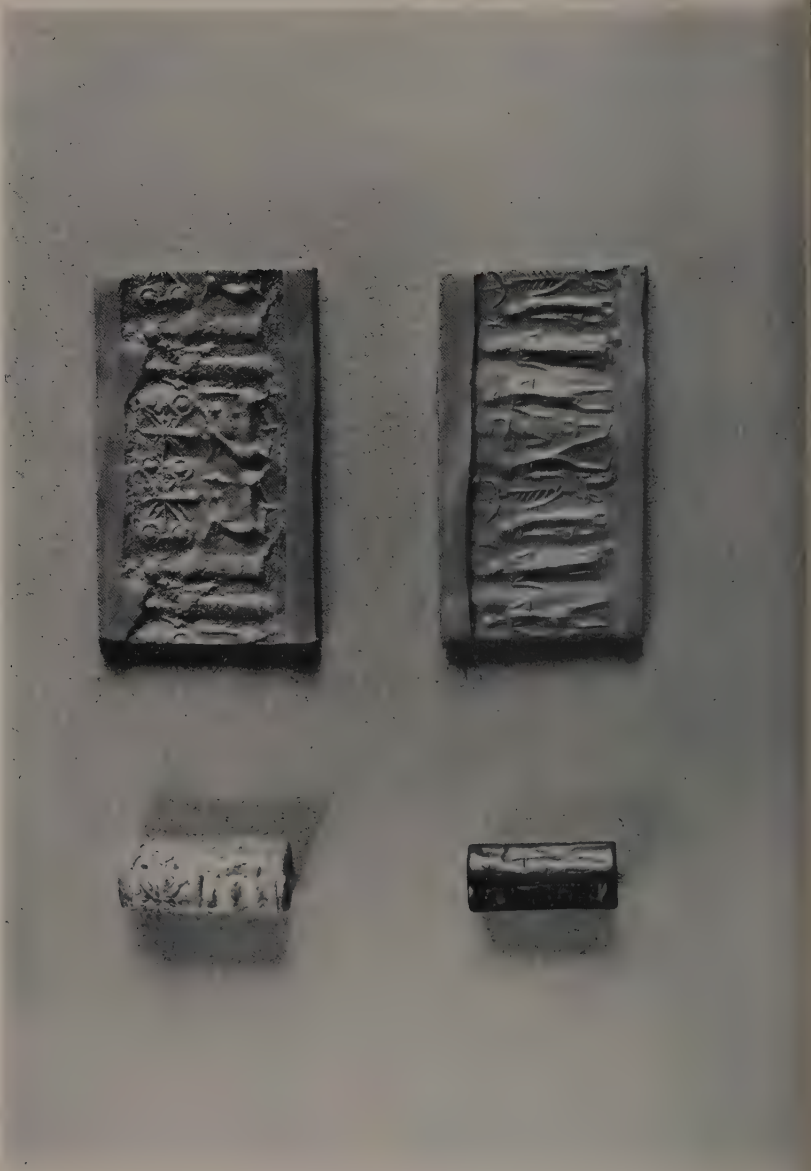


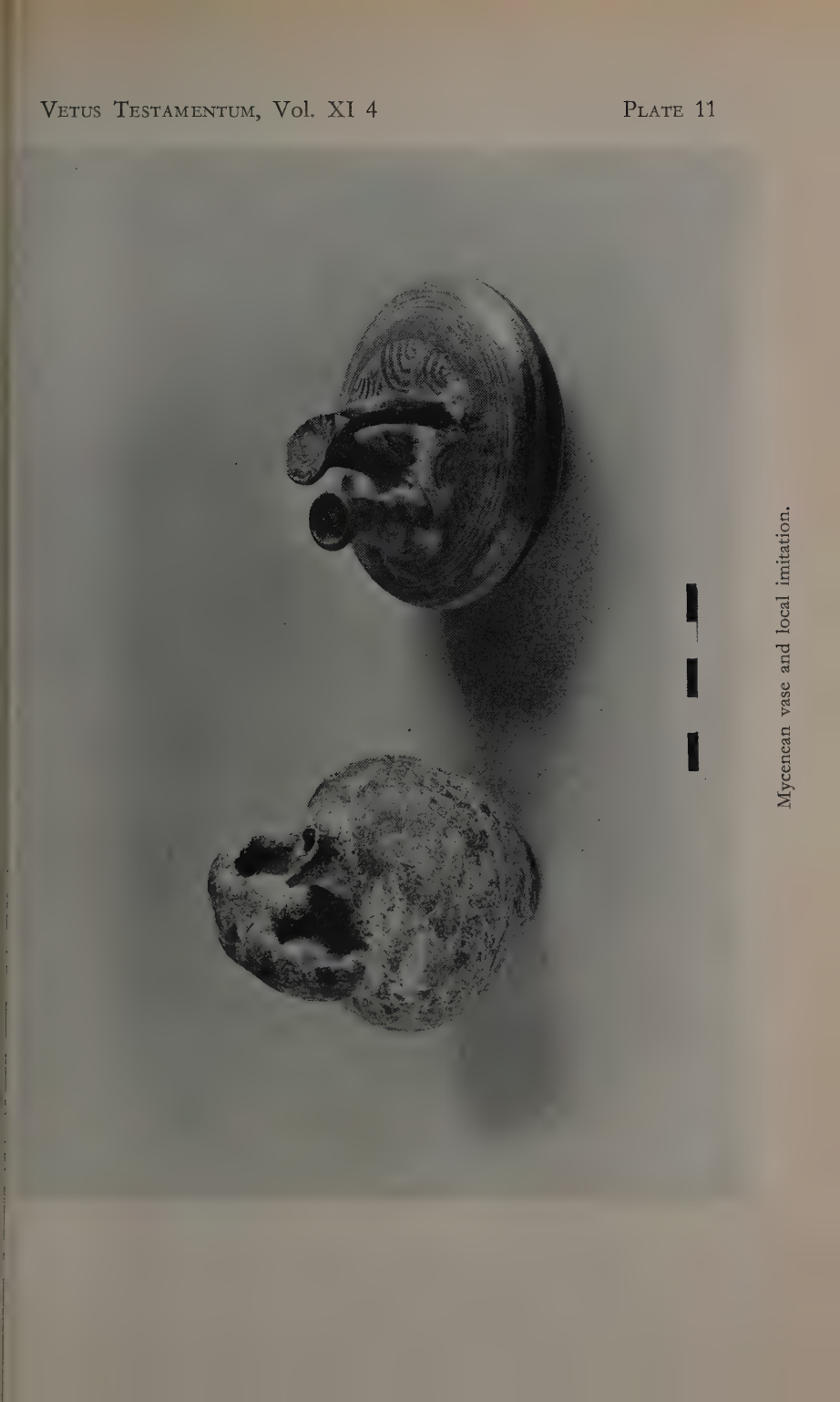
Drawing of the shrine from the temple.

Photograph of the shrine from the temple.

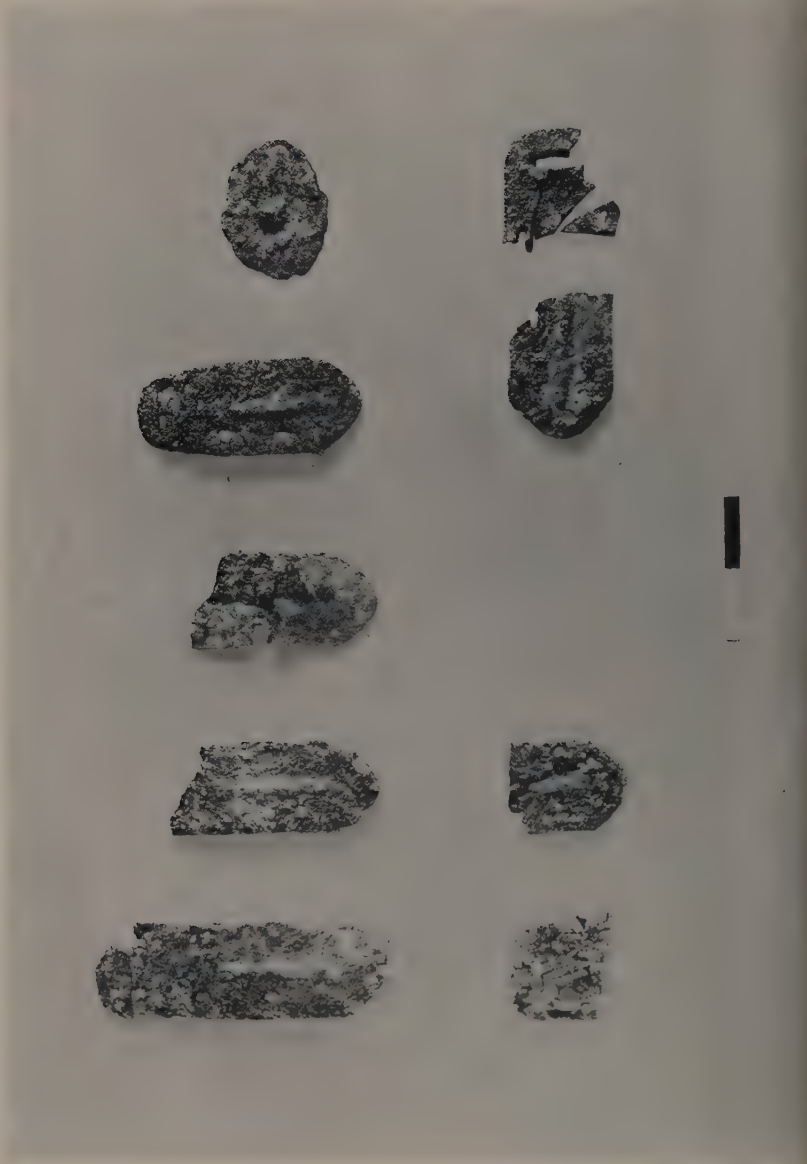


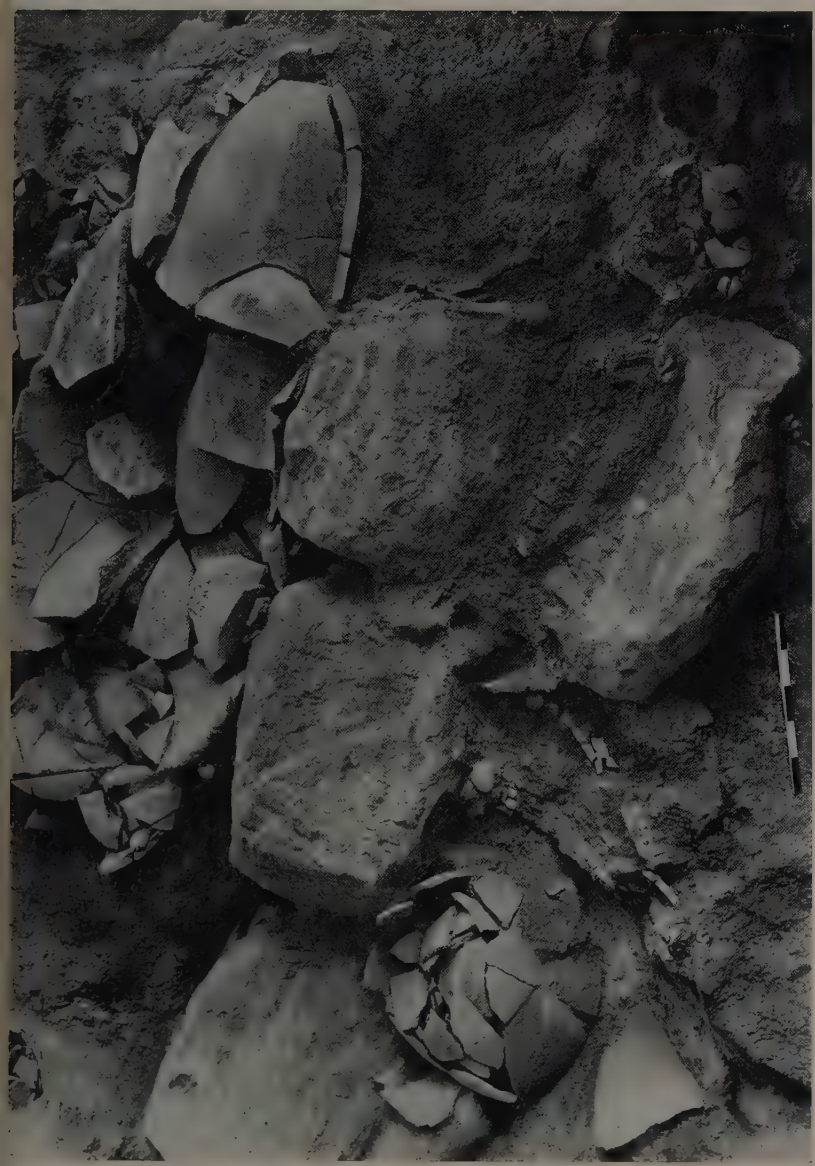
Faience pendants from the temple.





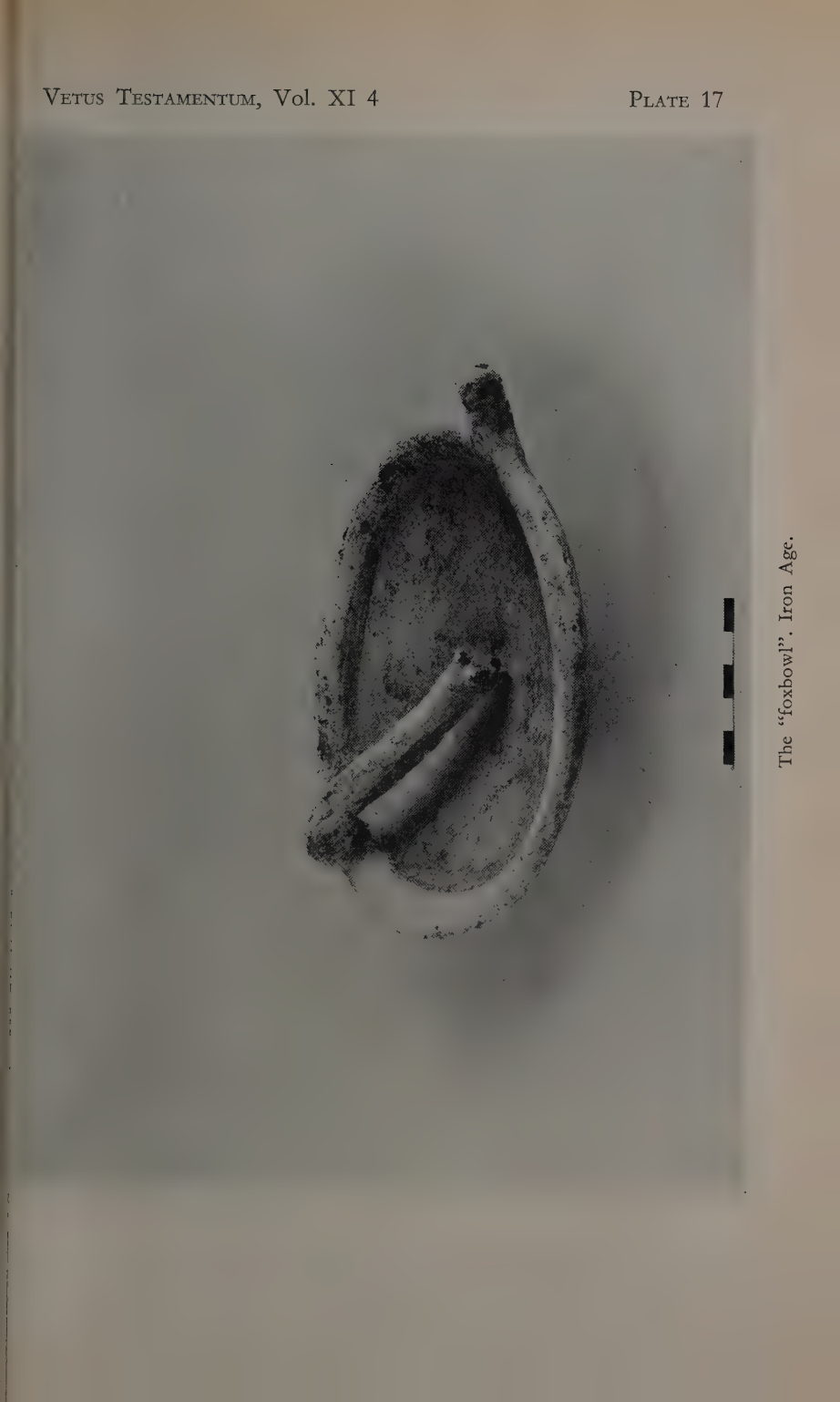
Mycenean vase and local imitation.





Kitchen floor, stone bench and remains of a victim of an earthquake.

Charioteer (L. B. Age).



The "foxbowl". Iron Age.

Pottery mould for "mass-producton" of terracotta figurines. Iron Age.

Terracotta arm and hand. Iron Age.

Bowlrim with lioness.

Blue faience vase. Iron Age.

Alabaster juglet. Iron Age.

destruction of the last LB city, there is no sign yet that the site was abandoned for a period. On the other hand there is much to suggest that a new culture was introduced straight after the destruction of the LB town. This indicates not only a punative or disciplinary raid, but the arrival of a new group who shortly after the destruction settled in the ruins of Deir ʿAllā. The pottery is of a completely different technique, not developing out of that of the Late Bronze age but arriving duely developed and while much study has still to be done on this pottery which is in many ways different to Iron Age pottery in Palestine, the first impression is that the newly arrived potters continued their finer techniques learnt and practised in their home land on the inferior quality clay obtainable in the Deir ʿAllā region. There seems to be a striving to recreate metal prototypes in pottery. This is clear in one of the best finds of the season. This came from debris from the town wall and is apparently an early example of a baby's bottle, or feeding bowl. It is a shallow bowl of light grey metallic ware, whose rounded hollow rim began in a spout, and after coiling round the bowl, dips down into the middle of the bowl ending with a fox's head almost touching the base of the bowl. A child putting its mouth to the spout and sucking its milk would have had the delightful experience of seeing the fox's head emerge from the liquid. An interesting comparison to this bowl can be seen in the Hittite Museum in Ankara, which is indeed from metal and comes from a young princes's grave in 7th century Gordion. A similar bowl comes from Ain Shems.

Other interesting if less artistic pottery finds came from a kitchen whose householder had omitted to keep the floor level of his house as high as that of the adjoining street, and had suffered the consequence of his laziness by having his kitchen flooded by a thick deposit of silt. This flood undermined the north wall, which collapsed inwards and thus preserved the contents for posterity (See fig. 1).

As far as the religion of the Iron Age town goes we have as yet little to go on. More figurines, including another mould for the head of a female figurine in elaborate headdress and earrings, have been found. A curious find indicating some ritual was that of a storeage jar filled with ash and buried upside down in the earth. The jar was buried in a pit in which the fire had been lighted before the jar was inserted. In the ash two sheep or goat's horns of a young animal were recovered.

Many of the best Iron Age finds were recovered in tip levels,

washed down the slopes of the tell to the north. Among these was the arm and hand of a half life sized terracotta statue, which had once held something, perhaps a sceptre, in its hand. The arm is painted in black and red bands to represent bangles and from the way it is broken off at the elbow appears to have been attached to the statue in Egyptianized style, across the breast. Another charming find was that of the rim of a bowl along which a lioness lay, moulded in the round. These and last year's finds make it clear that in Deir ʿAllā the restrictions of the 2nd Commandment were not heeded, and possibly had not even been heard of. For while no great art piece has come from the tell yet, the confidence and vigour of the figurines made, shows that while provincial and typically a peasant art, it has a long tradition behind it and was no hole and corner affair.

Two fine pieces which may or may not be imported were an alabaster juglet with lug handles and incised lid, and part of a fluted turquoise blue faience jug. These were both from stratified areas.

Reference has been made above to the fact that the tell stands on a natural hill, and that there is little chance of finding MB remains on the tell. This information was gathered by digging in a limited area in an extention of Trench D, outside the city walls. After digging 4 m. below the present day level of the base of the tell, borings were made to determine the depth of soil which still lay above the natural banded clay. These borings combined with soundings made by the tombs search party revealed that the River Zerqa had at one time flowed to the north of the tell and not to the south as it now does and had deposited silt at the foot of the tell with its regular flooding. Thus mediaeval Arab pottery from the little tell across the main road from Deir ʿAllā were washed along the edge of the tell. This information was enough to call off the search party as the likelihood of finding tombs in such a disturbed area is minimal. These soundings also show that the tell is built on a natural hill which seems to be a projection of the bad lands which run out from the mountains to the east. This projection must from the earliest times have afforded any inhabitants of the area a commanding view over the surrounding country, as well as a natural fortification. This natural phenomenon makes it easier to understand why the site should ever have been inhabited. One has only to go a few miles north or south of Deir ʿAllā to avoid the very considerable discomfort of the seasonal eastern gale, but naturally enough settlers were prepared to endure

the rigours of the es-Sheqia if they gained a good defensive position.

The deep soundings show that the first people to settle at Deir 'Allā came in the Chalcholithic period. There is very little chance that any of their dwellings will come to light, because more than 1500 years later the inhabitants of the LB age who re-settled the site, levelled off the hill to make a wider flatter area on which to build. It is in their dump that the Chalco. sherds were found, and also there were fragments of sherds made into the clay of mud bricks in LB and Iron age levels, showing that the inhabitants of the tell did not go far to excavate their building materials.

This Chalcholithic settlement, as is often the case in the Jordan valley, (cf. Ghassul, 'Ain Duq, Tell Abu el'Alayiq, Tell Mefjer etc.) died out and did not emerge into the Early Bronze age, but lay abandoned through the ages. Traces of another near-by Chalcho. settlement came to light when the tomb search party was excavating east of Deir 'Allā in the rock at the foot of the mountains. In this case it was followed by the Early Bronze age, but there the tantalizing fact was that all the sherds had in the course of time been covered and solidly sealed by a rock-hard layer of calcium washed out of the rock above.

Historical survey

The first settlers on the hill in historic times arrived early in the Late Bronze Age. Who were these people? The strong M.B. influence in the early pottery might be an indication. They could have been a group related to the Hyksos who were expelled out of territory under Egyptian control. Was the relation between the Egyptian garrison at Beth Shan and Deir 'Allā peaceful? Very little is known yet about the L.B. Age in Transjordan. Though graves have been dug of this period Deir 'Allā is the first L.B. city to be excavated in Transjordan and much more work must be done on the site before questions concerning population can be tackled. A suggestion concerning the identity of the attackers of the LB city is however mooted above (p. 366). There is small chance that they were Israelites, for, if they were, how was it that the metal industry was settled there almost immediately after the re-occupation? Both culture and cult of the Iron Age as far as it is known at Deir 'Allā are a-typical for Israelite towns.

The identification of tell Deir 'Allā with biblical Sukkoth seems generally accepted, although neither the geographical position of

the site nor the archaeological evidence make the identification certain. The actual identification is however less important than what the material evidence has to tell us about the inhabitants, who anyway lived in Israelite territory; and nothing suggests yet that the IA town was in conflict with the Palestinian kingdoms. The defences of this town are good enough to prevent raiding nomads from sacking it, but could not resist the attack of a regular army. Nor is there anything yet to show that the town was a border fortress. If the site is to be equated with Sukkoth it seems possible that it was occupied mainly by metal workers, who whether of Israelite origin or not, were employed by Solomon and the later kings for melting and casting metal; and being skilled technicians were left free to have their own culture and religious practises.

SOME ADDITIONAL ARABIC ETYMOLOGIES IN OLD TESTAMENT LEXICOGRAPHY

BY

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The lexicography of the OT has been considerably enriched by L. Kopf's recent contributions of Arabic etymologies and parallels that shed new light on the actual meaning of many Biblical passages [1]). In addition, he has set up certain guiding principles that allow for further pursuit of such comparative studies while at the same guarding against certain pitfalls and fallacies likely to arise in this type of research [2]).

Stimulated by Kopf's findings and, at the same time, trying to adhere to his method as closely as possible, the present author believes that he has discovered some additional etymologies part of which he presents in these lines.

1) The etymology of the root אהב is still doubtful. It is usually connected with arab. *habba* "to be excited" [3]) while Thomas derived it from an onomatopoetic root הב "to huff and puff" ("heftig atmen") [4]).

The use of the root in Ugarit proves that it originally denoted "to love" in a sexual sense [5]). Thus it may be related to arab. *'ihāb* which means both "(human) skin" and "(raw) leather". In the latter sense it appears in Hos. xi 4 and certainly in Ct. iii 10; Solomon's litter is not inlaid with "love", but with leather, as a matter of course, which makes the emendation הבנים unnecessary.

Two more Semitic roots combine the concept of "carnal knowledge" with "skin". Heb. בשר corresponds to arab. *bashar*, although in Heb. it stands for "flesh" while in arab. it is used for "skin". בשר is also a term for "penis" in Lev. xv 2 f. and Ex. xvi 26 and

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[1]) Kopf, L., "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch", *V.T.* VIII (1958) 161 ff.; *V.T.* IX (1959) 249 ff.

[2]) In *V.T.* VI (1959) 286 ff.

[3]) S. Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon* 15.

[4]) In *Z.A.W.* 57 (1939) 57 ff.

[5]) Tushingham, "A reconsideration of Hosea 1-3", in *J.N.E.S.* XII (1953) 151.

xxiii 20. Arab. *bashara* means "to lie with, cohabit with . . .". An analogy is offered by גלד which occurs only once in the OT -Job xvi 15-where it signifies "skin". Arab. *jild* means the same, but cf. also *jald* "penis" and *jalada* "to deflower, violate, rape".

For this reason we are justified in assuming that the root אהב has undergone a similar evolution.

2) Kopf [1]) finds in ואהליהם in Jud. vi 5 arab. *'ahl* "family". This root seems also hidden in the obscure לא אהיה לכם in Hos. i 9 which is usually explained as a scribal error for לא אלהיכם. But while it is hard to see how even the clumsiest copyist could be guilty of such a slip, he may have easily misunderstood אהלכם as an abbreviation of אהיה לכם. *'ahl* means also "father, head of a family"; so the sense of the passage is obvious: Yahweh does no longer consider Himself Israel's father.

3) Obscure as is the meaning of the passage Hos. ix 10 ff., it is rather obvious that the picture of a "fig" or a "fig-tree" does not make the least sense in a context which speaks of shameful lust. In arab., however, *bakāra* stands for "young she-camel", which reminds us of Jer. ii 23 f. where Jeremiah compares Israel to a "she-camel" whose lust תאנתה "no one can hinder". This was also the original meaning of תאנה in our Hosea-passage, only that it may have been a gloss explaining בראשיתה, cf. arab. *rasīsa* "the beginning of a fever-or a passion" (especially of love). Perhaps the text had originally ברשישתה.

In view of the context כענבים may be considered an error for כעגבים "like lustful ones"—here referring to animals in rut.

4) In the Story of the Fall in Genesis the Tree of Life plays, at best, rather a secondary role. Thus most students assume that two different narratives are interwoven in this report. However, this theory becomes unnecessary if we connect החיים in our passage with the root חוה "to make known", rather than חיה. חוה is related to arab. *waḥā* "to reveal", especially in a super-natural sense; *'al-waḥy* is a term not infrequently used for the Koran. ועץ הדעת טוב ורע is simply a gloss explaining עץ החיים in this special sense. The alleged "awkwardness of the construction" disappears as soon as we understand הדעת as a noun derived from the *Hif'il*; הודיע often means "to reveal". טוב ורע simply stands for "everything" [2]).

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[1]) *V.T.* IX 249 f.

[2]) Cf. Buchanan, in *J.B.L.* LXXV (1956) 114.

In other words: the "forbidden fruit" is believed to lead not merely to knowledge, but omniscience.

5) In Is. xliv 4 בין חציר appears an error for בני חציר; cf. arab. *'akhḍar* (pl. *khuḍr*) "young palm-trees". The insertion of ὕδατος by the LXX is a late guess because the original was no longer understood. ערבים in this context does not signify "willows" but "poplars", or more specifically the poplars of the Euphrates [1]). The salient point of the metaphor in this passage is not the watering of the trees named therein, but their quick growth.

6) The passage Amos v 26 is still obscure, in spite of all modern explanations. סכות as "tabernacle" and כיון as "basis" [2]) seem rather insignificant cultic objects in comparison to the sacrifices and offerings which Amos attacks so strongly in the preceding verse. But the interpretation of the two words as references to the gods Sakkut and Saturn [3]) respectively appears even more farfetched. As GUTHE already stated, Amos does not rebuke the Israelites for the worship of strange gods, but for serving Yahweh the wrong way [4]). Thus we should rather expect references to more familiar cultic objects such as are denounced by other prophets, as for instance the Asherah. So סכות seems to be related to talm. סכתא, סכא "pole" [5]). The Asherah is presented both as a tree, and a pole, probably as a symbol of the former [6]). On the basis of the LXX we understand מלככם as a reference to the Moloch-celebrations.

Now the question arises: what cultic symbol is hidden in כיון? The LXX read Ραιφαν which has not been established as the name of any deity whatsoever, but may very well be related to arab. *rayyif* "fertile". The LXX must also have based its translation on an original following this order of words ואת כוכב ריפה אלהיכם צלמיכם אשר עשיתם לכם. But exactly what would כוכב ריפה "star of fertility" mean? For this reason, the author sees in כוכב an error for ككوب "like a pitcher, or vase"; cf. talm. כובא [7]), also arab. *kūb* "bowl". Babylonian seals occasionally picture a vase next to the Asherah [8]). Thus the assumption lies near that the Canaanite fertility cult also

[1]) KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER, *op. cit.* 733 and 433.
[2]) *Ib.* 657 and 433.
[3]) *Ibidem.*
[4]) In KAUTZSCH, *Die Heilige Schrift* etc. II 40.
[5]) LEVY, *Nhbr. und chald. Wörterbuch über die Talmudim* III 521.
[6]) Cf. *Encycl. Bibl.* I 331, n. 1.
[7]) LEVY, *op. cit.* II 301.
[8]) *E.R.E.* X 92.

featured a symbol called the vessel of fertility, a forerunner of the "horn of plenty" or "cornucopia" which has also survived in the "holy Grail" of the Parsifal-saga [1]).

The significance of those two archaic symbols is obvious: the pole-the "lance" of the Parsifal-saga-stands for the male organ of procreation while the vase represents the womb, or the vagin. And this was exactly the meaning of כיון which corresponds to arab. *kain* (pl. *kuyun*) "clitoris". Somewhat analogous to the use of κτείς in Greek, כיון seems to have served as *pars pro toto*, referring to the entire sexual organ.

Tur-Sinai already suspected that the word is identical with the כונים named in Jer. vii 18 and xliv 19 [2]), the cakes baked in honor of the "Queen of Heaven"—her "image" or symbol, as indicated in the latter passage. The custom of baking cakes in the shape of genitals in honor of the gods was widespread in antiquity [3]). The fact that both the names Juno and Venus originally go back to sanskr. *yoni* "cunnus" indicates beyond any doubt what was considered the symbol of the leading goddess.

Our word is also hidden in another passage: Ct. ii 5. All familiar interpretations miss the mark: even if סמכוני could be understood in the sense of "strengthening by food"—which appears extremely doubtful—and even if רפדוני could be used in a similar sense—which is even more questionable—what kind of remedies are "raisin-cakes" and "apples" for the alleviation of love-sickness? The satisfaction of erotic passion is definitely not brought about by these dainties . . . .

Thus we are justified in reading סם כוני כאשישות "the perfume of my clitoris (or vagin) is like raisin-cakes". Starkly but realistically the passage describes a familiar physiological fact connected with the arousal of feminine passion.

Originally the second half of the vs. must have paralleled this thought. Thus we suggest to change רפדו into דפרו. According to Lane, *dufr* "signifies pungency of odour whether sweet or bad". In other words, the young woman describes the scent of her genitals as that of apples [4]). These particular smells are the symptoms of the

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[1]) Cf. Weston, *From Ritual to Romance* 71 ff.

[2]) Tur-Sinai, *Ha-Lashon v'ha-Sefer*[2] I 103 n. 1.

[3]) Dulaure, *Des Divinités Génératrices* etc. 225, 230.

[4]) We may also consider the possibility that the end of the vs. originally read דפר ניבי כתפוחים. A word ניב, or נוב, related to נבב "hollow" seems also hidden in Prov. v 20a which in its present form may be a distortion of ולמה תשגב בניב זרה, with ניב being the exact parallel to חק "lap". The same word

"love-sickness"—the passion aroused indicated in the end of the vs.

7) In Hos vii 1 the obscure כרפאי לישראל makes good sense if we emend it into כרף אול ישראכ. In arab., *karafa* IV means "to be spoiled and smell badly", so that the meaning of the passage is: "The flesh of Israel has become rotten . . .".

8) While the root נשק stands for "to kiss", its arab. counterpart *nashaqa* means "to smell (a scent, an odor)". This ought to be considered for a more correct understanding of the opening verses of the Song of Songs which, judging from other parallels in the book, are obviously addressed to the beloved woman. This, however, forces the assumption of a change of person in vs. 2 which becomes unnecessary if נשיקות, like arab. *nashaq*, is understood as "odors"-an excellent parallel to ריח in the following vs.

If so, ישקני cannot mean "Let him kiss me", but must be connected with the root שוק which in Heb. is found only in תשוקה "desire", but in arab. appears in the verb *shāqa* (u) "to fill someone with desire, excite him". Then the opening predicate was originally ישקנה, or rather ישקני "they excite me"-namely the perfumes [1]). This form of the verb in the third person fem. plur. deviates from the form usually presented in Heb., but it corresponds to the form used in arab. and aram., and also appears in three instances of the *O.T.* [2]) פיהו כי is an error for פיחיך; cf. arab. *fāḥa* "to give forth scent" and *fawaḥat* "odors, perfumes". Inst. of לריח in 3a we read כריח and see in כריח שמנים a gloss explaining 2 a. Vs. 2 would read: ישקני נשיקות פיחיך וטובים דדיך מיין. "The scents of your perfumes excite me, and better are your breasts than wine".

9) In Ct. v 5.13 מור עבר is translated as "flowing myrrh". However, עבר may correspond to arab. *'abīr* which denotes both "saffron" and "perfume composed of many scents" so that מור would be merely a gloss.

10) In Prv. vii 18 נתעלסה is usually translated "let us enjoy ourselves". But since 18a speaks of love-play until morning, the verb may rather be brought into connection with *ghalasa* "to do something toward the end of the night".

11) In Hos. ii 17 the gift of the "Valley of Achor" makes hardly

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also appears in Sir. xxxv 5 which one variant renders as גוב "pit". Thus our reading of Ct. ii 5 would mean: "The scent of my vagin is like apples . . .".

[1]) The מ at the beginning of the present מנשיקות can be explained as an error for an original נ that once formed the end of the foregoing word.

[2]) Gen. xxx 38; 1 Sam. vi 12; Dan. viii 22.

any sense. Since the talk is of the re-education of the stray woman, the personification of Israel, as the context shows, any presents would be entirely unwarranted. תקוה may mean "she will gather" and לפתח appears a minor slip for לפתה "for her bread". עמק is here identical with arab. *ʿimqā*, a desert plant eaten by camels; *ʿamīq* is a person who must live on this plant. עכור is the same as *ʾakr* "troup of camels".

12) In Hos. iv 14 כי הם עם הזנות יפרדו is given as a reason why Yahweh will not punish the whoring of the daughters of the Israelites nor the adultery committed by their brides, which otherwise would be considered heinous offenses. The motivation is obvious: the sexual congress of their men with hierodules has taken away the latters' potency. Thus the reading יפדרו seems preferable to יפרדו; it would correspond to arab. *fadara* "to be exhausted from too frequent cohabitations".

13) Gordis has come close to a plausible explanation of the name קהלת when he referred to arab. *qāla* "to speak" [1]). In arab., *qawala* (note the fem.!) refers to "a person who speaks well". So קהלת, and especially הקוהלת, may have been a term for "orator". As to his alleged "assumption of the role of Solomon" indicated in i 13, all commentators overlook the fact that, judging from vs. 1, the original probably had merely מלך בירושלים. Yet in this context מלך need not mean "king", but may be identical with מלכא "counselor" [2]). As an orator and member of the administration of Jerusalem of that Hellenistic age, Koheleth appears as far more a plausible figure than as a spurious "King Solomon".

14) Both in Ct. vi 10 and vii 2 נדיב, inst. of denoting "nobleman", should rather be accepted in the sense of arab. *nadb* "fair, pretty". The feminine ending was omitted when this meaning was no longer understood. בת עם corresponds to arab. *bint ʿamm* "cousin" (f.). The present מרכבות in vi 12 hides a form מרכך; cf. arab. *rakka* II "to talk confusedly" (like a drunkard). Arab. *murtukk* denotes a person who is suddenly at a loss for words. All these would offer excellent parallels to לא ידעתי נפשי.

15) In Hos. v 12 עש can hardly denote "moth" nor רקב "rottenness". Both the LXX and Syr. show that they understood the words in quite a different sense. Syr. translates כרקב "like a lion" which would be related to arab. *ʾarqab*. עש should be connected with

[1]) Gordis, *Koheleth* etc. 194.
[2]) Levy, *op. cit.* III 132.

ʿassa "to go about at night" from which *ʾal-ʿassās* "wolf" is derived. Thus it may be assumed that 14 a was originally but a marginal gloss which explained vs. 12, but later was mistakenly incorporated in the text [1]).

16) In Hos. xiii 1 the unusual רתת makes excellent sense if understood as arab. *ratt* "chieftain, prince". נשא is simply נָשֵׂא. Inst. of כדבר we suggest בדבר and accept the word in the sense of talm. דברא "leadership" [2]). The meaning of the passage is: Ephraim could claim the leadership in Israel until he became unfit because of his connection with Baal-worship.

17) In Hos. vii 9 שיבה cannot denote "old age". To "throw old age into something" is an impossible figure of speech in any language. As the context shows Ephraim is here compared to an-apparently neglected-flat cake; והוא לא ידע must be connected with *wadaʿa* "to wrap up an article so as to preserve it". The flat cake, which apparently had not yet been baked, had been left without cover; as a result, both rain-read זרם inst. of זרים-and bird-dung fell into it. The latter is the actual significance of שיבה in this context, corresponding to arab. *shāʾiba*. זרקה may therefore have the meaning of *dharaqa* "to make one's excrements" (said of birds only!).

18) In Hos. iii 3 תשבי לי appears strange. Why should the woman sit for the prophet who has renounced her? וגם אני אליך can have no other meaning but: "I, too, will put you under a curse" [3]). Thus we see in תשבי לי an error for תשבלי which would be related to *sabala* II "to consecrate". In other words, the woman is to be "taboo".

19) In the same chapter (vs. 1), Tur-Sinai emends אשישי ענבים into אשיש ענבים which he understands as a "woman with fat buttocks"—in his opinion a vulgar term for "whore, prostitute" [4]). Arabic offers a counter-proof of the correctness of Tur-Sinai's suggestion: the obscene שגל of the OT corresponds to *sajlā* "a woman with fat buttocks".

20) In Ct. iv 13 שלחיך is commonly translated as "shoots" or "branches". But since the chapter in previous vss. deals with various aspects of the anatomy of the beloved, we may think of arab. *shalkh*

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[1]) Tur-Sinai, *op. cit.* I 380 sees in כפיר a general term for "beast of prey" rather than "lion".

[2]) Levy, *op. cit.* I 375.

[3]) S. Koehler-Baumgartner, *op. cit.* 49; cf. also Sura 2; 226 in the Koran: *ʾalladhīna yuʾlūna min nisāʾihim* "those who forswear their wives . . .".

[4]) Tur-Sinai, *op. cit.* II 313 ff.

"vagin", especially since כפרים in this passage may be a parallelism to שלחיך and thus correspond to arab. *'al-kafirān* "the groin next the genitals". The question arises whether עם in vss. 13/14 stands for the preposition "with". After all, the articles named in 14 are not "with" the woods of frankincense, or "with" all the chief spices: they themselves are the wood, or the spices. Thus עם must be understood as a noun in this context, like arab. *'amm* which mostly denotes a multitude of people, but may also occasionally stand for "all the plants or herbs". We may also refer to talm. עמעום "accumulation" [1]). נרדים is probably not "nard"—which is named again in the following vs., anyway—but rather "lavender", like arab. *nardīn*.

21) The naming of Solomon as the author of the Song of Songs seems to be due to a total misunderstanding of שלמה. This misunderstanding led to the—probably later—incorporation of a few passages which actually refer to the king, such as iii 7 ff. and perhaps viii 11. But the שלמה to whom Ct. is addressed is a different person. As the general tenor of the poem indicates, the beloved is a person whose physical charms are already intimately known to her lover. Since it is impossible to assume that an illicit relationship would have given raise to songs of praise publicly recited, we have to accept the frequently voiced theory that sees in Ct. a wedding song. Only that we deal with a wedding song of a peculiar character-namely in honor of the bride whose marriage has been consummated. The root שלם also has the significance of "perfecting, or concluding" (an action). In this connection it is interesting to note that among certain Arabic tribes it is customary for the bridegroom to give the bride a gratuity called *taslīmi* before the first cohabitation after defloration [2]). While the root שלם may also mean "to pay", the particular character of this present makes its understanding as "consummation gift" more likely.

השולמית in Cant. vii 1 has obviously the same meaning. The reference is obviously to the dance staged the morning after the consummation of the marriage in which the bride may participate [3]). If so, מחלת המחנים may refer to something different from "sword-dance" or "counter-dance". Arab. *maḥana* can stand for "to violate a girl", unless we assume מחנים to be a slip for מהנים, related to *mahana* "to

[1]) Levy, *op. cit.* III 664.

[2]) Hans A. Winkler, *Ägyptische Volkskunde*, 209 f.

[3]) Cf. Westermarck, *Marriage Customs in Morocco* 268 n. 2; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* 180; Winkler, *op. cit.* 211, 215.

cohabit with a woman". In either event, the question, quite obviously asked by the coy bride, becomes clear: "Just what do you see in the deflowered one, in her that is ravished by the coitus?" upon which the guests begin a detailed description of her charms.

In viii 10 שלום, or perhaps better שלומה, calls for a different etymology. Since in vs. 9 the girl is compared to a wall, we connect the word with *thalama* "to make a breach" (in the wall), and *thalima* "to be breached".

22) In several OT passages the word שער is used in a way which excludes both the connotation "hair" and "gate". In Lev. xiv 9 the cured leper is commanded "to shave all his hair of his head and his beard and his eyebrows". The passage continues ואת כל שערו יגלח, which would be a meaningless repetition unless we understand the second שערו like arab. *'ash'ar* (pl. *shu'r*) "pubis", which, while derived from the root denoting "hair", has gained this special meaning.

In the same sense the word is used in 2 K. xxiii 8. Among the cultic objects destroyed by Josiah we find the במות השערים the translation of which as "high places of the gates" does not make the least sense. S. Iwry has convincingly demonstrated that in addition to "high place" במה can also denote "column" or "pillar", especially of a cultic character, analogous to מצבה [1]). This rules out the possibility that במות השערים may simply refer to "columns of the gates"—besides, one fails to see why Josiah's reforms should attack such innocuous objects. However, if we understand במות השערים as "the columns of the genitals", it would perfectly square with Herodotus' report that in Syria Palestina he saw columns on which female genitals had been engraved [2]).

Of course, the possibility must also be admitted that those pillars were rather symbols of the phallus [3]). Such seems to have been the thought of a glossator who added the passage אשר על שמול איש בשער העיר which seems to be a distortion of אשר צלמו מאול איש בשער העיר "that one engraved a phallus on the gate of the city" [4]).

Both in Lev. xvii 7 and 2 C xi 15 השעירים must also be understood in this sense. The existence of "goat-worship" in Ancient Israel has

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[1]) In *J.B.L.* LXXVI (1957) 225 ff.
[2]) Herodotus, *The Histories* II 106.
[3]) Lucian, *Dea Syr.* XVI.
[4]) As to the misspelling of מ for ש in the old Canaanite script s. Perles, *Analekten* NF 33.

never been convincingly proved; the scapegoat of Lev. xvi is a sacrifice, not a deity.

23) Much speaks in favor of TUR-SINAI's suggestion to read שיר השרים inst. of שיר השירים [1]), only that השרים need not mean "singers", but may also be related to arab. *sirr* which denotes any kind of sexual congress, incl. fornication, but may also be used for "marriage". This assumption leads to an easy solution of the difficult מלך שרים in Hos. viii 10. As the preceding משא—certainly a gloss—indicates, מלך is here used in the sense of "Moloch" as an offering [2]); thus מלך שרים could be an offering in honor of the Hieros Gamos, the marriage between god and goddess. According to TUR-SINAI, the sexual congress of men and women in consecrated places formed part of the "Moloch"-ceremony [3]), which is borne out by a correct understanding of the second half of the vs. מעט מ must be related to arab. *'al-ma'tā* "vulva, vagin" so that the passage originally stated: "they deflowered vagins as Moloch-offering".

24) Some light on the extremely difficult passage Hos. ix 11 ff. is shed by a correct understanding of בשורי מהם in vs. 12. We suggest to relate it to arab. *surm* "anus, rectum"-since the preceding vs. hints at prevention of birth (or procreation) and pregnancy, we have some justification for the reading מאוליהם בשורמיהם alluding to the widespread perversion of pedication, or anal coitus, which may have formed part of the worship of Baal Peor [4]).

In the material presented, passages from Hosea, and to a lesser degree, from the Song of Songs appear more frequently than those from other books of the OT. One reason may be that both contain quite a few erotic, or obscene, terms no longer familar to those who apparently expurgated the rest of the OT. Thus they were left in their place, and their meaning can be reconstructed on the basis of Arabic. But aside from that, there are so many Arabic etymologies which elucidate the book of Hosea that one is all but forced to the assumption that Hosea's dialect differed considerably from the language used in the other parts of the OT. As an example, the author presents an attempted reconstruction of Hos. vi 5-10. Vs. 5c,

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[1]) TUR-SINAI, *op. cit.* 351 ff.

[2]) Cf. EISSFELDT, *Molk als Opferbegriff* (Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums, Heft 3).

[3]) TUR-SINAI, *op. cit.* 113 f.

[4]) Cf. I. BLOCH, *Anthrop. Studies* 124.

according to the LXX, Syr., and most modern commentators, read originally: ומשפטי כאור יצא; TUR-SINAI is certainly right in suggesting that אור in this context refers to the priestly oracle of the Urim [1]). Then the passage would indicate that Yahweh's verdict was an unequivocal sentence of condemnation, and similar thoughts must have been originally expressed in 5 a and b. We therefore relate הצבתי—inst. of חצבתי—to *ṣā'ib* "just" (a judgment) and read הֻצַּבְתִּי. בנביאים appears a slip for בנביאי which we understand as "announcements, prophecies", in which sense the word is also used in נבאי השקר in Jer. xxiii 25.

הרגתים is an error for חרגתים, or perhaps החרגתים, like arab. *ḫaraja* IV "to find someone guilty".

The famous vs. 6 is not the climax of the thought, as is generally assumed, but rather the premise of Yahweh's argument: "I had asked for loyalty [2]) . . . but they did the reverse". Thus the conclusion of this statement must be sought in vs. 7. שם corresponds here to arab. *thumma* "finally, thereafter" and the like. If we see in עברו ברית a gloss explaining the foregoing, we are justified in reading והם הכו אדם, relating אדם to arab. *'adama* "to put together, tie together", also "to make peace between two parties": "Yet they violated the covenant".

The naming of Gilead in the next vs. sounds suspicious: first, Gilead, with one rather doubtful exception (Jos. x 17) always refers to a territory rather than a city, and secondly, it is nowhere designated as a religious center, as hinted at in the following vss. One would rather expect a reference to Gilgal as one of the two leading shrines of the Northern kingdom. Thus the assumption does not appear far-fetched that קרית means here "meeting place" rather than city and that it is a gloss elucidating a preceding עד which would be connected with arab. *'āda* "to return regularly to a place". Only when later on the reading became גלעד, the first גל was left out as a supposed case of dittography.

The last two words of vs. 8 actually belong to the next vs. In עקב we see a gloss explaining the following word המד which corresponds to *madda* I "to follow" or IV "to aid, assist". Originally the passage

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[1]) TUR-SINAI, *op. cit.* II 331.

[2]) For "loyalty" as the original meaning of חסד see N. GLUECK, *Das Wort ḥesed* etc. in *B.Z.A.W.* 47, 3 ff.; 14; 24; 26; 33 f.; 66 f.; cf. also JOHNSON in *Interpretationes ad Vet. Test. pertinentes* etc. 101 f., 105.

read המד מוכח באיש גדודים "The judge [1]) followed the bandit". חבר כהנים דרך ירצחו is distortion of חבר כהן מדרכי רצח "The priest was familiar with the ways of the murderer"; cf. arab. *khabura* "to be familiar with something" and *khabara* "to familiarize someone with something" which is constructed with the preposition *min*.

The following words belong again to the beginning of the next vs. שכמה has nothing to do with Shechem, but is identical with arab. *shakāma* "viciousness", as is correctly explained by the gloss כי זמה so that we read ושכמה עשו בביתי. Since זמה often refers to infamies of a sexual character [2]), we may expect something of this kind in the context. In שעריריה we discover the word שער which we analysed above; ראית שער therefore means "symbol of the genital", or, more specifically "of the vulva", cf. arab. *ra'wa* "sign". ישראל is an error for ישר which is related to *wathara* "to cohabit frequently without impregnating the female" (said of stallions) and *wathr* "coitus"; the root is also related to akkad. *isaru*, *musaru* "penis" [3]). The allusion is to copulation with fertility symbols which is also hinted at in Jer. ii 27 and iii 9.

The root רוה—now hidden in שעריריה—denotes "to drink, drench, saturate". Thus the original must have spoken of the pouring of some substance on some cultic object which allows for at least a guess insofar as the most difficult conclusion of the vs. is concerned. The cultic symbol must be contained in אפרים which Hosea uses in three more passages where the word cannot refer to Ephraim. In viii 9, and probably also in ix 13 the word appears parallel to אשור which in Hos. sometimes denotes the Asherah rather than Assyria [4]). In ix 11 it appears to have been explained by the foregoing כאהבם so that there is at least some ground for the suspicion that the word can mean "phalli" both as symbols and actual sexual organs. Like the name Ephraim, this word would also be derived from פרה; it may even be concealed in "Priapus" which word cannot be explained on the basis of Greek [5]).

Primitive religion sees in menstrual blood the exact counterpart

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[1]) As to הוכיח in the meaning of making a legal decision s. Gen. xxxi 37; Is. ii 4; Mi. iv 3.

[2]) Cf. Lev. xviii 17; xix 29; xx 14; Jer. xiii 27, also *passim* in Ez. xvii and xxiii.

[3]) Cf. Ebeling, *Liebeszauber im Alten Orient* (*M.A.O.G. I*) 39.

[4]) So obviously v 13, s. also the remarks of Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche* 38; xiv 4, and probably also viii 9.

[5]) Cf. Roscher, *Lexicon der griech. und röm. Mythologie* III, ii, 2970.

to male sperm and uses it accordingly in "sympathetic magic" [1]). Thus the suspicion lies near that the symbol of the phallus—which was either the Asherah itself or its side-arm—were "watered" with blood ot this kind. Since it may have been furnished by the hierodules, the question arises whether שם זנות could mean "the blood of the (Temple) prostitutes". There is at least one passage in the OT where the root שם cannot be related to שֵׁם, שָׁם or שׂים. In 2 K. ix 30 it is said of Jezebel that ותשם בפוך עיניה, which cannot mean: "she put her eyes in paint". But when we connect ותשם with akkad. *sāmu* "red", the phrase makes excellent sense: "she reddened her eyes with paint" [2]). Since דם "blood" is derivated from אדם "red", we may assume a similar transition in the meaning of שם. Then שם ושאר in Is. xiv 22 would signify "blood and flesh", a term for blood-relations-rather than "name and remnant". Perhaps ולא תשים דמים in Deut. xxii 8 and וישם דמי מלחמה in 1 K. ii 5 may also be referred to this special meaning of שם rather than the root שׂים. Thus our understanding of שם זנות as "blood of the hierodules" does not appear without foundation.

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[1]) S. Frazer, *Golden Bough* X 97; Briffault, *The Mothers* II 355; Pierre Gordon, *Sex and Religion* 191 ff.

[2]) As to פוך denoting "red eye paint" or "red paint" in general s. Sommer in *J.B.L.* LXII (1943) 33 ff.

BEMERKUNGEN ZUM DANIELBUCH

VON

A. JEPSEN
Greifswald

Dass das Danielbuch in seiner gegenwärtigen Gestalt aus der Makkabäerzeit stammt, dürfte auch heute noch im wesentlichen anerkannt sein. Aber damit hört die Einigkeit im Grunde auch schon auf. Schon wenn es um die Frage geht, welche Stellung das gegenwärtige Danielbuch in den theologischen Richtungen und Auseinandersetzungen dieser Zeit eingenommen habe, werden sehr verschiedene Antworten gegeben [1]). Noch weniger herrscht Einigkeit darüber, ob das Buch als Ganzes der Makkabäerzeit angehört, oder ob und wieweit älteres Material in ihm verarbeitet ist. Wenn man eine Übersicht ansieht, wie sie etwa ROWLEY gibt in seinem Aufsatz „The unity of the Book of Daniel" [2]), dann kann man sich fragen, ob es noch sinnvoll ist, diese Frage erneut aufzugreifen. Mir scheint freilich, dass JUNKER in seinen „Untersuchungen" [3]) weithin auf dem richtigen Wege war, wenn er älteren Stoff im ganzen Danielbuch erkennen wollte. Aber es bedarf wohl noch vieler Einzeluntersuchungen, um hier zur Klarheit zu kommen. Mir geht es jetzt nur um den Versuch, einige Probleme zunächst aufzunehmen.

H. L. GINSBERG hat die Thesen, die er in seiner Arbeit *Studies in Daniel*, 1948, begründet hat, in *VT* IV, 1954, 246 ff. noch einmal in Auseinandersetzung mit H. H. ROWLEY verteidigt. Ich möchte ihm zunächst darin zustimmen, dass die Kapitel ii-vi in der Tat in die vormakkabäische Zeit gehören, da sie, wie schon vorzeiten Johannes MEINHOLD, damals in Greifswald, nachgewiesen hat, aus der makkabäischen Zeit schwerlich verständlich zu machen sind. Aber im Einzelnen möchte ich doch manches noch etwas anders sehen.

Das gilt zunächst von GINSBERGS Deutung des ii Kap. Die These, dass die vier Reiche gleichzeitig nebeneinander gedacht sind, kann

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[1]) Vgl. dazu etwa zuletzt PLOEGER, *Theokratie und Eschatologie*, 1959.
[2]) In *The Servant of the Lord aud other Essays on the OT*, p. 237 ff.
[3]) *Untersuchungen über literarische und exegetische Probleme des Buches Daniel*, 1932.

sich schwerlich auf die Aussage in V. 44 berufen: „In den Tagen jener Könige", da diese Könige voll verständlich werden aus der Bemerkung in V. 41, wonach das Königreich zerteilt wird. Wenn ein Königreich zerteilt wird, so bedeutet es, dass mehrere Könige, gleichgültig wie viele, herrschen. Auf dieses geteilte Königreich von V. 41 bezieht sich der Anfang von V. 44. So braucht man auch nicht die im Grunde doch eindeutige Aussage von V. 39 irgendwie umzudeuten. Wenn das zweite Königtum „nach dir", d.h. nach Nebukadnezar erstehen wird, dann ist damit eben doch ein zeitlich folgendes Reich gemeint; und von daher lässt sich auch das dritte und vierte Reich schwerlich anders verstehen, als man sie immer gedeutet hat, nämlich auf die Abfolge des Babylonischen — Medischen — Persischen — Griechischen Reiches.

Zur genaueren Datierung dieses Kap. ist es freilich nötig, auf die vielbehandelten VV. 41-43 einzugehen. Sie sind oft ganz oder zum Teil ausgeschieden worden, weil sie den Zusammenhang stören oder überladen. Wesentlich scheint mir nun die Feststellung, dass in dem ganzen Abschnitt immer zuerst die Deutung gegeben und dann auf das Bild zurückgegriffen wird. Eindeutig ist der Zusammenhang in V. 44.45a: „In den Tagen dieser Könige wird der Gott des Himmels ein Königreich errichten, . . . dementsprechend, dass du gesehen hast, dass ein Stein sich löste . . .". Ebenso auch in V. 40: „Und das vierte Königreich wird stark sein, wie Eisen, dementsprechend, dass das Eisen alles zerschmettert . . .".

Von hier aus ergibt sich auch der Aufbau der Verse 41-43. Am Ende stehen, sich wörtlich entsprechend die Deutung, 43aβ, und das Bild, 43b:

43aβ: Und sie werden sich vermischen durch Menschensamen und werden nicht aneinander halten;
43b : wie das Eisen sich nicht mit dem Ton vermischt.
Vorher geht die Deutung 42b und das Bild 43a:
42b : Teils wird das Königreich stark und teils wird es zerbrechlich sein,
43aα: da du das Eisen geschaut hast, vermischt mit lehmigem Ton.

Dann darf man wohl annehmen, dass auch im Vorhergehenden die gleiche Anordnung vorliegt. V. 41.42a sind allerdings stark überladen. Einmal dürften die Worte: פרזלא מערב בחסף טינא aus V. 43 wörtlich entlehnt sein; wenn dann auch die Deutung am Anfang steht, das Bild folgt, muss also zusammengehören:

41aβ: Das Königreich wird geteilt sein und von der Stärke des Eisens an sich haben,

41b.42a: dementsprechend, dass du geschaut hast die Füsse teils von Eisen, teils von Ton.

Dann müsste man allerdings annehmen, dass V. 41aα eine Variante zu dem ursprünglichen V. 41b darstellt, was keine Schwierigkeit macht. Aus dieser Variante wäre das ואצבעת nach V. 42 gekommen. Vgl.:

V. 41bβ.42a: כל־קבל די חזיתה [ואצבעת] רגליא מנהון פרזל ומנהון חסף

V. 41aα : די חזיתה רגליא ואצבעתא מנהון חסף דיפחר ומנהון פרזל

Dann lautete also der nichtglossierte Text von 41-43:

(I) 41b : Das Königtum wird geteilt werden und von der Stärke des Eisens wird es besitzen, da du geschaut hast die Füsse, teils Eisen, teils Ton.

(II) 42b : Teils wird das Königreich stark sein und teils zerbrechlich, da du das Eisen vermischt gesehen hast mit lehmigem Ton.

(III) 43aβ : Und sie werden sich vermischen durch Menschensamen und werden nicht aneinander halten, wie das Eisen sich nicht mischt mit Ton.

Das bedeutet, dass das Bild von den Füssen, teils Eisen, teils Ton, in dreifacher Weise erklärt wird. Die ursprüngliche Weise dürfte die erste sein; denn einmal wird in V. 42a der Wortlaut von V. 33 wieder aufgenommen; zum andern steht nur in V. 41b das כל קבל, das der Erzähler auch V. 40 u. 45 zur Einführung der Erinnerung an das geschaute Bild gebraucht, während in V. 43 einfaches די, in 43b היך די auftritt. Auch die „Könige" von V. 44 können eigentlich sinnvoll nur an das geteilte Königreich von V. 41 f. anschliessen. So dürften die beiden anderen Erklärungen als Ergänzungen anzusehen sein.

Die erste oder ursprüngliche Erklärung besagt, dass das vierte, dem Eisen vergleichbare Königreich zerteilt wird, aber etwas Eisenkraft wird ihm verbleiben, wie ja auch die tönernen Füsse mit Eisen vermengt waren. Für die Tage dieser Könige des zerteilten Reiches wird das Gottesreich erwartet. Diese Erwartung kann also bald nach der Teilung des Alexanderreiches eingetreten sein.

Die zweite Deutung hat nicht das geteilte Reich in seiner Gesamtheit im Auge, sondern ein bestimmtes, folgendes, also fünftes Reich; und sagt von ihm aus, dass es teils stark, teils schwach sein wird.

Man möchte an das Reich der Seleukiden denken; aber hatten die Juden im 3. Jh. mit ihm zu tun? Oder soll man an das 2. Jh. denken? Möglich wäre aber auch ein Urteil über das Ptolemäerreich, das eben nicht mehr die Stärke des Alexanderreiches hatte, und darum die Erwartung des Gottesreiches durchaus als möglich erscheinen liess.

Die dritte Deutung geht auf die Ehebündnisse, die aber nicht halten. Diese Deutung ist am besten nach dem Bruch zwischen Syrien und Ägypten, also im 2. Jh., verständlich.

Jedenfalls zeigen schon diese drei Deutungen der teils eisernen, teils tönernen Füsse nebeneinander, wie früh man schon versuchte, einen scheinbar fest fixierten Zeitpunkt herauszuschieben und durch neue Deutungen einer überlieferten Offenbarung (hier des Traumes), den Anbruch des Gottesreiches neu festzulegen.

Sind diese Überlegungen richtig, so wäre GINSBERG mit seiner zeitlichen Ansetzung des Kapitels nicht im Unrecht, auch wenn seine Begründung nicht zu halten ist. Die älteste erkennbare Form dieses Kapitels müsste dann in die Zeit nach der Teilung des Alexanderreiches gehören. Es ist doch wohl verständlich, wenn in dieser Zeit des Zusammenbruches eines Jahrhunderte währenden Weltreichsgefüges die Hoffnung auf das Erscheinen des Gottesreichs lebendig wurde. Aber auch die beiden Ergänzungen V. 42b. 43 gehören wohl noch in die vormakkabäische Zeit.

2. JUNKER *a.a.O.*, nimmt auch für die Kapitel x-xii älteren Stoff an, ohne freilich diesen im einzelnen noch herausstellen zu wollen. Mir scheint, dass sich auch bei diesen Kapiteln noch der ältere Bestand erkennen lässt. Das Kapitel xi 2 ff. bringt in der Form der Weissagung eine Geschichtsdarstellung, die von den 4 Perserkönigen nach Cyrus und von Alexander ausgeht, dessen Reich nach den 4 Himmelsrichtungen verteilt wird, dann aber rasch auf die Geschichte des Ptolemäer- und des Seleukidenreiches übergeht und sie bis zu Antiochus IV. herunterführt. Was bedeutet aber in diesem Zusammenhang die Einleitung in Kapitel x? Worauf geht eigentlich diese Vision? Sie ist gewiss nicht in allem verständlich; aber deutlich ist doch wohl, dass Daniel am Anfang des Perserreiches, im 3. Jahr des Cyrus, hineinversetzt wird in ein Geschehen, das von der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Perserfürsten und mit dem Griechenfürsten handelt. Hatte wirklich dieses ganze Geschehen für die Zeitgenossen der Makkabäer noch Bedeutung? Die Darstellung von Kapitel xi 2 ff. zeigt deutlich genug, was späterhin wesentlich war: nämlich die

jüngste Vergangenheit bis hin zu Antiochus IV. Der Kampf mit den Persern und das Auftreten der Griechen ist längst vergangen. Was aber Daniel in dieser ausführlichen Schilderung von Kapitel x gezeigt wird, ist eben dieses, dass die Engelfürsten Israels zu kämpfen haben mit dem Fürsten Persiens und wohl auch mit dem Fürsten Griechenlands. Wenn man versucht zu fragen, was das Ziel dieser Visionsschilderung sein sollte, kann es wohl nur in der Zusage gefunden werden, dass Israel auch weiterhin des Schutzes der Engel Gottes gewiss sein darf. Ob dann nicht ein gut Stück von Kapitel xii zum ursprünglichen Abschluss der Visionsschilderung in Kapitel x gehört? Dann liesse diese ältere Visionsdarstellung, wie sie uns in Kapitel x und xii im wesentlichen noch erhalten wäre, etwas von der Situation des Judentums erkennen, in der Auseinandersetzung mit Persern und Griechen, und von der Hoffnung, dass Michael ihr Fürst, ihnen auch durch diese Zeit der Auseinandersetzung und Not hindurch helfen werde. Durch die Einfügung von Kapitel xi 2 ff. und wohl noch einiger Verse in Kap. xii, hätte diese Verkündigung ihre Zuspitzung auf die Makkabäerzeit erfahren. Die Situation in diesen Kapiteln wäre also ganz ähnlich, wie sie Junker auch für Kapitel viii schon erschlossen hat. Ich kann seinen Argumenten, in denen er einen Gedanken Gressmanns aufnimmt, im wesentlichen zustimmen, würde nur noch mit grösserer Gewissheit als er annehmen, dass der Beginn der Deutung in Vv. 15-22 ebenfalls zum alten Bestand gehört, dass aber der ursprüngliche Zielpunkt der Vision und der Deutung durch die Vv. 9-14 und 23-26 ersetzt worden ist. Das würde bedeuten, wie Gressmann und Junker es auch schon ausgeführt haben, dass auch Kapitel viii in seinem Grundbestand in die Zeit nach dem Tod Alexanders gehört und für diese Zeit des Zusammenbruches einer jahrhundertealten Weltreichsordnung entweder die Zukunft Gottes, oder den Schutz der Gemeinde in Aussicht stellte.

3. Dass auch für Kapitel vii eine ältere vormakkabäische Grundlage anzunehmen ist, ist weithin behauptet worden; wie mir scheint mit Recht. Ich möchte aber fragen, ob man wirklich bei der Deutung des Grundbestandes gut daran getan hat, die Auslegung Gressmanns zu übersehen oder abzulehnen. Denn seine Beobachtungen (*Der Messias*, 1929, S. 344 ff., 367) scheinen doch richtig. Die 4 Tiere steigen gleichzeitig aus dem Wasser, sie werden zur gleichen Zeit abgeurteilt, das 4. sogar zuerst. Und die Deutung spricht von 4

Königen, ohne etwas davon zu sagen, dass die 4 Könige nacheinander herrschen. Wenn nicht Kapitel ii voranginge und Kapitel vii aus sich heraus ausgelegt werden müsste, wäre die Deutung auf 4 gleichzeitige Könige wohl nicht zu umgehen. Da dieselbe Vierzahl ja aber auch in Kapitel viii auftaucht, wo sie deutlich auf die Nachfolger Alexanders bezogen wird, ist nicht einzusehen, warum nicht auch in Kapitel vii die vier Diadochenreiche gemeint sein sollen. Es wäre dann noch deutlicher, als es bisher erscheint, dass tatsächlich der Grundstock von Kapitel vii auch in diese frühe Diadochenzeit hineingehört. Was etwa Junker zur Widerlegung Gressmanns sagt, scheint mir dem Gewicht der Argumente Gressmanns nicht gerecht zu werden.

4. Es müssen zweifellos noch sehr viele Einzelheiten im Text und in den Zusammenhängen des Danielbuches geklärt werden, aber wenn die obigen Beobachtungen zu Recht bestehen, erscheint es doch so, als ob es eine Sammlung von Danielerzählungen und Visionen schon in der Zeit Alexanders gegeben habe, die dann in der Zeit nach dem Auseinanderbrechen seines Weltreichs durch weitere Erzählungen ergänzt wäre. In die Alexanderzeit könnten etwa gehören: Kapitel iv, v, vi, x + xii, in denen es wesentlich um das Bekenntnis der Weltherrscher zu dem einen Himmelsgott, um den Erweis seiner Macht und um seine Bewahrung auch in den Zeiten der Not geht.

Nach dem Tod Alexanders wären die eschatologischen Stücke hinzugekommen, die vom Anbruch des Gottesreiches in verschiedener Weise reden: Kapitel ii, vii, viii.

Der Ergänzer der Makkabäerzeit hätte verhältnismässig wenig hinzugefügt; wahrscheinlich Kapitel i als verbindendes Kapitel, um Kapitel iii in den Zusammenhang der Danielgeschichten aufnehmen zu können, sowie einige Verse in Kapitel vii: 7b-8, 11a, 18-26; und in Kapitel viii die Verse 9-14 und 23-26; und Kapitel xi 2 ff.

Kapitel ix, das in seiner gegenwärtigen Gestalt auch auf die Makkabäerzeit zurückgehen dürfte, bedarf noch einer besonderen Untersuchung.

ESCHATOLOGY IN THE BOOK OF MICAH

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There is usually no doubt among scholars (and even less among ordinary readers of Scripture) that there is an eschatology in the Book of Micah. Where the doubt comes in is whether this eschatology can be ascribed to Micah himself or whether it is a later addition to the words of the prophet. Certain trends can be discerned in the discussion. In the opinion of fundamentalists and strictly conservative scholars the prophecies of weal may as readily be ascribed to the prophet himself as the rest of the oracles. This point of view met strong opposition from critical scholars in the 19th and 20th centuries, and their general position, as advocated by scholars like WELLHAUSEN [1]), MARTI, DUHM, HÖLSCHER, MOWINCKEL, ROBINSON, and many others, came to be widely accepted. The analyses given of the Book of Micah have been highly valuable. They have undoubtedly thrown new light on it and have produced lasting results. They are based on strict logic and use categories from Western European thinking. This is the method a scholar has to apply; but Western logic can also be pressed too far, if it does not take account of the actual Oriental background of the words of the Hebrew prophets [2]).

The chief results of an analysis may be indicated briefly. MOWINCKEL, whose analysis I choose as an example [3]), finds the words of Micah himself in chs. i-iii, oracles of doom. Chs. iv and v contain prophecies of weal, all considered as later additions. In chs. vi-vii 6 there are again oracles of doom, but as their character deviates from that of the oracles of chs. i-iii, it is thought likely that they were uttered by another prophet than Micah, though they *may* come from him. Ch. vii 7-20, a passage with a strong hope of Israel's restoration is

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[1]) *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* 5, 1892, pp. 145 f.
[2]) So also J. LINDBLOM: *Micha literarisch untersucht*, 1929, p. 10.
[3]) *GTMMM* III, pp. 666 ff.

regarded as an addition, in the style of a "prophetical liturgy".

This analysis seems logically cogent; but we must recognize its limitations and not draw too far-reaching conclusions. It is obviously a classification according to contents; and the grouping of the oracles shows that the traditionists had already collected groups of oracles with similar subject matter. The scheme can easily be recognized: oracles of doom are grouped together, and so are the oracles of weal, in the traditional order: first doom, then restoration. What complicates the situation in the Book of Micah is the fact that the scheme occurs twice. This does not necessarily imply that more than one prophet is speaking. It may be that the words of doom in chs. vi and vii are less hard than those in chs. i-iii, but that only tells something about the methods of the traditionists. There must be striking differences between the two collections to justify the assumption that there were different authors. Differences of theme and purpose called for different styles in ancient Hebrew poetry and preaching.

Another problem must also be mentioned. It is closely connected with the stylistic one just mentioned. It is the much discussed question whether the same prophet could preach both doom and complete restoration. Too much Western logic has been applied to the discussion of this question. It is usually held that a prophet who fervently preached doom and destruction could not at the same time weaken the effect and the earnestness of his appeal by promising a bright future when his people had gone through the trial. This may sound perfectly logical; but it is nevertheless Western logic at its worst. It is a point of view which is far too narrow and which does not take account of the realities of life. People who went through the last war know that there is little comfort in the prospect of a bright future if one knows there will come an ordeal which will mean a decimation of the population. This fact takes the sting out of the use which has been made of Jer. xxvi 18, where the hard doom in Micah iii 12 is mentioned. The elders in the time of Jeremiah praised King Hezekiah because he did not put Micah to death for his words of doom. Actually, this quotation from Micah and the comments on it do not at all exclude the possibility that Micah may also have uttered oracles of weal.

Some analogies from other prophets may be of interest. Isaiah, whose oracles of doom were as absolute as those of Micah, called his son Shear-jashub (vii 3). He knew that in spite of the imminent

ordeals it was possible to wait for Yahweh (viii 16-18), because he was again going to lay a precious cornerstone in Zion (xxviii 16). Jeremiah bought his uncle's field in Anathoth (xxxii 7), because it was Yahweh's command. And Yahweh made it abundantly plain: "Houses and fields and vineyards shall again be bought in this land" (xxxii 15). Jerusalem was then already under siege and the destruction had to come, but it did not mean final destruction. When some years had passed the restoration would take place.

Even Amos, who has the reputation of being the harshest of the prophets, considered the possibility of a future for the remnant. "Hate evil, and love good, and establish justice in the gate, it may be that Yahweh Sebaoth will be gracious to the remnant of Joseph" (v 15).

More examples could be given from other prophets; but the above may be sufficient to show that the idea of a restoration was neither unknown nor considered impossible. The stress may have been laid on doom and imminent destruction; but there is good reason to believe that though such oracles predominated they were not the last word of the prophets. They may have been reticent in their promises for the future, because the situation usually gave them more occasion to underline the gloomy side of their message.

A question which may be raised here is whether there is a genuine eschatology in the preaching of the prophets just mentioned. VRIEZEN has preferred to speak of proto-eschatological ideas in the period from Amos to Jeremiah [1]). He calls the time a period of "awakening eschatology", with the vision of a new people and a new kingdom that will embrace the whole world [2]). Perhaps he has made too fine distinctions, but VRIEZEN is surely right in stating that "eschatology" can be used in a wider sense. His definitions may be challenged, but the idea is surely present of a new kingdom in a future which lies beyond the ordeals.

There are also other features which must be mentioned in a discussion of the eschatology of the prophets. The ideas and the language of the prophets were to a great extent taken over from the cult. This is natural, for many reasons. We know next to nothing about Micah, but Isaiah received his call in the temple (ch. vi), Jeremiah was the son of a priest and thus destined to be a priest

[1]) Th. C. VRIEZEN: "Prophecy and Eschatology", in *Supplements to VT*, vol. 1, 1953, p. 225.
[2]) *Ibid.*, p. 227.

himself. Ezekiel, like Haggai and Zechariah, was closely linked to the cult. This background affected their preaching in more than one way. The dramatic combat in the cult, the alternation of distress and salvation, weeping and joy, death and life, must necessarily have left their mark [1]).

Whatever Micah's position in society was, his background was the same as that of the other prophets. That is not said as a mere assertion, but as the only possible result of comparison of Micah's preaching with that of other prophets from the same time. Actually, the first oracle of weal found in Micah iv 1-5, is identical with Isaiah ii 2-4. This naturally raises a special problem. In the opinion of MOWINCKEL, which I share, the oracle did not originate from either of the two prophets. It came into the traditionist circle which handed down Micah's words, and from there to the Isaiah circles. In MOWINCKEL's opinion the oracle was composed by the learned scribes who edited the books of the prophets, or it was at least added to the other oracles by them. I cannot share this point of view. The whole character of chs. iv-v tells against it. The books of the prophets were not made in that way. Admittedly there was editorial activity, but at a late stage; and the editors did not consider it their task to compose new parts of the books. As already mentioned the traditions from the prophets were collected and handed down according to ancient cultic schemes, reflecting the prevailing aspects in the cultic performances. The oracle in iv 1-5 introduces the oracles which point forward to a happy future, to the day of restoration, which was due to come when the people had gone through doom and destruction. It is not the work of learned scribes, but more probably an old cultic oracle from the great Autumn and New Year festival. It has been objected that there are features in the oracle which may indicate a late origin. The expression *bĕʾaḥărīt hayyāmīm* is one of these. It is often used in the O.T., mostly in solemn connexions. The meaning and use of the phrase must be decided independently in each case. It is found in Gen. xlix 1 and in Num. xxiv 14, referring to a future which is no farther than the time of David and the time of the kings. It would be an error to interpret it against the background of e.g. Dan. x 14, as some scholars seem inclined to do. The expression most probably goes

[1]) Cf. Walter BEYERLIN: *Die Kulttraditionen Israels in der Verkündigung des Propheten Micha*, Göttingen 1959 (Forschungen zur Religion u. Lit. des AT und NT. Neue Folge. Heft 54). See, e.g., p. 86.

back to the Akkadian *ina aḫrāt ūmi*, which simply means: in the future [1]). That was the meaning also in Israel, and it was not till a late period that the expression was coloured by Persian thought and acquired the meaning: in the latter days (Dan. x 14). The expression introduces an oracle which is of the same type as those we suppose have been used at the New Year festival. The ideas expressed here can be found also in the O.T. psalms, e.g. Ps. xlviii, xcix and cx. The psalms were closely connected with the temple cult in the Solomonic temple and must be considered as direct witnesses to this cult [2]). The similarity between these ancient psalms and the oracle in iv 1-5 may be seen in many features. The mountain of Yahweh is mentioned as the highest mountain or as the mountain in the far north (Ps. xlviii 2, Micah iv 1). On this mountain Yahweh executed "justice and righteousness" (Ps. xcix 4); and from Zion went forth the Torah (Micah iv 2). It was an ancient custom that Torah was taught to those who took part in the processions, especially at the New Year festival, as can be seen from Ps. xxiv and xv [3]). Yahweh was also expected to "execute judgement among the nations" and to "shatter kings on the day of his wrath" (Ps. cx 5 f.), cf. Micah iv 3. So complete would his domination be that "nation no more should lift up sword against nation" and the swords be beaten into plowshares. This rather pacifistic ideal is no late invention. Even in Gen. xlix, a song which breathes the ancient spirit, we find features which may point in that direction, vv. 11-12, 7.

The parallels cited above have been given in order to show that the thought of Micah iv 1-5 is not necessarily late. On the contrary, it represents central ideas found in the Israelite cult and expressed at the great festivals. It is most likely that the oracle has been taken directly from the cult. This accords with the conclusion reached by Bo Reicke in his discussion of Micah vii, a chapter which he characterises as a text of ritual character, a parallel to a liturgy at a Middle Eastern New Year festival [4]).

The next passage, iv 6-7, raises a new problem. Mowinckel regards this passage as part of a series of late editorial additions. In his opinion they are found in ii 12-13, iv 6-7, v 6-7 and vii 11-13. They have the same metre and the same content: 1. The idea of the

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[1]) C. Bezold: *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, 1926, p. 24.
[2]) Cf. Mowinckel: *Psalmenstudien* I-VI.
[3]) Cf. Mowinckel: *Offersang og sangoffer*, p. 156.
[4]) *Svensk exegetisk årsbok* XII, 1947, p. 282.

remnant, 2. the idea of the ingathering of the Diaspora, 3. the kingdom of Yahweh, 4. Israel's domination over other peoples, 5. revenge on the *goyyīm*. There is no doubt that traditionists have been at work on the words of Micah, and we shall never be able to say what was really spoken by Micah himself and what comes from the traditionists' circles. No doubt the traditionists were responsible for the present arrangement of the oracles. But it is another question whether they did really write new passages to be inserted at different points. It is inherently unlikely that men who were so loyal to tradition should also have composed new passages and handed them down as words of the prophet. It may be true that these passages can be grouped together, though I am not fully convinced that vii 11-13 fits completely into the scheme. But most of the ideas can be found also in other passages, e.g., the idea of Yahweh's kingship and his domination over the other peoples, which we find in i 2 ff., a passage whose authenticity nobody has disputed, as far as I know. It may be that the passages in question have been placed where they are to form a sequence; but in all probability the traditionists used passages from the temple cult which they honestly thought expressed central ideas in Micah. The same problem is met with in Amos iv 13, v 8 f., ix 5 f. It is a hymn which is cited there, and there is thus little doubt that it comes from the temple cult.

The central idea in iv 6-7 is the kingship of Yahweh, who will reign on Zion and gather all those who have gone through ordeals and afflictions. The main idea of this passage accords well with the context. Actually *v.* 8 takes up directly the theme of *v.* 7 in an oracle to the hill of Zion: "To you shall it come, the former domination shall come, the kingdom of the daughter of Jerusalem". Apart from that, the oracle in iv 8-14 has some problems which will have to be mentioned. *V.* 13 seems to form a natural conclusion of the passage, while *v.* 14 brings a renewed summons to lamentation. It is therefore probable that *v.* 14 is actually the introduction to the next passage, v 1-3. It can more appropriately be discussed together with that passage.

The passage iv 8-13 is composed in the style of a psalm. The prototype is a lamentation, with oracles which give God's answer: help will come, and the situation will be changed. (Cf., e.g., Pss. lxix, lxxvii, lxxix, xc, and the oracles in Pss. ii and cx). That does not mean that the passage is a psalm, only that stylistic elements come from the psalms. The address in *v.* 8 is unusually unconventional:

wĕʾattā migdal-ʿēdær ʿofæl bat-ṣiyyōn. These are words that could well have been chosen by the prophet. To the "herdsmen's tower and the hill of Zion" shall come "the former domination", *ham-mæmšālā hā-riʾšōnā*. This former domination and former glory was the united kingdom, as it was in the time of David and Solomon. Nothing less could suffice, the glory of this time was what people in both kingdoms wanted back, but especially what people hoped in Jerusalem, where the Davidic dynastic line lived for centuries. But at the time of the oracle the situation was different. The opening word in *v.* 9, *ʿattā*, underlines the contrast. *Now* there is lamenting and crying in Jerusalem, and enemies are threatening. But then comes an astonishing question: why do they cry? Is not their king there? *hămælæk ʾen-bāk*? It is somewhat doubtful what is implied in this question. In Hebrew a question introduced by the interrogative particle *hă-* plus a negation (usually *loʾ*) means that an affirmative answer is expected [1]). Here one may ask if *ʾēn* is used as a negation in a way that demands an affirmative answer. Is the King not in you? Yes, he is! But even if this might be right, another question would have to be put at once: what king? If we connect *v.* 9 with *v.* 7 it would be natural to interpret this so that Yahweh is the king, he is present on Zion. But *v.* 8 would rather suggest a human king, which would mean that this oracle is from the time of the kings. Personally I hold this opinion; but I readily admit that there are so many vague points in the arguments that nothing can be said with certainty.

But whatever the situation was, worse things were to come. Though this is a prophecy of weal, nevertheless it does not hide the coming pain and destruction. The ordeal was imminent; again the temporal adverb *ʿattā* is used. The people would be driven out of their city and would have to live in the open fields. For people who were greatly attached to their city this was a tragedy. Deportations on a large scale were introduced by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.) and were a terrible threat in the time of Micah, who lived to hear about the destruction of Israel and Samaria and the deportation of the people there. In the next words of the oracle, however, it is promised that the people will be rescued, that Yahweh will free them from the hands of their enemies. But before these words we meet a crux: *ubāʾt ʿad-bābæl šām tinnāṣēl*, "you shall go to Babylon, there you shall be rescued".

[1]) See e.g. H. S. Nyberg: *Hebreisk grammatik*, 1952, p. 310.

There are several possibilities here, which I can only mention briefly. It is generally held that these words show decisively that the passage is a late addition, probably a *vaticinium ex eventu*, written by a redactor who knew about the deportation to Babylon. Scholars have often accepted this solution uncritically. But there are other possibilities. At the time of King Hezekiah of Judah the Babylonians were so strong that they were real rivals of the Assyrians. King Merodach-baladan sent envoys to Hezekiah, who showed them his wealth. The prophet Isaiah disliked this and prophesied that all this wealth would be carried off to Babylon (Is. xxxix). This chapter demonstrates convincingly that a deportation to Babylon could be spoken of in the time of Micah. As Micah must have been in close contact with the disciples of Isaiah, it would not be astonishing if he had taken over the master's point of view.

There is also a third possibility. The words cited about Babylon may be an addition, from the time when the Book of Micah was put down in writing, most probably a long time after the oracle was spoken. The formal and pedestrian official style makes these words seem out of place in the context, which would be better without them. The editor of the book in KITTEL *Biblia Hebraica* has suggested that the words are an addition, and it is one of the cases where I tend to agree. Nevertheless, there seem to be so many ancient features in this oracle that the words about Babylon cannot by themselves justify a post-exilic date for the whole oracle.

The last section of this oracle, *vv.* 11-13, tells about the enemies who will rise against Zion, only to be threshed down and destroyed. The language cannot be called conventional here, but the idea is well known, and Pss. ii and cx show convincingly that the complex of ideas found in the oracle had its natural home in the cult of the great festivals.

V. 14 represents a new start, introducing the oracles in ch. v, which may be sub-divided, but represent a well constructed composition. There are many details worth discussing; but most will have to be left out, for lack of space. The verse begins with the characteristic *'attā*, indicating that it refers to the present trouble. It has been underlined several times that ideas and images have been taken from the cult, and this is also the case here. (The translations in *KJV* and *RSV* are misleading; nothing can be built on LXX here. Translation, as given by MOWINCKEL: "Now make incisions on yourself, you daughter of incissions—"). It was a time for wailing

and rites of sorrow; and one of the things that happened was that "with a rod they struck the ruler of Israel upon the cheek". It is astonishing how easily this utterance has been by-passed or misinterpreted. Here is described, in words that cannot be misunderstood, an important rite from the ritual of the New Year festival, known also from the Akkadian Akitu ritual [1]). It is also a clear indication that we have here an oracle from the time of the kings.

The following verses also have themes and images which seem to go far back. Ch. v 1 presents textual problems; and I prefer to follow ROBINSON, who bases his interpretation of this verse on Matthew ii 6, "And you Bethlehem in the land of Efrathah, you are not little among the clans of Judah" [2]). From this clan shall the ruler of Israel come, a ruler whose origin is "from of old", from ancient days [3]). The background here is mythological, and some of the expressions (e.g., *umoṣā'otāw miqqædæm*, "whose origin is from of old") seem to be taken from the sphere of the sun god, cf. Ps. xix 7. Ancient conceptions can be discerned also behind the ideas and the expressions in the next verse. "He", either the new ruler or Yahweh, "shall give them up until the time when she who is in travail has brought forth". Who is the *yolēdā*? It is even harder to determine than in Is. vii 10-17, where there is a parallel, cf. also Is. ix 1-6 and Ps. ii 7. The parallel from Ras Shamra, in the Nikkal and Kathirat myth, will also be well known. An unnamed woman, a *ġalmat*, shall bear a son to the moon-god, Yarih [4]). No further explanation is given in the Micah oracle, nor in the passage in Is. vii. We can see the mythological background, and can guess that the son who is going to be born is the coming ruler, the *mōšæl*, but apart from that everything is wrapped in obscurity. Ideas from ancient divine kingship, with the king supposed to be born by the goddess, are here combined with historical features: the rise of a new dominating ruler from the house of David, whose centre was in Bethlehem-Efrathah.

The latter part of *v.* 2 has its main point on the historical side, predicting that the rest (*yætær*) of the brethren shall return to the

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[1]) Cf. e.g. GADD in *Myth and Ritual*, 1933, p. 53.

[2]) *Handbuch zum Alten Testament*. Reihe I: 14. 2. Auflage 1954, pp. 142 f.

[3]) It is not possible to accept Margaret B. CROOK's attempt to find an historical background for Micah v 1-5, "The Promise in Micah 5", in *JBL* LXX 1951, pp. 313-320.

[4]) DRIVER: *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 1956, pp. 124 f.

people of Israel. It is worth observing how the sentence is constructed here. It is the rest who will come back to the children of Israel (*bĕnē yiśrā'ēl*). It thus seems to be assumed that a great part of the people is still in their country. It is not the situation after the deportations from Judah which is the background here. It is probable that there is an historical allusion here; and that it is to the situation after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C.

V. 3 paints a picture of the ruler of Israel who will feed his flock dwelling securely under the protection of their mighty ruler. In the next passage, comprising *vv.* 4-5, there is again a mixture of historical and mythical elements. The nation which represents the threat here, is the Assyrians, who were at this time turning westwards. The oracle promises help from seven shepherds and eight princes. The shepherds could be another allusion to David and his dynasty, but it is more probable that the word *rō'īm* is used generally of kings or princes, parallel with *nĕsīkē 'ādām*. A whole array of princes would fall upon the Assyrians, crush them, and rule them with the sword.

The fact that this passage is in the first person plural, and its special character, have made it an enigma to scholars. Robinson has suggested that it was originally associated with an oracle of doom which is lost, what is left being only the utterance of the cocksure and self-important people who were not willing to do penance [1]). The time was probably that of Sennacherib, 701 B.C. This is a fine attempt at a solution, but probably Robinson has based his proof too much on the change in person and number, which could take place in oracles, practically without any ostensible reason. The fact remains that the traditionists regarded the oracle as an oracle of weal and placed it among other such oracles. With its mythological—historical contents this attitude was probably the only possible one for them, and it will be sheer conjecture on our side if we go beyond that.

The following passage, *vv.* 6-8, gives a double oracle on the remnant of Jacob (*šĕ'ērīt ya'ăqōb*). It is not always clear whom the prophets think of when they speak of Jacob, but in many cases there is little doubt that they mean Northern Israel, Is. ix 7, Hos. xii 3 f., 12 f., Amos vii 2, 5, Micah i 5. That also seems to be the case here. The remnant of Jacob would be like dew from Yahweh, like showers

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[1]) *Op. cit.*, pp. 143 f.

upon the grass. Here there are themes from the New Year festival, promises for the coming year, with fertility in fields and herds, cf. Ps. cx 3. The latter part of the oracle paints another picture: the remnant of Jacob as the strong and victorious lion, *v.* 7. The image of the lion is connected with David and his house, and there may be a hidden allusion here. But whether we accept this allusion or not, we shall have to admit that the images used do not necessitate a date in the late post-exilic period. They seem rather to indicate a date after the fall of Samaria, probably not very long afterwards.

The last part of the first collection of oracles of weal, *vv.* 9-14, is a very remarkable oracle. Even in the view of WELLHAUSEN and NOWACK this oracle is from Micah himself. As they considered only oracles of doom to be authentic it is implied that this oracle was interpreted as such. Their opinion was shared by others, e.g., SELLIN and ROBINSON [1]). The oracle is a threat against all that was foreign and warlike in Israel, especially several forms of foreign cult. It ends in a word of doom over the nations which did not obey. It is spoken in the first person singular by Yahweh and is thus given as a direct word from him through his prophet. Horses and chariots, the most hated means of war (cf. Is. ii 6-16), were to be destroyed, cities and strongholds thrown down (*vv.* 9, 10). Sorcerers and soothsayers were to be "cut off" (*wĕhikratī*, *vv.* 11-13). It is striking how this oracle resembles oracles by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos, and Micah over Israel or Judah. The solution of the problem adopted by the scholars just mentioned seems very plausible: this is an oracle of doom which the traditionists have misinterpreted or possibly given a new conclusion in *v.* 14. They have understood it as an oracle against the enemies of Judah (and Israel), whereas it was actually directed against these countries themselves.

This is apparently a satisfactory hypothesis. Nevertheless, it can hardly be right. The oracle has been deliberately placed among the oracles of weal. After the victory over the Assyrians, when the ancient glory of Jacob had been re-established, the time had come for the final clearance which is described in this oracle. Wars would have to come to an end, horses and chariots, strongholds and walled cities would have to be "cut down", and destroyed. Similarly there had to be an inner spiritual cleansing. Sorcerers, soothsayers, images, and pillars of different kinds were to be "cut off". This would take

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[1]) *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

place not only in Israel and Judah, but in all nations; and in nations where these phenomena had been a dominating feature the clearance had necessarily to come on such scale that vengeance (*v.* 14) was the only word which could characterise it.

It is now possible to discern the scheme according to which the oracles in chs. iv-v have been arranged. The fact has already been noted that the Book of Micah is built up according to the scheme: oracles of doom followed by oracles of weal twice. Also the oracles of weal in chs. iv and v seem to be arranged in two groups. Ch. iv has the oracles of doom in chs. i-iii as a necessary background. They describe the catastrophe which is imminent, and ch. iv can then immediately start giving a picture of the latter days when Yahweh rules from Zion, and the nations no more lift up sword against each other. The former dominion shall again come to the hill of the daughter of Zion, and the afflicted remnant shall be ruled by Yahweh.

Then pain and destruction are again predicted, even deportation to Babylon, but the trouble is also spoken of in cultic terms, cf. the striking of the king's cheek with a rod (iv 14). But help would come from Bethlehem in Efrathah. In the first person plural reference is made to the coming victory over the Assyrians. The remnant of Jacob will be like showers upon the grass and like a lion among the beasts of the forest. The day of vengeance will come, and the cult will be cleansed of all foreign influence.

Chs. iv and v look like a collection of or an imitation of ritual texts intended for use at a great festival. The character of the chapters makes it likely that this festival was the great Autumn and New Year festival, when the foundation was laid for the coming year and the covenant with Yahweh was renewed. This corresponds well with the contents and form of ch. vii, the other collection of oracles of weal in the Book of Micah. It is not necessary to go into great detail concerning this chapter, as it has been very well discussed by other scholars.

In 1924, GUNKEL, who was in so many respects before his time, wanted to demonstrate his own view on Micah vii, in opposition to the dominating literary-critical school [1]). He did not want to analyse the text into sources, but to find the different forms (*Gattungen*) represented there and their place in life (*Sitz im Leben*). He considered

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[1]) "Der Micha-Schluss. Zur Einführung in die literaturgeschichtliche Arbeit am Alten Testament", in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 2: 2, 1924, pp. 145-178.

Micah vii 7-20 to be a coherent composition, a liturgy used on an occasion of lamentation in Jerusalem.

GUNKEL's observations were taken up and developed in a very convincing way by Bo REICKE, who regards not only vii 7-20 as part of a ritual text, but also vii 1-6 [1]). He connects the text with the Israelite New Year festival, which was celebrated in the autumn, and which consisted of two parts, the Day of Atonement and the Feast of Booths, Lev. xxiii 26-44. He underlines the fact that the festival had also other features than those mentioned in the Pentateuch, as can, e.g., be seen in the Psalms [2]).

The "I" who speaks in *vv.* 1-10 may be the king, but he may also be the leading priest or even a prophet. In any case it is some one in a representative position, speaking for his country and his nation. (Cf. the atonement in Lev. xvi by the leading priest). That does not necessarily imply that the chapter was composed for the New Year festival; it may equally well be a prophetic imitation [3]). It is also easy to see that the passage in *vv.* 1-10 is not a normal prophetic oracle of doom. The parallel with the psalms of lamentation is obvious, with an introductory lament over the situation and the following words of hope that all will be changed. (Cf., e.g., Ps. xx 9, xxv 2, xxx 2, xxxv 19, 24, lxxxviii 7) [4]). The time of rebuilding will come; people from Assyria and Egypt will come in procession to Zion (cf. Ps. lxxii); and the flock who dwell alone will again feed in Bashan and Gilead, the fertile fields of the Northern Kingdom (*vv.* 11-14). Other nations will see and wonder, as they did when Israel came out of Egypt, and they will come trembling to Yahweh (*vv.* 15-17). The last passage, *vv.* 18-20, is a hymn to God, as the faithful one who forgets sin and delights in steadfast love.

In the opinion of REICKE ch. vii is a liturgy, in which a representative, possibly a royal representative, of Israel is speaking. What is said accords well with the ritual of the ancient Hebrew Autumn and New Year festival, with the Day of Atonement as part of it. It may have originated in a time before the fall of the Northern Kingdom (Bashan and Gilead, vii 14), in any case before the fall of Assyria, as Assyria, and not Babylon, is mentioned in *v.* 12. REICKE finds it

[1]) "Mik. 7 såsom "messiansk" text, med särskild hänsyn till Matt. 10 : 35 f. och Luk. 12: 53", in *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* XII, 1947, pp. 279-302.
[2]) P. 283.
[3]) P. 284.
[4]) P. 289.

hard to understand how it has been possible to date this chapter in the time of the Exile or even later. The themes here, which are partly of a royal character, can be found also in other parts of the Book of Micah. Particularly familiar are the words in v 1 on Bethlehem.

REICKE also points to the fact that it can never be proved whether ch. vii was composed by the prophet Micah himself or was added to the collection for some reason. But REICKE's discussion makes it at least more likely than it was before that Micah could have spoken the words in ch. vii [1]).

As I have tried to show here, chs. iv and v are in much the same position, with parallel problems and a parallel conclusion. We cannot a priori say that chs. iv-v and vii have such contents that they must necessarily be considered as additions to the words of the prophet. We must discuss the words of the ancient prophets and make our judgements about them against their proper background, not according to logical schemes composed in modern times. Unexpected results may follow; but unexpected results are not necessarily incorrect.

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[1]) Cf. EISSFELDT in his *Einleitung zum Alten Testament*, 2. Auflage, 1956. "So ist trotz mancher Bedenken . . . die Herleitung des Gedichtes 7: 7-20 von Micah doch sehr ernsthaft zu erwägen. Treffen die vorausgegangenen Ausführungen zu und sind 5: 9-14 oder doch die Grundlage dieses Abschnittes, 6: 1-8, 6: 9-16, 7: 1-6, 7: 7-20 wirklich alle dem Micah zuzuschreiben, so stellten nur 2: 12-13, 4: 1-5, 4: 6-7, 4: 8-14 und 5: 1-8 sekundäre Hinzufügungen zu dem sicher von hm herrührenden Gut dar." (P. 504).

THE SUFFERING SERVANT — A NEW SOLUTION[1])

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III

The Suffering Servant Document a Drama

The Suffering Servant Document is a drama; that is the hypothesis which we offer. So far as we know, it is an altogether new hypothesis, never even suggested previously. Accordingly it needs clear and convincing demonstration.

As we have reconstructed it, a single theme, the tragic life-story of the Servant, runs through the entire drama and imparts to it a positive literary unity. Here and there a small fragment of the original drama seems to be missing, but all in all the number and extent of these missing portions are small and for all practical purposes we have the drama in its complete and, as we have reconstructed it, so we firmly believe, its original form.

The consideration of the time-element within the drama is the most decisive indication of its unity and dramatic character. The time unfolds steadily and systematically within the drama. Were we, merely to make our thought graphic and also to discuss it handily, to arrange this drama after the modern manner, we could readily divide it into three acts and these three acts into seven scenes. Each act would represent a different time-stage in the Servant's life and ministry. The time of each of the three acts could be recorded upon a modern theatrical program very properly thus:

Act I — The Servant is called and inaugurates his mission to the nations.

Act II — The mission is in progress, but thus far has achieved naught.

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[1]) Continuation. Part I and II in *V.T.* XI, 3 pp. 292-320.

Act III — The Servant is dead, but his mission has been accomplished, and that too in the strangest and most dramatic manner conceivable.

Within each act the time would move on from scene to scene within the time-frame of the act slowly, clearly and with true dramatic effect. And it is perhaps not without significance that, with the exceptions of the misplaced vv. lxi. 1, xlix. 9a, lxi. 10 and our shifting of l. 10 to precede l. 1-9, the various acts and scenes would follow each other in the drama in precisely the same succession as we now find them in *MT* of Isa. xlii-liii. For the sake of clarity we record what would be these separate acts and scenes by their speakers and their time-sequence, and thus demonstrate their close relationship to each other and their definite time-unity.

I, 1 — God is the speaker. He introduces the Servant and dimly foreshadows what his fate will be in the discharge of the high mission for which he is called. All this naturally evokes sympathy for the Servant on the part of those who are beholding the drama or those who read it, and also keen and highly dramatic anticipation on their part.

Between I, 1 and I, 2, following closely the pattern of Greek drama, the Chorus speaks briefly and assures the audience that the speaker in the scene just ended and also, by implication, in the scene which is about to follow, is Yahweh, Israel's God, but also, as the Creator of the universe and of mankind within it, the one, universal God.

I, 2 — God informs the Servant personally just what his mission is to be.

I, 3 — The Servant soliloquizes over his mission, the nature of which he now understands as the result of the revelation just made to him, and he also takes stock of his equipment for this mission.

I, 4 — The Servant inaugurates his mission to the nations by delivering to them his initial address, introducing himself to them and explaining how and why he is speaking to them and how he is, by divine choice, commissioned to serve them.

These, the Servant's first words to the nations and to mankind at large, are reinforced by a brief word from the Chorus to the peoples at large, charging the God-fearing among them, and especially those who in life have been sorely afflicted, to hearken to the Servant's message and to put their trust in his God.

II, 1 — The Servant's mission is now well under way. He reviews its course and his own unhappy experience with it thus far and affirms

his faith in Him who commissioned him, his faith that his vindicator is close at hand to justify him in all that he has done, and his determination to carry on until his mission shall have been discharged.

Between II and III, and indicative of the lapse of time between these two acts, the Chorus speaks again and relates that the Servant's mission has now come to an end, and this too in sadly tragic manner, and evidences by its words that the attitude of mankind towards him has already begun to change.

III, 1 — God is the speaker once again. He evaluates the Servant's ministry and confirms its success and accomplishment. With this quite properly the drama ends, for the life-story of the Servant has now been told in full. And quite appropriately and with obvious dramatic effect, God is the final speaker in the drama, even as he inaugurated it with His initial address. And just as in the first scene of the drama He presented the Servant to the audience, so now, in this final scene, He withdraws him from the stage.

But while the close, dramatic unity of this Document should now be readily apparent, we note the interesting and significant fact that nowhere in the drama is there any dialogue. In each scene there is only one speaker, and the utterance of this single speaker constitutes the entire scene. Moreover, there is little or no dramatic action upon the stage. The various speakers recite their parts, but that seems to be all that they do. There is deep, dramatic emotion and tension within their spoken words, but apparently little or no action at all on the part of the actors. All this suggests that, granting, as we must, that this is indeed a drama, it is nevertheless drama in a rather elementary form, quite as if this were not only the initial attempt at dramatic composition by the author, but also as if it were the initial, or almost the initial, attempt thereat within the ranks of the entire Jewish people. And this may very well have been the case.

Immediately the question arises, can this beginning of dramatic composition among the Jewish people have any possible connection with or relationship to Greek drama. The answer is that it well may. In the period approximately 460-450 B.C. the city of Dor, on the Palestinian coast a short distance south of Mt. Carmel, was held by the Athenians and garrisoned by their troops. This was the beginning of the Age of Pericles and of the rapid spread of Attic culture [1]).

[1]) F. M. Heichelheim, "Ezra's Palestine and Periclean Athens", *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* III (1951), 251-253; cf. also Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, II, 139, note 182.

It is not at all impossible nor even improbable that this Attic cultural influence was disseminated in considerable degree to at least that section of the Jewish people which was resident in the immediate vicinity of Dor, and that, in particular, this section acquired some acquaintance with Greek drama, and that some group therein, or at least some single individual, some highly gifted person and one of deep religious feeling, was prompted to compose a drama, written of course in the Hebrew language and dealing with a specifically Jewish theme, a theme which quite plainly had strong and positive appeal [1]). This hypothesis may well find some confirmation in the consideration which we have already presented, that the complete lack of dialogue and action in this drama and perhaps also the extreme brevity of some of its scenes evidence the hand of the tyro in dramatic composition and suggest that this was an initial attempt at this type of literary composition and also that there was no native pattern by which the author might shape his work.

But be all this as it may, there can be no question that the Servant drama, obviously a tragedy, regardless of its technical shortcomings as a drama when measured by Greek dramatic standards, is a work of the highest literary merit. And this fact, coupled with the consideration of its manifest, close internal unity, suggests that it is most probably the work of a single, exceptionally gifted author rather than of a group of writers, as was tentatively suggested above.

IV

The Servant a King of Israel

We have proposed, in our notes to the text, what had been suggested previously by quite a number of eminent scholars [2]), viz. that the Servant is a royal figure, one of the Davidic line, in other words a king of Israel. It does not follow from this that he was one of the kings, descendants of David, who actually ruled over Israel or Judah. In the post-exilic period, to which we must of course assign this Servant-drama, within certain sections of the Jewish people, and

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[1]) Heichelheim suggests in the above cited study that Attic tragedy, the cultural influence of which was transmitted to the Jewish people at just this time and with Dor as the center of this transmission, may have influenced directly the composition of the Book of Job.

[2]) Cf. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 461, sect. 4; Lindblom, *The Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah*, 18, note 13.

particularly within the ranks of the Nationalist Party [1]), a confident expectation was eagerly cherished that it was Yahweh's purpose to restore in a not too distant future the political independence of His people and once again to set a descendant of David upon the Judaean throne. Accordingly in envisioning the Servant as a Judaean king the post-exilic author of the drama was, in conformity with popular expectation, merely anticipating in a way the eventual restoration of the nation and the presence in its midst of a king of Davidic descent. That he was apparently not an actually reigning king is a matter of no importance. His kingship and his Davidic descent were really but incidental details of the full picture which the author conceived and furnished something of its setting. The task of this king of Israel was to be not so much to govern his nation but rather, in fulfillment of divine purpose, to establish "right order" in the world and thus bring salvation unto the nations and unto all mankind. His divinely appointed destiny was not to rule as king over Israel but instead, in the discharge of his mission of universal salvation, to come to a sorrowful and tragic end, to offer himself as the substitute-sacrifice, the sin-offering, i.e. then as the scapegoat, for the redemption of errant mankind.

There can be no question that the author of the Servant drama, and probably also the sect of which he was a member [2]), had borrowed much from the message of Deutero-Isaiah, and particularly the doctrine of Israel as the chosen servant of Yahweh and the agent of divinely purposed salvation for all nations and all mankind. Deutero-Isaiah had conceived of Israel, the people, as the servant of Yahweh and of universal salvation to be achieved through its devoted service, but in a way which that supreme prophet apparently did not live long enough to work out in detail [3]). Our author, however, in significant contrast to his prophetic master, conceived of the Servant as an individual, one who, adhering to the prophet's designation of the servant of Yahweh, he called by the name, Israel. Faced with the necessity of adhering to this designation of his Servant, and so compelled to call him Israel, the author could not but make the Servant of his drama whom, as has been said, he conceived of as an individual, a king of Israel; for who else could rightly bear the name, Israel?

[1]) Morgenstern, "Jerusalem—485 B.C.", *HUCA* XXVII (1956), 167 ff.
[2]) See below, pp. 429 f.
[3]) Morgenstern, "The Message of Deutero-Isaiah in Its Sequential Unfolding", *HUCA* XXIX (1958), 64-67.

In xlix. 3 the author represents God as addressing the Servant by this name, Israel. As we have already pointed out, in Mal. ii. 11 the king of Judah is called by the name, Judah; and in this particular instance the noun, יהודה, since it designates a male person, is masc., whereas when it designates the land or even the nation, as it does in the same v., it is regularly fem. Accordingly there can be no question that in xlix. 3, where it designates an individual, and this too certainly a male person, the name, Israel, indicates unmistakably that that person is a king of Israel. This is probably the most immediate and strongest proof that the Servant of this drama is a king of Israel.

But more than this, in lxi. 1 the Servant says of himself that Yahweh has anointed him, with the result that the spirit of Yahweh rests upon him (so also xlii. 1). Of Saul we are told (1 Sam. x. 1-9) that when anointed by Yahweh through the agency of Samuel the spirit of Yahweh came upon him with the result that he was endowed with a changed heart, became a different personality than he had been, one possessing superhuman powers, powers of a divine or semi-divine character. When, at Yahweh's bidding, Samuel anointed David, the spirit of Yahweh departed from Saul and came upon David and endowed him with that superhuman quality and those superhuman powers which Saul had formerly possessed. Thereafter the descendants of David were all inducted into their royal office by the rite of anointing, and impliedly they too were by this rite endowed, each in turn, with those same superhuman powers which first Saul and then David had formerly possessed. Moreover, as 1 Sam. xxiv. 6, 10 clearly imply, there could be actually only one משיח יהוה, "Anointed of Yahweh", at a time, and that one was the king of Israel in the days of the United Kingdom, the king of Judah in the period thereafter, and now the Servant in our drama. Moreover, in the entire Bible the only persons of whom it is said that they were anointed were kings and priests. Furthermore, it is only in the Priestly Code, i.e. in post-exilic and, for the most part, post-Ezranic writings and reflecting the practice in the second and third Temples that the verb, משח, "to anoint", is used with reference to the priests. For the entire pre-exilic period, and reflecting in certain post-exilic writings, such as our drama, the practice of this early period, it is only the king and no one else who was anointed. In fact the expression, משח למלך, "to anoint as king", is a conventional, oft-recurring term in the writings of this period. True, Amos vi. 6 speaks of self-indulgent people as anointing themselves with the choicest oils, but here

certainly no ritual act, but only a procedure of luxurious living, is contemplated. Moreover, this is absolutely the only passage in the entire Bible in which the verb, משח, is used with application to persons other than kings or priests. Accordingly, if lxi. 1 be accepted as an integral part of the Servant drama, and certainly not only does it fit in perfectly but also the drama would lack something essential without it, inasmuch as we can hardly regard the Servant as a priest, the statement that the spirit of Yahweh rested upon him because Yahweh had anointed him, can mean only one thing and absolutely only one, viz. that he is a king of Israel, a king quite certainly of the Davidic line.

This conclusion finds confirmation in two titles which the Servant bears. The first of these is the primary title itself, עבד יהוה, "the Servant of Yahweh", for this seems to have been a title regularly applied to the king, and especially to David [1]). True, it is applied also to Abraham (Ps. cv. 6, 42), Moses (*passim*), Joshua (repeatedly in the Book of Joshua), Caleb (Num. xiv. 24), Elyakim (Isa. xxii. 20), Job (Job i. 8, ii. 3, xxxi. 13, xlii. 7, 8) and also to the prophets, Aḥiyahu (1 Ki. xiv. 18, xv. 29), Elijah (2 Ki. ix. 36, x. 10), Isaiah (Isa. xx. 3) and Jonah (2 Ki. xiv. 25), all persons standing in the closest possible relations with Yahweh and obviously endowed by Him with superhuman powers and authority, in other words with the divine spirit. But the title, "Servant of Yahweh", seems to have belonged in first degree to the king. In Ps. lxxxix. 40 it is apparently used as a regular and readily understood title of the king, in parallelism with משיחך, "Thine anointed one", of the preceding v. The designation of the hero of our drama regularly by this significant title lends strong confirmation to our hypothesis that the Servant was a royal figure, a king of the Davidic line.

Of equal significance perhaps is the application to the Servant of the second title, בחירי, "My chosen one". In xlii. 1 this name is used in parallelism with עבדי. It is employed in similar manner in Isa. xlv. 4, lxv. 9, quite as if the two nouns were almost synonyms in their practical usage and in their personal application. In 1 Sam. xvi. 8-10 the verb, בחר, "to choose", is used three times to voice the thought of the election of a king by Yahweh (so also Hag. ii. 23). And in 2 Sam. xxi. 6 the term, בחיר יהוה is used to designate Saul,

[1]) In 2 Sam. vii, the account of the solemnization of Yahweh's covenant with David, ten times; also Ps. lxxxix 4, 21 *et passim*. It is applied also to Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii 16), Zerubabel (Hag. ii 23) and Ṣemaḥ (Zech. iii 8), all royal figures.

while in Ps. lxxxix. 4 [1]) בחירי is used to designate David, in both instances in the royal capacities of the two men. בחיר יהוה seems then to have much of a technical connotation, as a designation of the king of Israel. The application of this term to the Servant, and particularly in parallelism with the application to him of the synonymous title, עבדי, may very properly be regarded as further evidence that the Servant was conceived of by the author of the drama as a royal figure of the Davidic line.

We have suggested that the fact that Yahweh pronounced the Servant's name at birth (xlix. 1b) may imply, at least in some measure, the father-son relationship between Him and the Servant, for, as we have indicated, at the time of the composition of this drama it was the custom in Israel that the father give names to his children. Now one of the conditions of Yahweh's covenant with David was that he would be a father to David's posterity, to each of David's successors upon the throne of Israel (1 Sam. vii. 14). This thought finds renewed expression in Ps. ii. 7 [2]). Moreover, this v. seems to imply that it was upon the day of his anointing and throne-ascension that the new king entered into the father-son relationship with Yahweh. This goes hand in hand with the statement of our drama that Yahweh pronounced the Servant's name at birth, for at their throne-ascension many of the kings of Israel and Judah adopted new names. The implication here would be that this new, royal name was the true name of the king, given to him by Yahweh at his birth, but hitherto known only to Yahweh and revealed only now, at the moment of his anointing and throne-ascension, when Yahweh's spirit came upon him and he became "another man", a changed personality (cf. 1 Sam. x. 6), Yahweh's own son. Interpreted thus, the statement that Yahweh pronounced the Servant's name at birth and summoned him from the womb to his mission becomes meaningful indeed and may well be regarded as further evidence that the Servant was a royal figure of the Davidic line.

Finally in the statement that the Servant is to be blessed by a long-enduring prosperity, which will carry on his work as Yahweh's agent (liii. 10), expressed here as the confident expectation of the people, we have seen further evidence that the Servant is a royal figure of the Davidic line; for in the record of Yahweh's covenant

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[1]) Where it appears in parallelism with עבדי.

[2]) MORGENSTERN, "Jerusalem— 485 B.C.", *HUCA* XXVII (1956), 138-144.

with David (2 Sam. vii. 8-16; Ps. cxxxii. 11 f.), as the final and climactic statement thereof (v. 16), Yahweh promises to David an eternal, never-ending dynasty and a throne, a royal office, which will endure forever. The reference to the Servant's assured and long-enduring posterity can have concrete meaning only when interpreted in the light of this traditional divine promise.

With this cumulation of evidence it can scarcely be doubted any longer that the Servant is not only a single individual, and not at all the people, Israel, as the general opinion of Biblical scholars still seems to be, but also that he is indeed a royal figure, a king of Israel, one of the Davidic line.

Moreover, in addition to all this, the Servant is violently snatched away from imprisonment and trial in court (liii. 8) and is suspended on high, i.e. is either hanged, impaled or crucified (lii. 13) and, furthermore, obviously while suspended aloft, is pierced or stabbed (liii. 5, 10). In the celebration of the Babylonian New Year's Festival the king enacted the role of the dying and resurrected, supreme national deity, Marduk. In principle the king should accordingly have experienced death, even as it was thought that the god had died. It was, however, the regular practice to put to death in ritual manner, as the substitute for the king, a prisoner, presumably one who had previously been condemned to death for some grave crime, and who is now brought forth from prison for this role in the festival ritual. There is even good reason for believing that actually two prisoners were brought forth from prison, one to be put to death in the prescribed ritual manner and the other to be set free and ever thereafter to enjoy the royal favor. How it was decided which prisoner should be put to death and which one set free we have no way of knowing, but certainly the decision must have been made by some one in authority, a judge or a court perhaps or even possibly the king. These two prisoners were the substitutes for the king in the discharge of his role in the ritual of the New Year's Festival. The one prisoner, he who was put to death, functioned as the replacement for the king in his role as the substitute for or representative of the dying god. The other prisoner, he who was freed from prison and enjoyed the king's generous bounty ever thereafter, functioned as the replacement for the king in his role as the substitute for the god who gains his release from confinement in the netherworld, rises majestically therefrom and achieves resurrection [1]). There is good reason for

[1]) Cf. ZIMMERN, *Das babylonische Neujahrsfest* [*Der alte Orient*] 1926, p. 23.

believing that Jehoiachin, released from imprisonment in Babylonia, after thirty-seven years of confinement, by Amel-Marduk, the son and successor of Nebuchadrezzar, just come to the throne, was one of the two prisoners who participated in this religious ceremony (2 Ki. xxv. 27-30). It should be noted that this release took place in the year of Amel-Marduk's accession to the throne, on the 27th day of the twelfth month, the final month of the year, i.e. just at the close of the old year and preliminary to the celebration of the New Year's Festival, beginning three days later, upon I/1. Very significantly, through all his days thereafter Jehoiachin enjoyed the royal favor and was fed and clothed by the king's bounty.

A striking parallel to this incident is recorded in the Bible. Joseph is in prison in Egypt with the royal butler and baker. Three days before the king's birthday, impliedly an important festival, Joseph interprets the dreams of his two fellow-prisoners and informs each of his pending fate. On his birthday, and obviously as an important detail of the ritual celebration thereof, the king will have the two men brought forth from prison. The royal butler will be restored to his former high office and will ever thereafter enjoy the king's favor, while the royal baker will be hanged upon a gallows. And even as Joseph interpreted the dream of each man, so it came about (Gen. xl. 1-xli. 13). Manifestly the king's birthday is here represented as a national festival of primary importance. It is doubtful whether basic to this narrative was the celebration of a festival according to authentic Egyptian religious practice. Rather it would seem that the author has here recast in Egyptian dress a festival celebration as he knew it from Semitic religious practice, one which paralleled closely the Babylonian New Year's Festival. At any rate here too we have the bringing forth from prison of two prisoners, one of whom is raised to enduring royal favor and lives and functions thereafter in the presence of the king, while the other is put to death, and that too by hanging upon a gallows.

Another and in several respects an even more striking parallel to the Babylonian New Year's Festival is recorded in the Bible, in the Book of Esther. There Mordecai and Haman are the two rivals. True, neither of them is a prisoner. But there can be no question that Mordecai, clothed in the royal raiment and riding the king's horse in the presence of the people (Esth. vi. 6-11), was actually playing the role of substitute for the king. And he continued ever thereafter to enjoy the royal favor and to function as the second in the kingdom,

the king's aide, as it were (x. 1-3). Haman, however, was hanged upon the very high gallows which he had erected for the anticipated execution of Mordecai (vii. 9 f.). Moreover, all this transpired in connection with the celebration of an important festival, one which, according to ix. 13, was already an established religious institution. Despite the fact that the festival is represented as celebrated upon the 14th of Adar, the twelfth month (ix. 15-19), the day of the full moon of that lunar month, there is cogent reason for believing that the festival in question was celebrated originally upon the 1st of Nisan, or at least that it was patterned after that festival, or rather after the significant festival whose celebration began upon that day, the Babylonian Akitu or New Year's Festival. This conclusion finds strong corroboration in the name of the hero of the tale, the king's substitute in the enactment of the role of the supreme national god, Mordecai, i.e. "He who belongs to Marduk", whose death and resurrection were celebrated during the course of the festival in the manner outlined above.

And still another and, in one respect, an even closer parallel to the fate of the Servant in our drama may be found in the Biblical record of Absalom's rebellion and attempt to make himself king in David's stead. Absalom's rebellion takes place just before and in anticipation of the New Year's Festival. This is convincingly established by two bits of evidence. Absalom sent word to all the tribes that when they would hear the sound of the ram's horn they would know that he had become king in Hebron. Impliedly the ram's horn was blown in every community throughout the country; and it was blown not merely upon this one occasion, in order to herald Absalom's ascension of the throne. Rather the blowing of the ram's horn formally ushered in the new year. According to Lev. xxv. 9 the ram's horn was to be blown regularly upon the 10th of the seventh month of every seventh year to herald the advent of the Sabbatical year. Now the 10th of the seventh month was the New Year's Day of the solar calendar officially employed in Judah from the time of Solomon, in the tenth century B.C., until some time in the second half of the fifth century B.C., when the lunar calendar was officially adopted [1]). And the New Year's Day of this lunar calendar, celebrated upon the 1st of the seventh month, continued

[1]) Morgenstern, "Additional Notes on the Three Calendars of Ancient Israel", *HUCA* III (1926), 102-107; "Two Prophecies from the Fourth Century B.C., *HUCA* XXIV (1952-53), 39 ff.

to be observed as a "memorial of the blowing (of the ram's horn)" (Lev. xxiii. 24) upon the New Year's Day of the earlier, solar calendar. Obviously Absalom informs the people that on the New Year's Day he, the new king, will formally ascend the throne and thus assume the kingship. And certainly the New Year's Day must have been narrowly impending when, thus inaugurating his rebellion, he sent this message to the various tribes.

The second piece of evidence is this; David's formal going forth from Jerusalem, accompanied by the ark and a host of people, and his ascent of the Mt. of Olives, weeping, barefooted and with his head strewn with dust, to the sanctuary upon its summit (2 Sam. xv. 30-32) was plainly a regular ritual act celebrated at the very commencement of the Matzot Festival, the festival of seven days duration which, in the early, agricultural calendar, still employed in Israel in the time of David, immediately preceded the New Year's Day [1]). The entire Absalom episode takes place during this seven days festival period. Absalom comes to his end towards the close of this period (2 Sam. xviii. 9-18). Riding a mule into battle, he is caught by his hair in the branches of a large tree. The mule passes out from under him and he is left suspended high above the ground, "twixt heaven and earth" as it were. From this point on we have two conflicting accounts of the manner of his death and burial. According to the one account (v. 15), he was smitten by ten of the armor-bearers of Joab, while according to the other account (v. 14) he was stabbed through the heart by Joab himself. Furthermore, according to the one account (v. 17), he was buried in a quarry located close to the place of his death, and a large heap of stones was erected over his grave. According to the other account (v. 18), by implication at least, since it is not explicitly stated, he was buried in the tomb which he had erected for himself and his family in the Valley of the King, just outside of Jerusalem. Plainly the account of his burial in the nearby quarry must be integrated with that of his being slain, in a perfectly normal manner, by the ten armor-bearers of Joab. According to this account both the death and burial of Absalom were matter-of-fact events of an ordinary rebellion. On the other hand, the account of his slaying by Joab, by being pierced through the heart while suspended on high, coupled with that of his formal burial in the tomb

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[1]) Morgenstern, "The Chanukkah Festival and the Calendar of Ancient Israel", *HUCA* XXI (1948), 365-374.

which he had prepared for himself in the Valley of the King, together with other significant details of the narrative, are unquestionably secondary, designed to give it ritual import and ritual connection with the celebration of the Matzot Festival during the seven days immediately preceding the New Year's Day, the day of the cutting of the first sheaf of the new crop.

Just what the ritual import of Joab's piercing Absalom through the heart while he hung suspended "twixt heaven and earth" may have been we do not know as yet, but that it had some ritual import may be safely inferred from the fact that precisely the same fate is recorded for the Servant of our drama. He too was stabbed or pierced while suspended on high and thus, it is clearly implied, came to his death. This too was the fate of the one referred to in Zech. xii. 10 [1]). This passage is obscure indeed. Yet this much may be gathered from it with reasonable certainty, viz. that one, apparently of the Davidic line, has been pierced and thus put to death, and that, too, by his own people, Israel, whose savior, however, despite his death, and perhaps even in some manner through his death, he is still, in conformity with divine purpose, destined to be. Moreover, this piercing of this divinely appointed savior seems to be a quite recent occurrence, for the people gaze upon him whom they had pierced quite as if his corpse was still exposed to their sight, perhaps suspended on high. Furthermore, his death is commemorated by all the various groups and sections of the people, Israel, by what has manifestly the character of a festival of mourning definitely national in character and scope [2]). All this reminds us strongly of the figure, fate and destiny of our Suffering Servant, and even suggests that here, in Zech. xii, we have another formulation of the Suffering Servant motif as this seems to have been current in Israel from the middle of the fifth century B.C. on.

All this implies distinctly that the death or the execution of the Servant in this manner, precisely like the death of Absalom and of the figure set forth in Zech. xii. 10, and also, in respect to his being suspended aloft, like the deaths of the chief of Pharaoh's bakers, of Haman and perhaps also of the figure of Zech. xii. 10, had a ritual significance, that it too, like them, had direct connection with the observance of a festival; and of course this festival could have been only the Matzot Festival with its climax in the celebration of the

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[1]) Cf. Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord*, 70 f.
[2]) With this cf. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* II, 231 f.

New Year's Day upon the eighth, the closing, day of the festival period. Upon this day of supreme sanctity David, the king, returned to Jerusalem in festal procession (2 Sam. xix. 12-16) and reascended his throne, thus symbolizing the resurrection of the god and the resumption of his divine activities upon this New Year's Day. And we may safely infer that, from the ritual standpoint, Absalom came to his death as the substitute for his father, David, the king. Impliedly during this festival the king was supposed to die in a ritual manner and with some positive religious import, in all likelihood enacting the role of the dying vegetation god. But in the formal celebration of this rite, just as was the procedure in Babylonia, a substitute took his place; and in this particular instance the substitute was Absalom.

And still one other significant detail in the Absalom story; we have learned that in the Babylonian New Year's Festival ritual two prisoners were brought forth from prison, one of whom was put to death as the substitute for the king in his ritual role as the embodiment of the dying god, while the other prisoner was set free, also as the substitute for the king in his ritual role as the embodiment of the resurrected god, and ever thereafter enjoyed royal favor in generous measure. This same ritual motive is present in the roles of Pharaoh's baker and butler and in those of Haman and Mordecai. It is present likewise in the Absalom incident; for while Absalom certainly plays the role of the substitute for the king who was put to death, Mephiboshet (Meribaal), the son of Jonathan equally certainly plays the role of the substitute for the king who was set free and ever thereafter enjoyed the royal favor; for we read (2 Sam. xvi. 3) of Mephibosheth that he too cherished hopes at this time of replacing David upon the throne of Israel, certainly from the standpoint of the royal administration a crime meriting imprisonment and even death by execution; and we read again that upon David's return journey to Jerusalem, there to reascend his throne, Mephibosheth came out to meet him, clad in mourning garb, as if he had been grieving at the fate which threatened David, submitted to David and made his peace with him, and was then restored to his former happy relations with the king (2 Sam. xxi. 7).

Now it must be admitted that in our Servant drama there is no suggestion of a second prisoner, who was set free and thereafter enjoyed royal favor. But there is the explicit statement (liii. 8) that the Servant was taken in violent manner from confinement, or even from prison, and the suggestion that he was deprived of justice,

that then he was put to death without the benefit of a court trial. Moreover, like Pharaoh's baker, Haman and Absalom, he comes to his death while suspended on high. And like Absalom and also like the one in Zech. xii. 10, he comes to his end by being pierced, presumably by being stabbed through the heart, just as was Absalom. Accordingly, even though this is nowhere stated explicitly, it is a safe inference that basic to the Servant drama was some implication of connection with the Matzot Festival and the New Year's Day of the old, agricultural, pentecontad calendar. This need not surprise us too greatly, for we know that among the rural, farming sections of the population of Israel the use of this ancient calendar for all purposes of practical, daily life persisted well into the post-exilic period; and certainly the celebration of the New Year's Day of this ancient calendar in a distinctly folk-manner, reflecting the ritual belief and practice of ancient times, would have been one of the practical purposes which we envisage.

From all this evidence a number of important conclusions may be drawn with reasonable certainty. This Suffering Servant drama was composed for a specific purpose. It has direct festival connection; and the festival in question can be only the annual Matzot Festival with its culmination in a day of especial significance, the eighth and climactic day of the entire festival period, the New Year's Day of the ancient, agricultural, pentecontad calendar. The drama depicts the death of a member of the Davidic family, a potential king of Israel, who offers himself as a sacrifice, the sacrifice regularly offered in ancient times during the course of the festival for the physical salvation of the nation, in order to guarantee the renewal of their food-supply during the new year just beginning; but here the self-sacrifice is for the salvation of all mankind. The victim comes to his end in the traditional, ritual manner, by being suspended aloft, either hanged, impaled or crucified, and while in this position being pierced, stabbed, presumably through the heart, just as was Absalom while in much the same position.

The undoubtedly significant role which in all the parallel narratives the suspension of the victim "twixt heaven and earth" plays lends strong confirmation to our proposed emendation of the altogether meaningless יִשְׂכִּיל of lii. 13 to יִשָּׁקֵל.

And in the light of this cumulation of significant evidence we may now conclude with adequate certainty that the Servant was indeed a royal figure, a king of Israel of the Davidic line.

V

Affinities with the New Testament

No one who reads the Suffering Servant drama, reads it especially as a unit in the form and order of Biblical sections in which we have reconstructed it, can escape the conclusion that the story of Jesus, as recorded in the four Gospels, shows many and very decided affinities therewith. Probably no section of the entire O.T. is quoted in the N.T. more frequently and at greater length than is our drama, and that too not merely Isa. liii but practically the entire drama. Plainly the authors of the four Gospels and also of other N.T. writings saw a very positive similarity between the story of Jesus, as they fashioned this from the material at their disposal, and the life-story of the Suffering Servant, particularly as we have reconstructed this. In fact Acts viii. 32-35 directly identifies Jesus with our Servant. Moreover, it would seem that these N.T. writers sensed the literary and dramatic unity of our drama, and that too much in the form in which we have recast it. And certainly in patterning the life-story of Jesus so closely and immediately after the life-story of our Servant they interpreted the Servant, not as the people, Israel, but as an individual, a royal figure, a king of Israel; for they make Jesus too a king of Israel, and that too particularly in his execution and death, a king of the Davidic line (Mt. xii. 22, xxvii. 42; Mk. xv. 12, 32; Lk. iii. 31, xxiii. 37 f; Joh. xix. 19-21). Unquestionably this role was a basic motif in the tragic drama which by their entire lives both the Servant and Jesus enacted.

We have also had rather compelling reason for inferring that our drama conceived of the Servant as a son of God. This is stated openly and repeatedly of Jesus (Mt. xxvii. 40, 43, 54; Mk. xv. 39; Lk. xxii. 70; Joh. xvii. 1, xx. 31, *et passim*). Moreover, the Gospels all agree that this sonship of God became actual, or at least was thereby revealed to men, with the baptism of Jesus by John (Mt. iii. 13-17; Mk. i. 9-11; Lk. iii. 21 f.; Joh. i. 31, 34). Furthermore, these same passages relate that with the baptism of Jesus the spirit of God descended upon him. Thus he came to be recognized by the people for what he had been from the very first, as an extraordinary, superhuman being, a person endowed with divine qualities. In other words baptism here and throughout the N.T. plays exactly the same role as does anointing with the holy oil in the O.T. Accordingly the baptism of Jesus had for him the very same effect as did the anointing of the Servant, or for that matter of any king of the Davidic line; it transformed him

into "another man", inducted him formally into the royal office and caused him to be recognized by the people at large for what he had truly been from the very beginning, a son of God. Accordingly too, even though it is nowhere told of Jesus that he was actually anointed, but only that he was baptized, he is nevertheless spoken of constantly as the Christ, i.e. "the Anointed One", the משיח יהוה. Unquestionably baptism in the N.T. is the equivalent of anointing in the O.T., and the baptism of Jesus, with all its significant effects, corresponds in every respect to the anointing of the Servant with its significant effects. And each, in his unique role as the Messiah, the Christ, "the Anointed One", brings a message and functions as God's divinely chosen agent of universal salvation.

Also both the Servant and Jesus suffer a common fate, alike in all essential details. The Servant is, contrary to all procedures of justice and of ethics, violently snatched away from imprisonment and court trial and is hurried off to a tragic death, a death which he in no way merited. Moreover, even though there is in the drama, as we have been able to reconstruct it from the scattered fragments preserved in the Book of Isaiah, no direct mention of a second prisoner, who was to be tried along with the Servant, and of the two of whom one was to be formally executed while the other was to be set free, and all this as an element of the folk-ritual of the Matzot Festival, we have seen that there are in the Servant drama certain vague intimations of all this. Not at all impossibly, did we possess the drama in its complete and original form, we might find all this referred to in one way or another much more clearly and specifically. But be that as it may, in the Jesus story both prisoners are present and play an active role, a role corresponding closely to that of the royal baker and the royal butler in the Joseph story and also, though less completely, to that of Haman and Mordecai in the Esther story and of Absalom and Mephibosheth in the life-story of David. The two prisoners are of course Jesus and Barabbas. The latter is the one who of the two, because of the nature of his offense (Mk. xv. 7; Lk. xxiii. 19; Joh. xviii. 40), should have been executed. But in this connection it could be said of Jesus, just as it was said of the Servant (Isa. liii. 8), "from imprisonment and judgment he was taken away"; for according to the N.T. narrative, Jesus was denied the privilege of the trial which Pilate had proposed for him and was forcibly carried off to his death, while Barabbas, the other prisoner, was set free. Moreover, when we bear in mind the facts already established,

that from a ritual standpoint each of the two prisoners functioned as a substitute for the king in his enacting the role of the dying and resurrected god, and that, according to the terms of His covenant with David, Yahweh becomes the father of the anointed, Davidic king, the name, Barabbas, "Son of the Father", becomes symbolically meaningful. And perhaps in the name, Jesus, in Hebrew Jehoshua or Joshua, "He will work salvation", also we may detect another symbolism, suggestive of the function of both the Servant and of Jesus as the agent of universal salvation.

Both the Servant and Jesus come to their deaths by being suspended, Jesus by crucifixion, the Servant by being either hanged, crucified or impaled. And Jesus, precisely like the Servant, was mocked at by the hostile mob (Mt. xxvii. 28-30; Mk. x. 34, xv. 17-19; Lk. xviii. 32, xxiii. 11; Joh. xix. 1-3) and was smitten and spat upon. And again, precisely like the Servant and also like Absalom, Jesus was pierced (Joh. xix. 34; cf. Rev. i. 7). Moreover, again precisely as in the case of Absalom and also, as we have claimed, of Mordecai and Haman, and also in a way of Pharaoh's butler and baker, and also, by the inference which we have drawn, of the Servant, Jesus comes to his end in connection with the celebration of the Matzot Festival. And on the eighth and final day thereof, a Sunday [1]), Easter Sunday, he is resurrected, rises from the netherworld just as did of old the god of the annual crop, mounted into heaven and there reascended his divine throne and took his seat at the right hand of God, the Father (Mk. xvi. 19; Lk. xxiv. 51) [2]).

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[1]) For evidence that in the old, pentecontad calendar both the Matzot Festival in the spring and the Festival of Ingathering in the fall, each extending over a seven-days period, were celebrated from Sunday through Saturday, and that the Matzot Festival was followed immediately, upon the eighth, the climactic, day of the festival period, corresponding in some measure to a Sunday, by the day of cutting the first sheaf of the new crop, the day therefore of the resurrection of the god, the New Year's Day, cf. MORGENSTERN, "The Chanukkah Festival and the Calendar of Ancient Israel", *HUCA* XXI (1948), 365-496; "The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees, Its Origin and Its Character", *V.T.* V (1955), 34-76.

[2]) The fact that the N.T. narrative represents Jesus and his followers as celebrating the Matzot Festival for a period of seven days, commencing on Sunday, Palm Sunday, and extending, through Saturday, followed by an eighth day, again a Sunday, the climactic day of the festival period, the day of Jesus' resurrection and ascension into heaven, proves conclusively that these Galileans, farmers by livelihood, were employing the ancient, pentecontad calendar for their own private time-reckoning and the determination of the dates of their festivals still at the beginning of the current era. For evidence of the survival into N.T. times of other ancient elements of time-reckoning cf. MORGENSTERN, "The Reckoning of the Day in the Gospels and in Acts", *Crozer Quarterly* XXVI (1949), 232-240.

Furthermore, two robbers (Mt. xxvii. 38; Mk. xv. 27) or two malefactors (Lk. xxiii. 32 f., 39) are crucified along with Jesus as his partners in death. This is indeed a concrete expression of one element of the fate recorded for the Servant (Isa. liii. 12), "and with the transgressors did he let himself be reckoned".

Of the Servant it says in the present *MT* (Isa. liii. 9a),

And his grave was set with the wicked,
And with the rich in his death.

As we have shown, v. 9aβ is both incomplete and textually corrupt. We have accordingly, following in part the lead of certain earlier scholars, emended this stichos to read ואת־עשי רע במותו שכב, thus restoring the meter and the expected parallelism with the preceding stichos of the distich and likewise recovering a very effective chiasm. There can hardly be any question as to the need for and the correctness of this reconstruction of the text. We can readily comprehend the corruption of עשי רע to עשיר through the loss of the final letter of the original reading and the fusion of what remained into a single word. Certainly the mention of the rich man here in connection with the death and burial of the Servant would be meaningless and even disturbing. But it is significant indeed that all four Gospels tell that Jesus was buried in the private tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, newly hewn out of the rock and situated in the midst of a garden (Mt. xxvii. 57-60; Mk. xv. 42-46; Lk. xxiii. 50-53; Joh. xix. 38-42). The first three Gospels all state explicitly that this Joseph was a man of high standing in the community, while Mt. xxvii. 57 stresses the fact that he was rich. It is difficult indeed to escape the conclusion that in this one detail, since it did not belong in the original tradition, the Gospel narrative of the burial of Jesus must have been influenced directly by Isa. liii. 9a in its *MT* reading. Certainly the corruption of עשי רע into עשיר had come about long before N.T. times, for *LXX* already had the present *MT* before it. It is impossible not to infer that the Gospel account of the burial of Jesus was based in no small measure, not upon historical fact, but rather upon the corrupt *MT* reading of Isa. liii. 9aβ. Moreover, it should be noted that in *MT* עשיר is sing. and not plu., as we would expect it to be in parallelism with the plu., פשעים, of v. 9aα. As it reads now the OT. passage, literally interpreted, says, or at least implies, that the Servant was buried with a rich man. This fits the Gospel narrative, and especially the *Mt.*

In all this these Galileans were at one with the authors of the Books of Jubilees and Enoch and their sectarian associates.

version thereof, exactly. If then in this one significant detail the Gospel tradition is based directly upon this one passage in the Servant drama, it may well be that such was the case also with some of the other details common to the two narratives which we have already recorded.

Again Isa. liii. 10aβ states, in the form into which we have recast the text, that the Servant gave his life as a guilt-offering, gave it of course for the redemption of mankind from its iniquity. In Lev. xiv. 12, 13, 21, 24, 25; Num. vi. 12 we read that one form of the guilt-offering sacrifice was a lamb, male, a year old. Now Joh. i. 29, 36 speaks of Jesus as "the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world". Here, beyond all doubt, Jesus is conceived of, precisely as was the Servant, as an אשם, "a guilt-offering", sacrificing himself for the redemption of mankind from its iniquity and thus effecting its salvation.

From all this evidence it is clear that the affinities between the Servant drama and the Gospel record of the life and work of Jesus are many and close indeed. Not only must the N.T. writers have been familiar with the various parts of the drama as they appear scattered through Isa. xlii-lxi, but very plainly they sensed a close, inner unity of these various passages. They conceived of the Servant as a single person, a highly dramatic figure, whose life-story runs in dramatic form through these passages of the Book of Isaiah. To these N.T. writers the Servant was not at all the people Israel, but was rather an individual, a vivid and active personality, a member of the royal, Davidic family, a king of Israel, in principle at least, who died as a self-sacrifice for the redemption and salvation of mankind and thus fulfilled the destiny appointed for him by God even before his birth. And plainly, they identified Jesus with the Servant. To them Jesus was the fulfillment of the prophecy which the inclusion of the Servant drama in its fragmentary form in the book of the prophet Isaiah justified them in believing that it was. But this they could have done only by interpreting the figure of the Servant in the same manner as we have interpreted it. We may therefore justifiably regard all this as further evidence confirming our reconstruction of the Servant drama and our interpretation of it.

VI

The Date of Composition and the Religious Background of the Drama

Although included, for the most part at least, within the framework of Isa. xl-lv, the portion of the Book of Isaiah which, in its entirety, the vast majority of modern Biblical scholars still ascribe to Deutero-

Isaiah, our drama is certainly not the work of that inspired prophet. Because our drama deals with the figure of the Servant of Yahweh and likewise calls him by the name, Israel, even as did Deutero-Isaiah, as well as because of its position, in part at least, within the framework of the true Deutero-Isaianic writings [1]), these scholars have assumed, almost unquestioningly, that the passages which we have incorporated into our drama and which they have, equally unquestioningly, so it seems, designated by the surprising and altogether unjustifiable title, "Songs", must also be the work of Deutero-Isaiah. This compels them to affirm, either openly or tacitly, that there were two distinct periods in the ministry of this great prophet, the first in Babylonia and the second in Palestine, either that or else to shut their eyes completely to the unmistakable Babylonian setting of the authentic addresses of the prophet, in chapters xl-xlviii, and to maintain that this prophet discharged his entire ministry in Palestine. Furthermore, it compels them to affirm that the Servant of Yahweh in the passages which we have incorporated into our drama must be the people, Israel, even as he is in the authentic passages of the prophet. Most of the difficulties attendant upon the prevailing interpretation or interpretations of these passages and most of the strange hypotheses and regrettable fallacies arrived at as the result of this interpretation, arise from the altogether unnecessary and mistaken assumption that Deutero-Isaiah must be the author of these passages.

But although Deutero-Isaiah is certainly not the author of our drama, it is nevertheless manifestly dependent upon his message, for from this, as we have already intimated, derived the three major ideas set forth in the drama, the figure of the Servant of Yahweh, known by the name, Israel, its pronounced universalism and its doctrine of salvation for mankind. Our drama must accordingly be later than Deutero-Isaiah, i.e. then later than, let us say, 538 B.C.,

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[1]) I have shown, or at least have endeavored to show, that all the preserved utterances of Deutero-Isaiah are to be found in Isa. xl-xlviii ("The Message of Deutero-Isaiah in Its Sequential Unfolding", *HUCA* XXIX [1958], 1-67; XXX [1959], 1-102), also that his entire prophetic ministry was discharged in Babylonia, and that his message was directed immediately to the Babylonian Jewish community or, in his latest addresses, to a select portion thereof, that in all likelihood he died a martyr's death there, and furthermore, that he conceived of his Servant of Yahweh only as the people, Israel, and not at all as an individual personality, as does our drama. On the other hand, our drama was certainly composed in Palestine and was directed, in first degree at least, to a Palestinian audience. From this cumulative and significant evidence it follows that our drama can not possibly be the work of Deutero-Isaiah.

and sufficiently later for the message of that prophet to have been transmitted to Palestine and to have taken root there in popular thought sufficiently firmly for it to undergo speculation and to initiate theories as to the nature of the Servant of Yahweh and the manner in which his mission would eventually be discharged.

It may well be that the figure of the Servant as a martyred king of Israel was suggested in some measure by Menahem. I have endeavored to show that upon the New Year's Day in the fall of 486 B.C. the Nationalist Party in Judaea, in anticipation of the imminent death of Darius I and the confusion and disorganization in the administration of the Persian Empire almost certain to result therefrom, had anointed a certain descendant of David, probably a son of Zerubabel, as king of Israel. This rebellion endured for only a few months at the very most. Very early in 485 B.C. Judaea was invaded by the combined armies of all the neighboring states, Edom, Moab, Ammon and the Philistines, with the approval of Xerxes, the new Persian monarch, and with token support from the Persian army. The Jews were completely unprepared to offer even the slightest resistance. The country was overrun by the savagely hostile enemy, Jerusalem was conquered and laid in ruins, the Temple was destroyed, and the Davidic king, who had apparently at his anointing and throne-ascension assumed the royal name, Menahem, was captured and disappeared from history. The scanty evidence at our disposal suggests that he was put to death, that accordingly, viewed from one angle, he died as a martyr, and that in his death he was even subjected to torture and contumely [1]). It seems altogether probable that, in some measure at least, this martyred king of Israel may have served as the pattern for that other martyred king of Israel, the Servant of Yahweh of our drama. If so, then of course our drama must be dated after 485 B.C., and sufficiently long thereafter for the figure and fate of this martyred king, whose kingship endured for but a brief moment, and probably never was real and actual, to become transformed into the ideal figure of the Servant of our drama.

Moreover, if, as definitely seems to be the case, the influence of Greek drama may be discerned in the form and character of our drama, then it follows with equal certainty that our drama could not have been composed before the commencement of the period of

[1]) Cf. Lam. iv. 20; Ps. lxxxix. 39-46, 50-52; MORGENSTERN, "Jerusalem — 485 B.C.", *HUCA* XXVII (1956), 155-179; XXVIII (1957), 15-46.

direct Greek cultural influence upon the Jewish community of Palestine, i.e. before the establishment of the Athenian garrison in the coast-city of Dor in or about 460 B.C. Furthermore, at least a few years must be allowed for the influence of this Greek culture to have become sufficiently strong and creative to have produced a monumental work, such as our drama unquestionably is.

On the other hand, we should probably date our drama not too long after 460 B.C. Ezra and his body of Zadokite priests returned from Babylonia to Palestine in 458 B.C., and erected the third Temple, in fulfillment of the commission entrusted to him by Artaxerxes I, the Persian king. Steadily Ezra and his followers gained a controlling position in shaping the outlook, the policies and the program of the Jewish community of Jerusalem and its environment. Under the leadership of Ezra and his associates Judaism became a religion decidedly particularistic and separatistic in its thought and program. True, there is good reason for believing that the author of our drama and the Jewish group or sect to which he belonged did not subscribe completely to Ezra's program or become active supporters of his movement. But the particularism of Ezra's interpretation of Judaism and the strong nationalistic separatism of his active Jewish program steadily became more and more assertive and widely dominant. It is difficult to believe that a universalism so positive and all-embracing as that which permeates our drama could have found expression, even within the ranks of some more or less dissident Jewish sect, too long after the inauguration of Ezra's program. If then we date the composition of our drama at or about 450 B.C. we will certainly be very close to the correct date.

This conclusion finds confirmation in the fact that our drama is unquestionably a Jewish sectarian document, one of the earliest such, perhaps the very earliest. As we have suggested, Deutero-Isaiah left his message unfinished. He affirmed that Israel, the people, was the Servant of Yahweh, chosen by Him to function as the agent of His benevolent purpose of universal salvation. But beyond affirming that Israel was to be His witness (Isa. xliii. 10; xliv. 8) he did not define whereof Israel's mission as the servant and witness of Yahweh unto the nations would consist. We have suggested that the reason for this was that in all probability Deutero-Isaiah died a sudden death, probably as a martyr to his prophetic faith and service [1]).

[1]) Cf. "The Message of Deutero-Isaiah in Its Sequential Unfolding", *HUCA* XXIX (1958), 53-58, 62-67.

However, be that as it may, there can be no question that when, after the prophet's death, in Babylonia, his message was transmitted to Palestine, it took a firm hold upon the thought and imagination of the Jewish community there, or at least of certain sections thereof. This is evidenced by the program of proselytism of foreigners to Judaism, all definitely within the range of Deutero-Isaiah's broad program of universalism, carried on by the Universalist Party during the entire period that the second Temple stood, 516-485 B.C. [1]).

Following the great national catastrophe of 485 B.C., the Jewish community of Palestine remained but a pitiful shadow of what it had been previously. The great mass of its population had vanished, either through massacre by the pitiless enemy or through sale as slaves to the western world in the slave-markets of Tyre and Gaza. Jerusalem was in ruins. The Temple was destroyed. The recently anointed king had been captured and put to death. The remnant of the nation left resident in Palestine was practically leaderless. Without the Temple, the Levitical priests, who had functioned therein during the entire period that the second Temple stood, 516-485 B.C., could no longer minister in an active and positive sense. All centralization of worship and of organized Jewish life was now temporarily halted. These conditions continued to obtain for a third of a century or more, until Ezra could, in fulfillment of his commission from Artaxerxes I, erect the third Temple and install therein as priestly functionaries and authorities his own Zadokite brethren, who had returned with him from Babylonia, alongside of the survivors of the Levitical priesthood of the second Temple.

These circumstances, and particularly the lack of centralized authority in the interpretation and practice of official Judaism during the approximately thirty years period when there was no Temple, naturally contributed greatly to the rise of sectarianism in Judaism. It is to this period and to the conditions of Jewish life and observance during it that the beginnings of sectarianism in Judaism must be assigned. And in no small measure the potential latitude which now obtained in determining the true nature of the Servant of Yahweh of Deutero-Isaiah and the divinely appointed destiny of the people of Israel, particularly after the tragic catastrophe which it had just experienced and from the effects of which it was still suffering, played a basic role in the evolution of this Jewish sectarianism.

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[1]) Cf. „Jerusalem— 485 B.C.", *HUCA* XXVII (1956), 160-162.

Furthermore, the more distant from the Temple, a Jewish community or group dwelt, not only in this present period, when the Temple lay in ruins, but also in the period of the second Temple, immediately preceding, and in that of the third Temple, immediately following, the less responsive was it to centralized Jewish authority and the less conformative to the official Judaism which this centralized authority proclaimed and enforced, and correspondingly the more reliant upon local leadership and upon the worship in its own local synagogue [1]) and the more inclined to interpret Judaism in accordance with its own local ideas, customs and institutions. The more remote from Jerusalem and its religious and spiritual influence a Jewish group or community was, the more inclined was it to develop into a distinct Jewish sect and to give expression to its own Jewish views, beliefs, practices and hopes in its own group writings. Thus sects within Judaism must have begun to evolve in the period, 485-450 B.C., and thus they must have continued to evolve in the years and centuries which followed.

To just such a sectarian group the author of our drama must have belonged. And his writings reflect not merely his own personal views but also no doubt in considerable measure those of his own group or sect. It is reasonable to assume that this particular sect dwelt in close proximity to Dor on the northern Palestinian coast, for thus we can best explain its manifest amenability to Athenian cultural influence as manifested in its production of this drama, patterned plainly after the Greek drama, which thrived so favorably in this Periclean age. And if we may assume, as is not at all unreasonable, that this area of religious and cultural influence and activity reached out for a relatively short distance from Dor in a northeasterly direction, it would have contacted Galilee and its population. Or it is equally probable that the author of our drama and his fellow-sectaries were themselves Galileans, who in one way or another came directly under the Greek cultural influence which emanated from Dor, for certainly such a condition is readily conceivable. This assumption would account in altogether likely manner for the obvious currency of our drama and of the tradition and doctrine which it recorded among the Galilean sectaries, as Jesus and his followers undoubtedly were, some four centuries or more after its composition.

But be all this as it may, of this much we feel safely assured, that

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[1]) MORGENSTERN, "The Origin of the Synagogue", in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida* (1956), II, 192-201.

the so-called Suffering Servant sections of the Book of Isaiah constitute a drama, a very vivid and powerful drama, composed under Greek cultural influence emanating from the coastal city of Dor, that it was composed at about the middle of the fifth century B.C., that it is definitely a Jewish sectarian writing, probably the earliest writing of this type preserved in the Bible, and that it was composed by a member of some sectarian group dwelling in the immediate vicinity of Dor or else in closely adjacent Galilee. Since it too, along with those prophetic utterances and writings which we call Deutero-Isaiah, deals with the figure of the Servant of Yahweh, it was probably first integrated with Deutero-Isaiah and then incorporated with this into the Book of Isaiah, and then, as a part of the Book of Isaiah, into the O.T. Thus our drama of the Suffering Servant, even though a sectarian writing, found its way into our Bible.

DIE GEBURT BENJAMINS, GENESIS XXXV 16-20 (21)

VON

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Rome

„16) Und sie reisten ab von Bethel [(a)], und, als nur noch eine Wegstrecke [(b)] bis zur Ankunft in Efrat [(c)] blieb, gebahr Rachel und hatte eine schwere Geburt [(d)]. 17) Und, da sie eine so schwere Geburt hatte, sprach die Hebamme zu ihr: „Fürchte dich nicht [(a)], denn auch diesmal hast du einen Sohn". 18) Da nun aber das Leben sie verliess, denn sie lag im Sterben [(a)], nannte sie ihn *Ben-ᶜoni* [(b)]; sein Vater aber nannte ihn *Ben-jamin* [(c)]. 19) So starb Rachel und wurde auf dem wege nach Efrat, das ist Beth-lehem [(c)], begraben. 20) Und Jakob errichtete eine *Mazzebe* über ihrem Grab, die „*Mazzebe* des Rachelgrabes" bis zum heutigen Tage. 21) Dann brach Israel auf und pflanzte sein Zelt jenseits von Migdal-ᶜeder".

1. — Zum Texte und zur Geographie. V. 16: (a) Hier wird von LXX der ganze V. 21 eingefügt. (b) Unbekanntes Längenmass, oder vielleicht nur allgemein eine kurze Wegstrecke. Die meisten Kommentare betonen die Kürze des betr. Abstandes. (c) Der Ortsname ist Efrat, nicht Efrata, da es sich um ein *he locale* handelt [1]). Die Verwechselung dürfte jedoch schon alt sein und würde vielleicht die unten zu V. 19 behandelte Glosse erklären. (d) Es ist unnötig, den Text zu verbessern, wie dies früher geschehen ist [2]): die Form eines *jussivum apocopatum*, die sonst nur für den *hifil* in Betracht kam [3]), kann jetzt, auf Grund altkanaanäischer Sprachzeugnisse, auch für den *piel* berücksichtigt werden [4]).

V. 17: (a) Dieser Ausdruck steht, ausserhalb der dt. und dtr. Predigt, anscheinend beinah immer im Zusammenhang mit einer göttlichen Anrede. Nur hier und 1 Sam. iv 20 wird er, in Beziehung zu einer mit dem Tode der Mutter endenden Geburt, der Hebamme in den Mund gelegt.

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[1]) Zum letzten vgl. GES.K. [26]1909, Par. 90, a-c.
[2]) So BH[3] und das Lexicon von GESENIUS-BUHL [17]1921.
[3]) Vgl. z.B. GES.K. Par. 48 g.
[4]) Dazu BEER-MEYER II, 1955, Par. 82, 1.b ff., vgl. L. KÖHLER: *Lexicon* 1953, s.v.

V. 18: (a) Die Beibehaltung des *perf.* würde auf eine richtig erklärende, wenn auch nicht gerade nötige, Glosse schliessen lassen; die von den meisten Kommentaren vorgeschlagene Lesart als *part.* (vgl. die LXX ἀπέθνησκεν γάρ) erscheint hier deswegen besser, auch weil sie den Text ja nur um einen Akzent beeinträchtigt. Immerhin: die Probleme der hebräischen *consecutio temporum* (vgl. auch die benachbarten Sprachen) sind genügend verwickelt, um jeden zur Vorsicht zu ermahnen [1]). (b) = Sohn meines Schmerzes. (c) = Sohn meiner Rechten, was sowohl Glückskind als Südländer heissen kann (vgl. diesen doppelten Gebrauch auch im Arabischen: Yemen = Südland und *Arabia felix*).

V. 19: (a) Fälschlich erklärende Glosse, die das für den Süden belegte Geschlecht Efrata (1 Chr. ii 50, iv 4), wovon eine Ortschaft Efrat dortselbst (1 Chr. ii 19), mit dem sonst nicht identifizierten Orte Efrat im mittelpalästinischen Berggebiet verwechselt. Dieselbe Glosse wird Gen. xlviii 7 und Jos. xv 59 (LXX) wiederholt. In Ruth iv 11 scheint die Identifikation schon eine Tatsache zu sein, während in Mic. v 11 (mit einem ähnlichen textkritischen Problem) doch wohl vom südlichen Efrat die Rede ist. Dass aber das Grab Rachels nördlich von Jerusalem, zwischen Bethel und Rama, auf benjaminitischem Gebiet gelegen hat, zeigen die zuverlässigen Stellen 1 Sam. x 2 und Jer. xxxi 5, auch wenn der betreffende Ort sich von uns nicht mehr genau identifizieren lässt [2]). Dies dürfte heute als allgemein anerkannt gelten [3]). Eine Verwechselung der beiden Ortschaften ähnlichen Namens wird durch die Verlagerung des religiösen Lebens nach Juda genügend gerechtfertigt (vgl. schon Dillmann), und gab den Anlass für die neue, bis heute dauernde, Ansetzung des Grabes. Eine mittlere Lösung wird von Procksch und von Rad vorgeschlagen: es handle sich um das Jos. xviii 23 belegte הַפְּרָה.

V. 21: (a) Obwohl dieser Vers meistens nicht zum Überlieferungskomplex um das Rachelgrab gerechnet wird, stellt ihn die LXX dennoch nach 16a; aber auch im M.T. bildet er eine Art Abschluss der in unserm Zusammenhang begonnenen Reise (für Quellen-

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[1]) Vgl. zuletzt R. Meyer: „Das hebräische Verbalsystem im Licht der gegenwärtigen Forschung" *Congress Volume Oxford 1959* (*Suppl. V.T.* VII) 1960, S. 309-317.

[2]) Vgl. M. Noth: *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch* 1948, S. 93.

[3]) Vgl. zuletzt M. du Buit: *Géographie de la Terre Sainte* 1958 I, S. 94 und 127.

scheidung siehe unten zu Par. 2). Die Ortschaft an sich würde kaum als topographische Angabe dienen: ein „Herdenturm" war bestimmt eine häufige Erscheinung; doch bezeugt uns Mic. iv 8, dass ein Turm Jerusalems (der „Ophelturm" an der südöstlichen Seite) so genannt wurde. Eine solche Angabe würde natürlich zu einer Reise von Bethel nach Süden vortrefflich passen (GUNKEL), aber viel mehr wird man kaum sagen können. Wenn aber diese Identifikation sich als stichhaltig erwiese, dann erklärte sich auch, weshalb die LXX diesen Vers in den Anfang einfügte: da für sie die Gleichsetzungen Efrat = Bethlehem und Migdal-ᶜeder = Jerusalem schon feststanden, musste Jakob erst bei Jerusalem vorbeireisen, um später bei Bethlehem anzukommen; mit der Ansetzung von Efrat im Norden, ist die Reihenfolge des M.T. die korrekte.

Hiermit wird die betreffende Gegend auch geographisch genau umfasst [1]). Von Bethel ziehen Jakob und die Seinen nach Süden, der späteren römischen Strasse entlang. Nicht weit von Rama, südlich von Bethel und von der ephraimitisch-benjaminitischen Grenze, ereignet sich der Tod Rachels und wird bis zur Exilszeit ihr Grab gezeigt. Nach der Beisetzung wurde die Reise nach Süden fortgesetzt, wobei die Reisenden vermutlich Jerusalem streiften.

2. — Quellenscheidung. Für die meisten älteren Werke ist das Problem der Quellenscheidung in xxxv 16-22a verhältnismässig einfach: fast immer werden 16-20 dem Elohisten und 21-22a dem Jahwisten zugeteilt, was durch den abrupten Namenwechsel in V. 21 genügend gerechtfertigt erscheint [2]). Die Verwicklung unseres Textes ist aber nach weiteren Untersuchungen immer deutlicher geworden, sodass es heute nicht an Forschern fehlt, die, angesichts der damit verbundenen Schwierigkeiten, auf eine genaue Quellenscheidung verzichten [3]). Aber auch heute fehlt es nicht an Autoren,

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[1]) *Ibid.* II, Karte 5.

[2]) Vgl. die *Kommentare* von H. GUNKEL *HKAT* I, 1 [3]1910; HOLZINGER *HSAT* I [4]1922; O. PROCKSCH *KAT* I [2 3]1924; J. SKINNER *ICC* [2]1930; dagegen schreibt S. R. DRIVER, *Westm. Comm.* [11]1920, 16-22a ganz dem „J" zu.

[3]) G. VON RAD, *ATD* 2-4, 1949, der eine „E" Grundlage annimmt, oder S. MOWINCKEL: „‚Rachelstämme' und ‚Leastämme'", *Von Ugarit nach Qumrân, Festschrift O. Eissfeldt* (*BZAW* 77) 1958, S. 128 ff., der an eine „J" Grundlage denkt. Die grossen Schwierigkeiten für eine genaue Quellenscheidung hier und anderswo wurden seinerzeit schon von U. CASSUTO: *La questione della Genesi* 1934 als Argument gegen ihre Möglichkeit gebraucht; vgl. zuletzt, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der mündlichen Tradition: *Tôrat hattᵉᶜidôt wᵉsiddûrim šel sippûrê battôra*, 1953.

die eine solche dennoch anstreben [1]), obwohl man die frühere, absolute Gewissheit immer weniger wahrnimmt.

In unserm Fall darf man sich fragen, wozu V. 21 gehört: ob zum vorhergehenden Reisebericht, oder zur folgenden „Schandtat Rubens", falls die beiden überhaupt getrennt werden müssen. Natürlich ist der Namenwechsel im Allgemeinen ein gutes Element für das Eintreten einer neuen Quelle, doch soll man sich überlegen, ob die geographische Angabe nicht doch viel eher für die Fortsetzung des Reiseberichtes zeugt, an welchen dann die Rubenepisode (die sowieso nur ganz fragmentarisch überliefert ist) angehängt wurde. Der Namenwechsel scheint mir also nicht ein genügend starkes Argument, um den Zusammenhang des *itinerarium* zu sprengen. Deswegen möchte auch ich auf eine Quellenscheidung hier verzichten. Zu welcher Quelle unser Bericht sonst gehört ist für die vorliegende Untersuchung unwichtig.

3. — Überlieferungsgeschichtliches. Wollen wir feststellen „in welcher Weise und mit welchem Ziele die literarischen Fassungen den übernommenen Erzählungsstoff bearbeitet und geformt haben" (NOTH), so müssen wir uns erst mit der vor Kurzem geäusserten Meinung S. MOWINCKELS [2]) auseinandersetzen. Rachel, „Mutterschaf", wäre ursprünglich eine Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin gewesen, deren Leib unter Môt's Regiment verschlossen geblieben, dann aber, an seinem Ende, der Fruchtbarkeit eröffnet worden wäre. Das Ergebnis dieses Ereignisses ist die Geburt des Gottes= bzw. Wunderkindes, wozu der Zuspruch der Hebamme אל־תיראי ganz genau passen würde, vgl. die oben gegebene Texterklärung [3]) und ferner die Tatsache, dass Rachel als Mutter sich durch die Jahrhunderte weiter um ihre Kinder kümmert (Jer. xxxi 15!). Hierzu möchte ich noch die im Judentum traditionell gewordene Bezeichnung Rachels als הָאֵם = „Mutter *par excellence*" hinzufügen.

Wenn unsere Geschichte wirklich das Produkt eines historisierten Mythos wäre, bestünde natürlich ein weiteres Element für ihre ursprüngliche Unabhängigkeit, von der später im Einzelnen die Rede sein wird. Aber ich glaube nicht, dass diese These sich, bei

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[1]) M. NOTH: *op. cit.* S. 30 ff. und 38 ff. („E" und „J"), O. EISSFELDT: *Die Genesis der Genesis* 1958 S. 22 f. („E" und „L"). Im „klassischen" Sinn der Quellenscheidung arbeitet C. A. SIMPSON: *The early Traditions of Israel* 1948 S. 522 und *Genesis* (*The Int. B.* I) 1953 („J_2" „E" und „J_1").

[2]) *Art. cit.* S. 132 ff. und 144 ff.

[3]) J. MUILENBURG: „The birth of Benjamin" *JBL* 75 (1956) S. 194-201, bes. S. 197.

genauerer Nachprüfung, aufrechterhalten lässt: das „Mutterschaf" ist keine häufige Figur für die Muttergottheit; der erste Sohn Rachels müsste unbedingt aus dem Wege geschafft werden (was MOWINCKEL konsequenterweise auch tut), da es ja kaum einen Platz für ihn im Mythos gäbe; ferner müsste der Fruchtbarkeitsgott von Jakob vertreten werden, obschon er eine nebensächliche Gestalt ist; und endlich, der Zuspruch der Hebamme steht zwar fast immer im oben beachteten Zusammenhang (vgl. S. 432), doch bedarf es einer Spezialuntersuchung, bevor man solche schwerwiegende Schlüsse aus ihm zieht; dies kann kaum so nebenbei geschehen.

Den wirklichen Ausgangespunkt für jegliche Untersuchung bildet das Rachel*grab*, das sich zu Zeiten des Verfassers bzw. Tradenten und bis zum Exil im genannten Raum (vgl. S. 433) befindet. „Und eine Grabtradition pflegt sonst den sichersten Hinweis darauf zu geben, wo eine bestimmte Überlieferungsgestalt ursprünglich hingehört", um es mit NOTHS [1]) Worten über Moses auszudrücken. Nur ist hier der Fall einerseits komplizierter, anderseits einfacher. Komplizierter ist das Haften am Grabe zweier Gestalten, einer Hauptgestalt, Rachel, die wohl ursprünglich dazu gehört, und einer Nebengestalt, Benjamin, dessen Zugehörigkeit zu ihm nicht so unmittelbar feststeht. Viel einfacher ist anderseits, wie schon gesehen, der geographische Raum. So haben wir es hier also mit zweierlei Ätiologien zu tun: die eine, welche über den Ursprung des Grabes, also so etwas wie bei der Tamariske Deboras Gen. xxxv 8, die andere, welche über seine Beziehungen zu Benjamin unterrichten will, also etwas wie folgende Frage und Antwort: „Warum heissen die Gegend und die dort wohnende Bevölkerung Benjamin?" „Darum, weil dort der Name Benjamin unter folgenden Umständen zum ersten Mal ausgerufen wurde ....". Die Umstände werden dann auch „genau" wiedergegeben. Einerseits ist das Grab also ursprünglich mit der Ahnfrau verknüpft, anderseits wollen das Grab und die Geschichte den Namen der dort Ansässigen erklären, und wiederum: der Name erklärt das Grab, ein interessanter Beispiel, wie alte Traditionen sich manchmal im Kreis herumdrehen, ohne dass wir, wie im sprichwörtlichen Fall des Eis und des Huhnes, einem der beiden die chronologische Priorität zu geben vermögen ..... Denn, wie die Geographie hier die Verknüpfung mit Benjamin erklärt, so will die Geschichte den Namen erklären. Was aber bei all diesem

[1]) M. NOTH: *op. cit.* S. 186; über weitere Grabtraditionen vgl. S. 212 ff. Vgl. noch *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* ²1958 S. 37 und 205.

feststehen dürfte, ist die chronologische Priorität Rachels gegenüber Benjamins; doch wie weit reicht sie? Denn es bestehen im Verlauf der Geburtsgeschichte Benjamins verschiedene grundsätzliche Entsprechungen mit denen der anderen Erzväter (Gen. xxix 31-xxx 24), die nicht zu ignorieren sind, und die eine absolute Zweitklassigkeit der Benjamintradition unannehmbar machen. Diesen anderen werden wir uns nun kurz zuwenden.

Es scheint ziemlich üblich zu sein, den Unterschied zwischen der Geburtsgeschichte Benjamins und denen der anderen Erzväter zu unterstreichen. Dies bietet keine grossen Schwierigkeiten: denn die Benjamingeschichte steht von den andern getrennt da und enthält eine Reihe origineller Motive, sie spielt sich auf palästinischem Boden ab und ist geographisch genau lokalisiert [1]). Demgegenüber stehen die Geburtsgeschichten der Erzväter in einem einzigen Zusammenhang, haben eine stereotype Form, die sie praktisch untereinander gleich macht, sind endlich geographisch nur ganz dürftig in der Umgebung Harrans (und noch allgemeiner bei „P" in xxxv 22b in Paddan Aram) lokalisiert. Kompliziert werden sie höchstens durch die Gegenwart einiger märchenhafter Motive. Die Unterschiede liegen auf der Hand und dürfen nicht abgeschwächt werden. Aber wie steht es nun mit den Analogien? Wir dürfen sie ja nicht, unter dem Eindruck der Verschiedenheiten, aus dem Auge verlieren. Bei genaurer Beobachtung, nämlich, und eventueller Abstreifung des sekundären Materials, ist die grundsätzliche Struktur beider Geschichten faktisch dieselbe: die Ahnfrau gebiehrt und gibt ihrem Sohn den Namen. Dann folgt die Komplikation mit dem Tode, die die Geschichte mit dem Grabe verbindet, aber so ganz verschieden sind die Geschichten dennoch nicht. Dies erklärt auch die Stellungnahme M. Noths [2]), der die Geburtsgeschichte Benjamins als von denen seiner Brüder hierher versprengt sehen möchte als „vielleicht erst schriftstellerische Neuerung des Elohisten", „als ein(en) sehr sekundäre(n) Zug eben erst aus der Josephgeschichte, die Benjamin nur als ‚Nachzügler' brauchen konnte"; dies auch weil unsere Geschichte als „Lokalsage" kaum denselben Ursprung wie die Überlieferung von der Zwölfstämmeaphiktionie haben kann [3]). Hierzu könnte man noch die von Noth nicht verwertete „P" Tradition

[1]) J. Muilenburg: *art. cit.* S. 198.
[2]) M. Noth: *UgPent.* S. 109/Anm. 292, S. 228/Anm. 567.
[3]) M. Noth: *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* 1930 S. 9 (mir hier nicht zugänglich und nach Muilenburg zitiert).

hinzufügen, nach welcher auch Benjamin in Paddan Aram geboren wurde (Gen. xxxv 24 und 26b) [1]). Dennoch, wie dem auch sei: wenn es stimmt, dass die ursprünglich am Grabe haftende Gestalt die Rachels ist, so stimmt es nicht weniger, dass auch Benjamin, obgleich sekundär, einmal mit ihm verbunden worden ist. Die Frage ist nur, ob wir feststellen können, *wann* diese Verbindung statt gefunden hat. Die geographischen Angaben unseres Textes helfen uns nicht viel dabei: die nächste Ortschaft, Rama, wurde erst in der Königszeit wichtig, als sie zur Grenzfestung wurde; vorher begegnet sie uns nur in einer benjaminitischen Städteliste (Jos. xviii 25) oder in vereinzelten topographischen Angaben (Ri. iv 5, xix 13, 1 Sam. xxii 6). Auch die älteste Stelle, in der vom Rachelgrab die Rede ist (1 Sam. x 2), braucht es eher als topographischen Bezugspunkt, ohne dass man auf irgend eine andere Beziehung schliessen könnte. Aber ein m.E. sehr wichtiges Ergebnis bieten die beiden Stellen, in denen das Rachelgrab genannt wird: es ist darin von Benjamin überhaupt nicht die Rede! Zwar liegt es auf benjaminitischem Boden, aber sonst, ausser Gen. xxxv, wird Benjamin niemals im Zusammenhang mit dem Rachelgrabe erwähnt! Ein Schluss sollte sich sofort aufdrängen: die Verbindung gehört einer nur von der zuständigen Pentateuchquelle festgehaltenen, oder selbst hergestellten Überlieferung an, gestützt dadurch, dass der Tod Rachels natürlicherweise *terminus ad quem* für die Geburt Benjamins sein musste. Hätte also ursprünglich doch eine Tradition von der Geburt Benjamins ausserhalb Palästinas berichtet? Eine bejahende Antwort scheint viel für sich zu haben. Nun aber wurde unsere Geschichte bald mit dem Grabe Rachels verbunden, ein einziger Fall bei den Erzvätergeschichten.

Die Verbindung Benjamins mit dem Tode Rachels und mit ihrem Grab kann also nur nach der Einwanderung jener Verbände, die sich entweder in Mittelpalästina zum Stamme Benjamins zusammenschlossen, oder sonst schon von der Wüste aus einen derartigen Namen trugen, erfolgt sein. Die Entstehung der älteren Pentateuchquellen ist der späteste dafür in Betracht kommende Zeittermin.

Nun gilt es heute als eine angenommene Tatsache, dass die Geburtsgeschichten der elf Erzväter eine „künstliche Bildung", bzw. eine „Nachahmung alter Sage" [2]), oder „ein überlieferungsgeschicht-

[1]) U. Cassuto: *op. cit.* S. 299-301, der für die Schwierigkeiten, die seine These ihm hier bietet, eine entgegengesetzte Losung vorschlagt: die Stelle heisst im Zusammenhang: „bevor Jakob bei seinem Vater eintraf", sodass keine verschiedene Überlieferungen vorliegen. [2]) H. Gunkel, *op. cit.* S. 330.

lich junges Stück, kaum überhaupt ein lebendiger Erzählungsgegenstand" [1]) gewesen sind. Dasselbe würde man trotz allem von unserer Geschichte kaum sagen können (vgl. die oben S. 435 genannten Unterschiede): eine ältere und eine jüngere eng mit einander verbundene Ätiologie, die dem gut lokalisierten Orte dennoch eng anhaften, eine lebendige, sogar dramatische Erzählung bilden eine Reihe von Tatsachen, die uns die Frage aufzwingen, *ob nämlich eben gerade unserer Geschichte, den anderen Geburtsgeschichten gegenüber, nicht die Merkmale anhaften, die sie als ältere Überlieferung auszeichnen.* In anderen Worten: auch wenn ihre Verbindung mit Rachels Tod und Grab ursprünglich sekundär ist, so scheint ihr, m.E., gegenüber denen der elf Erzväter, doch der chronologischer Vorrang zu gebühren. Und falls dieses zuträfe, dann müsste man wohl mit der Möglichkeit rechnen, dass die Geburtsgeschichten der Erzväter, stereotyp nach dem Muster der Geburtsgeschichte Benjamins, und nicht diese durch Abtrennung von ihnen, gebildet worden seien. Schliesslich wäre es nicht das erste Mal, dass ursprünglich benjaminitische Traditionen, wenn auch unter andern Umständen, als Muster für Ganzisrael dienen dürften. Und dass Benjamin in Bezug auf das Rachelgrab nie mehr genannt wird, liesse sich dann genau so erklären, wie dieselbe Tatsache im, ursprünglich benjaminitischen, grössten Teil des Landnahmeberichtes [2]).

4. — *Ergebnisse.* So glaube ich, die Ürsprünglichkeit der Überlieferung von der Geburt Benjamins gegenüber der seiner Brüder, wenigstens als Arbeitshypothese aufstellen zu können; mehr als dies erlaubt uns der Bericht nicht.

Die Rolle Benjamins bei Entstehung verschiedener altisraelitischer Traditionen ist heute teilweise, wenigstens in Bezug auf die Landnahme, aufgedeckt worden [3]). Ein höchst wahrscheinliches ist das von NOTH seinerzeit aufgestellte [4]) und seitdem von MUILENBURG

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[1]) NOTH: *UgPent. loc. cit.*, MUILENBURG: *art. cit.* S. 195.

[2]) Die Ansicht, es stünden hinter den Stammesgeschichten „personifizierte Einkleidungen" völkergeschichtlicher Tatsachen, scheint mir bis jetzt so oft und entscheidend widerlegt worden zu sein, dass eine Auseinandersetzung mit ihr nicht vonnöten ist. Vgl. NOTH: *UgPent.* S. 228/Anm. 567; *Geschichte Israels* ²1954 S. 73/Anm. 2 und J. MUILENBURG S. 194 ss.

[3]) Albrecht ALT: *Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina* 1925 (*Kl. Schr.* I, 1953) S. 89-125, bes. S. 121 ff.; *Erwägungen über die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina* 1939 (Ibid.) S. 126-175, bes. S. 133 ff.; *Josua* 1936 (ibid.) S. 176-192, bes. S. 183 ff. und M. NOTH: *Josua* (*HAT* I, 7) ²1953 S. 11 ff. und *Geschichte* . . . S. 72 ff.

[4]) M. NOTH: *System* . . . S. 37/Anm. 1.

bekräftigte Postulat, dass es bestimmt mehrere benjaminitische Sonderüberlieferungen gegeben hat. Sicher ist es, dass Benjamin als palästinischer Stamm schon früh eine grosse Rolle gespielt hat, wie die Sprüche Gen. xlix 27 und Dt. xxxiii 10, seine Situation in der Richterzeit Ri. iii genügend zeigen: wie würde sich sonst die Tatsache erklären, dass gerade die benjaminitische Landnahmetradition als Grundlage der „Offiziellen" gebraucht wird, wieso einem Verstoss gegen die amphiktionischen Sitten (Ri. xix-xxi) ein so grosses Gewicht beigemessen werden konnte, und dass endlich der erste israelitische König gerade ein Benjaminite war?

Ein weiterer Hinweis in diese Richtung wären die hier aufgestellten Thesen: es gelang Benjamin, wegen seiner Stellung, sich sogar der Grabtradition der Ahnfrau zu „bemächtigen"; nach dem Muster seiner Geburtsgeschichte wurden dann die Überlieferungen, welche den Platz anderer Stämme in der Amphiktionie rechtfertigen, aufgebaut. Die weitreichende Frage, ob vielleicht sogar der ganz-israelitische amphiktionische Gedanke nicht ursprünglich in Benjamin beheimatet zu suchen wäre, indem er nach einem dort verankertem Konzept aufgebaut wurde, die hier natürlicherweise aufsteigt, möchte ich dennoch nicht einmal zu beantworten versuchen, da es dafür viel mehr als einer Arbeitshypothese bedarf [1]).

KORREKTURNACHTRAG

Das wichtige Werk von J. Simons: *The geographical and topographical lists of the Old Testament*, 1959, konnte wegen späten Eintreffens nicht mehr benützt werden. Soweit ich sehe, wird unsere Stelle darin nur mittelbar behandelt, vgl. unter Par. 382 ff. (S. 219 ff.) und 666 ff. (S. 310 ff.). Simons gibt der judäischen Grabtradition den Vorrang über die benjaminitische, was mir jedoch wegen der oben genannten Gründe nicht leicht annehmbar erscheint.

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[1]) Das Problem der *banû-jamina* habe ich absichtlich nicht in Betracht ziehen wollen, denn 1. sind mir hier viele der Quellen nicht zugänglich und es fehlt auch jedes zusammenfassende Werk (wie man es z.B. für die *Habiru* bei Bottéro und Greenberg findet), und 2. weil der Gegenstand für einen derartigen Vergleich noch nicht reif genug scheint. Man vgl. vorläufig: C. F. Jean: *Six campagnes de fouille à Mari 1933-39*, 1952 S. 30 f., 34 f., 36 ff.; das Ende des Artikels von Muilenburg und J. Kupper: *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* 1957 Kap. III. Vereinzeltes auch in den verschiedenen Geschichten Israels.

SHORT NOTES

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE GREEK VERSION OF THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

Greek manuscripts of the Psalms of Solomon are not numerous. To O. v. GEBHARDT and H. B. SWETE, according to their respective editions [1]), only six complete and two defective MSS were known. Therefore it might be useful to give some account of a fragment of a ninth manuscript to be found in the Vossius collection in the University Library at Leiden, the existence of which can be learnt from the recently issued catalogue [2]) of this collection. The manuscript in question *Voss. misc.* 15 [3]) contains on fols. 79a-82b the text of Ps. Sol. xvii 2 (inc.] και η ελπις) till the end of the book: Ps. Sol. xviii 14. It is a late copy (XVIth cent.) and many of its variant readings also occur in other MSS, but at some points it preserves unique—or nearly unique—readings.

It must be observed that our fragment has been thoroughly corrected and supplemented (on the basis of CERDA's editio princeps [4])) by a later hand which is also responsible for some variant readings *in margine* [5]) from the same source.

In collating the text with SWETE's edition an asterisk denotes the original reading of our fragment before corrections were introduced.

Ps. xvii 3	σωτηρα] pr. τον	cum	l
	ελεους] ελεου	„	h i l m p v

[1]) Ψαλμοι Σολομωντος Die Psalmen Salomos zum ersten Male mit Benutzung der Athoshandschriften und des Codex Casanatensis hsg. von Oskar VON GEBHARDT (= *TU* XIII/2) Leipzig 1895; *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* ed. by H. B. SWETE, Vol. III, Cambridge 1912[4].

[2]) *Bibl. Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti VI: Codices Vossiani Graeci et Miscellanei* descr. K. A. DE MEYIER (Leiden 1955) p. 253f.

[3]) The manuscript was already mentioned by A. RAHLFS, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Berlin 1914) p. 95 where the contents of fols. 79-83 were described as "Comm. in Ps. fragm."

[4]) *Adversaria sacra* . . ., edid. J. L. DE LA CERDA (Lyons 1626). Our text makes a definite reference to this edition in a marginal note on Ps. Sol. xviii 6: „Cerda interpretatur, regno: ~".

[5]) These variant readings are:
On Ps. Sol. xvii 5 βασιλειαν as in the ed. princ. for βασιλειον
On Ps. Sol. xvii 9 ηριτων as in the ed. princ. for ημων
On Ps. Sol. xviii 12 κυρεια *potestate* as in the ed. princ. for πορεια.

(Ps. xvii)	4	εθνη] + εν κρισει	cum	h i l m p v
	5	σπερματος] + αυτου	,,	h i l m p v
	6	εξωσαντο] εξωσαν	,,	h i l m p v
		αφειλαντο] αφειλοντο	,,	h i l m p v
	8	ηρημωσαν] ερημωσαν*	,,	i
		αλλαγματος] αλαλαγματος	,,	h m p v
		σπερμα] pr. το	,,	h i l m p v
	10	ευρεθηναι] ευρεθειη	,,	h m p v
	11	ουκ 1°] pr. κατα τα εργα αυτων	,,	h i l m p v
		ουκ 1°] om.	,,	h m p v
		εξερευνησε] εξηρευνησε	,,	h i m p v
		αυτων ενα] αυτους	,,	h m p v
	13	ανομος] ανεμος	,,	h m p v
		επι] om.	,,	h i l m p v
		τεκνα] pr. τα	,,	i
	14	και 2°] om. *		
	15	εν υπερηφανια] υπερηφανιαν	,,	h l m p v
	16	τους θεους] τοις θεοις	,,	h i l m p v
	17	επεκρατουσαν] επεκρατουν	,,	h l m p v
		υιοι] pr. οι	,,	h i l m p v
		εν μεσω εν αυτοις εν] εν αυτοις εν μεσω	,,	h i l m p v
	18	εφυγοσαν] εφυγον	,,	h i l m p v
	20	εφυγοσαν . . . οσιων] om.	,,	h i l m p v
		σκορπισμος] pr. ο	,,	h i l m p v
	21	πηγαι] pr. αι		
	23	ιδες] οιδας	,,	m p
	25	καταπατουντων] και απατουντων*		
	26	αμαρτωλου] αμαρτωλους*	,,	h m p v
		corrected into αμαρτωλων	,,	i
	27	εν απειλη . . . προσωπου αυτου] om.*	,,	m p
		[The marginal addition of these words reads απελλη [1]) for απειλη]		
	29	ετι] om.	,,	h m p v
	30	εισιν αυτων] αυτων εισι	,,	(h)i l(m p v)
	31	διαψαλμα] om. *		
	32	τον ζυγον] om. τον	,,	h i l m p v
		τον κυριον		

[1]) As in DE LA CERDA's edition.

(Ps. xvii) 33	καθαριει] καθαρισει	cum	h i m p v
	το] τῶ*		
35	επ' αυτους] υπ' αυτους*		
37	ουδε 2°] και	„	h i l
	ελπιδας] ελπιδα*		
39	καταξει] παταξει	„	h l m p v
41	λαους μεγαλους] λαου μεγαλου	„	h i l m p v
42	κατηργασατο] κατειργασατο	„	h i l m p v
	μετα] μετ	„	h m p v
46	ισοτητι] οσιοτητι	„	h l*m p v
	υπερηφανια] υπερηφανεια		
	αυτοις 2°] αυτῶ* (?)		
48	το πρωτον τιμιον] τιμιον το πρωτον	„	h i l m p v
	διακρινει] διακρινεις*		
	λαου] λαους	„	h i l m p v
	ηγιασμενου] ηγιασμενων	„	h m p v
50	γενομενοι] γινομενοι	„	h i l m p v
	ποιησαι] ἃ ποιησει	„	h
Ps. xviii tit	Σαλωμων] Σαλομων	„	h i p v
	ετι . . . κυριου] ιῆ'		
2	επι 1°] μετα	„	h i l m p v
3	επακουει] επακουσει	„	h i l m p v
	μετα] μετ	„	h m p v
	ελεους] ελεου	„	h i l m p v
4	αγαπη] pr. η	„	h i l m p v
	υιους] υιου	„	omnes
	παιδια] παιδεια	„	h i l m p v [1])
5	ευηκοον] υπηκοον	„	h m p v
6	ελεους] ελεου	„	h l m p v
	αναξει] αινεσει* [2])		
7	γενομενοι] γινομενοι	„	h l m p v
	ημεραις] pr. ταις	„	h l m p v
8	υπο] απο*		
9	ανδρας] ανδρα [3])	„	h l m p v
	ενωπιον] εν φοβω	„	h m p v

[1]) Though this fact is not indicated in SWETE's edition ms i ends with xviii 4 μονογενη [. (Cp. O. v. GEBHARDT, *o.c.*, p. 65).

[2]) Cp. also T. W. MANSON "Miscellanea Apocalyptica" in *JTS* 46 (1945) p. 41 f.

[3]) I assume that ανδρας in SWETE's crit. app. is an error for ανδρα.

(Ps. xviii)	10	ελεους] ελεου	cum h l m p v
		διαψαλμα] om. *	
	11	preceded by rubric : Ψαλμος τω Σαλομων ίθ. [1])	
Ps. xix	1	(xviii 11) ημων ο θεος] ο θεος ημων	„ h l m p v
	2	(xviii 12) πορια] πορεια	„ h l m p v
		(xviii 12) φωστηρας] ημερας	
	4	(xviii 14) οδων] απο οδου	„ h l m p v
		αυτου] om. *	
Subscr. [2])		Ψαλμοι Σαλομωντος ιη̅(!) εχουσιν | επη α̅: ~	„ h v

Leiden W. Baars

DAS BUCH HENOCH UND DIE VIER KARDINALPUNKTE DES SONNENLAUFES

Nach dem äthiopischen Henochbuch hat das Kalenderjahr 364 Tage [3]), und zwar besitzen die ersten zwei Monate eines Quartals je 30 Tage, während der dritte Monat stets 31 Tage hat [4]). In seinem Artikel: „Der Kalender des Jubiläenbuches und das Alte und das Neue Testament" im Januarheft dieser Zeitschrift schreibt nun Ernst Kutsch u.a., dass nach der Theorie des (äth.) Henochbuches (Kap. 72) die Solstitien mit den ersten Tagen des betreffenden Vierteljahres zusammenfallen [5]).

Diese Behauptung entspricht leider nicht den Tatsachen. In Kapitel 72, Vers 13-16 heisst es beispielsweise bezüglich der Sommersonnenwende wörtlich [6]):

(13) „Dann kommt die Sonne bei ihrer Rückkehr nach Osten in das sechste Tor;
im sechsten Tor geht sie auf und unter,
einunddreissig Morgen lang, wegen seines Zeichens.

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[1]) A remarkable confirmation of H. E. Ryle and M. R. James' suggestion (ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ . . . [Cambridge 1891], p. 147f) to treat Ps. Sol. xviii 1-10 and 11-14 as separate psalms.

[2]) By the second hand.

[3]) Vgl. z.B. Kap. 72, Vers 32.

[4]) Vgl. Kap. 72 Vers 7 ff.

[5]) *a.a.O.* S. 39 in Verbindung mit Anmerkung 4 daselbst.

[6]) Zitiert nach Paul Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel*, 1928, Augsburg.

(14) An jenem Tag" — d.h. also am 31. Tag des Monats —
„wird der Tag länger als die Nacht
und der Tag beträgt das Doppelte der Nacht;
der Tag enthält dann zwölf Teile,
und die Nacht wird kürzer
und enthält sechs Teile.

(15) Dann erhebt sich die Sonne,
damit der Tag kürzer und die Nacht länger werde;
wenn die Sonne nach Osten kehrt,
tritt sie in das sechste Tor
und geht darin dreissig Morgen auf und unter.

(16) Sind dann dreissig Morgen abgelaufen,
dann nimmt der Tag genau um einen Teil ab;
der Tag beträgt dann elf Teile
und die Nacht sieben."

Am Tag der Sommersonnenwende steht bekanntlich die Sonne am l ä n g s t e n über dem Horizont. Vers 14 sagt nun ganz deutlich, dass der längste Tag und die kürzeste Nacht auf den l e t z t e n Tag des aus 31 Tagen bestehenden Monats fallen und nicht, wie Kutsch meint, auf den ersten Tag des Vierteljahres, der gleichbedeutend ist mit dem ersten Tag des ersten Monats im Quartal. Mit diesem Tag fangen vielmehr nach Vers 15 die Nächte an länger und die Tage kürzer zu werden.

Das Entsprechende gilt nach Henoch, Kapitel 72, auch für das Wintersolstitium und die beiden Äquinoktien. Sie fallen n i c h t a u f den B e g i n n eines Vierteljahrs, s o n d e r n a u f das E n d e eines solchen, nämlich auf den 31. Tag des 9., 6. und 12. Kalendermonats. Der Kürze halber sei auf eine wörtliche Wiedergabe der betreffenden Stellen verzichtet und nur die Ziffern der fraglichen Verse angegeben. Es wird verwiesen: Bezüglich der Wintersonnenwende auf die Verse 25-28, bezüglich des Frühlingsäquinoktiums auf die Verse 31-32 und bezüglich des Herbstäquinoktiums auf die Verse 19-22.

Kutsch ist bei seiner oben angeführten Behauptung offensichtlich einem Irrtum zum Opfer gefallen. Dies festzustellen, erscheint mit Rücksicht auf die grosse Bedeutung notwendig, die das Buch Henoch — neben dem Jubiläenbuch — für das Verständnis des Qumrankalenders hat.

Berlin E. E. Ettisch

FOUR-MONTH SEASONS OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

In Biblical Hebrew the word *days* sometimes denotes a definite period of time. This is the case in the expression זֶבַח הַיָּמִים, the name of a sacramental offering that used to be made at Shiloh by the prophet Samuel's parents (1 S i 21; ii 19) and at Bethlehem by David's clan (1 S xx 6). In the former instance it is said to have been offered שָׁנָה בְשָׁנָה (1 S i 7). Since this phrase has been taken to mean *year by year*, that is to say *every year* or *annually*, it has been assumed that the definite period of time signified by *days* is a year.

There are two difficulties about this argument. In the first place Biblical Hebrew has a regular word for *year*, so it is hard to see why such a more general term as *days* should have been used to express this concept. And, secondly, such distributive ideas as *year by year* are regularly expressed in the Hebrew Bible by the repetition of the term with no intervening preposition (Dt xiv 22 has שָׁנָה שָׁנָה), so probably *year into year* has some other signification.

A natural meaning for *year into year* would be *year after year*. This would be suitable not only with reference to *the sacrifice of the days* but also in all other instances where the expression occurs in the Hebrew Bible (in Lv xxv 53 of the hiring of laborers, in Dt xv 20 of the eating of firstlings at Yahveh's sanctuary, in 1 K v 25 [11] of Solomon's payments to Hiram, and in Ne x 35, 36 of the bringing of the wood offering and of the firstfruits to Yahveh's temple). And it would be appropriate for the same construction to have this force in the other expressions where it occurs (as in Ne viii 18, where Ezra would then be understood to have read *day after day*, *from the first day* of The Feast of Booths *until the last* [1])). So it appears that *year after year* is the proper meaning of the phrase and that therefore *days* as a definite length of time need not mean *year* but could refer to a shorter period. Then the statement that a Levite's concubine went back to her father's home at Bethlehem in Judah and stayed *days—four months* (Jd xix 2) need not be considered at fault. On the

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[1]) *Contra* Emil Friedrich KAUTZSCH, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, tr. A. E. COWLEY (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1946), sec. 123 *c*. Apparently JAMES MOFFATT (in *New Translation of The Bible Containing The Old and New Testaments*, Harper and Brothers, New York and London 1950) used *year after year* in 1 S i 7 merely in order to prevent the repetition of his *year by year* of v. 3, for in other passages he has translated the construction simply as a distributive. For this construction in Biblical Aramaic see Ezr vi 9.

contrary this makes it clear that the definite period of time denoted by *days* is four months.

Now climatically the year of the Hebrew Bible is divided into two seasons, the hot and the cold (Gn viii 22), summer and winter (Gn viii 22; Zc xiv 8; Ps lxxiv 17), called the hot and the rainy seasons in Mishnaic Hebrew. And sometimes the agricultural year also is represented as consisting of only two seasons, seedtime (Gn viii 22) or plowing-time (Ex xxxiv 21 and see Gn xlv 6) and harvest. But harvest is twice as long as the other season and includes two separate periods of major activity that divide it in half, so for the farmer the year falls naturally into three parts, seedtime, threshingtime, and vintage (Lv xxvi 5 and see Am ix 13). Generally speaking seedtime begins in December, threshingtime in April, and vintage in August, so the agricultural year actually comprises three seasons, each of which lasts approximately four months.

Biblical Hebrew has no special word to express the concept *season of the year* [1]). And Mishnaic Hebrew uses *days* for it in such expressions as יְמוֹת הַחַמָּה and יְמוֹת הַגְּשָׁמִים. So the word *days* meaning a four-month period is apparently none other than the Hebrew Bible's term for *season* It could have originated by dropping the second element in such xpressions referring to the seasons as *days of harvest* (Jos iii 15; 2 S xxi 9; and see Jb xxix 4). Then *the sacrifice of the days* is *the seasonal sacrifice*. And in 1 S xxvii 7 the *vav* between *days* and *four months* is to be taken as explicative and the length of time that David lived in the Philistine country was *a season, that is to say, four months.*

It is said that Samuel's parents went to offer the seasonal sacrifice מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה (1 S i 3; ii 19). But this can scarcely mean *from season to season*, for the same phrase is used of the Feast of Unleavened Bread at Passover (Ex xiii 10) and of two other apparently annual events, the commemoration of the daughter of Jephtah (Jd xi 40) and the Yahvist festival at Shiloh (Jd xxi 19). So evidently the phrase means *from time to time* in the sense of *periodically* or *regularly*.

However there are several other places in the Hebrew Bible where contexts of the word *days* indicate that it signifies *season*. Since Gn i 14 declares in the first part of the verse that the heavenly bodies are to distinguish day and night from each other, it would hardly go on to say that they are to serve as signs for days, so apparently the meaning

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[1]) This can scarcely be the meaning of מוֹעֵד in Gn i 14 (see below) or Ps civ 19

there is that they are to serve as signs *both for festivals and for seasons and years*. In Gn xxiv 55 the consent of Abraham's slave is sought for Rebekah to continue to live at her parents' home after her betrothal *for a season or* [*at least*] *ten weeks*. According to Gn xl 4 the Pharaoh's two officers had their dreams after they had been under arrest *for a season* [1]). Lv xxv 29 gives a man who has sold his home in a walled city until the end of the year of sale to buy it back, provided that he enjoys this right *for* [*at least*] *a season*. According to Nu ix 22 the cloud of the divine presence would sometimes stay over the tabernacle for as long as *a couple of days*, *a month*, *or* [*even*] *a season*. Jd xi 4 says that the Ammonites went to war with Israel, Jd xiv 8 that Samson went to marry a Philistine woman, and Jd xv 1 that he went to visit his wife, in each case *the following season* (מִיָּמִים). According to Jd xvii 10 Micah offered the Levite *ten shekels of silver a season* in addition to his keep. In 1 S xxix 3 Achish tells the other Philistine rulers that David has been with him *for some seasons or* [*in fact*] *for some years*. In 2 S xiv 26 it is observed that Absalom used to have a haircut *at the end of every season* (מִקֵּץ לַיָּמִים יָמִים). According to 1 K xvii 15 the remains of a barrel of meal and of a vessel of olive oil lasted miraculously *for a season*. Is xxxii 10 prophesies that *a year from the following season* (יָמִים עַל־שָׁנָה) the vintage will fail. Is lxv 20 contrasts *a baby a season old* (עוֹל יָמִים) with a centenarian. Dn viii 27 says that Daniel was sick, Dn xi 33 that the wise shall fall, and Ne i 4 that Nehemiah went into mourning, each *for a season*. And according to 2 Ch xxi 15, 19 Elijah warned King Jehoram that he would suffer an illness that would make him lose his internal organs *the following season* (יָמִים עַל־יָמִים) and this happened *a season later* (לְיָמִים מִיָּמִים), *namely*, *at the end of the following season* (וּכְצֵאת הַקֵּץ לְיָמִים שְׁנַיִם).

Thus recognition of the fact that the expression *year into year* means *year after year* eliminates the only grounds for not recognizing that the definite period of time denoted by the term *days* is four months, the length of an agricultural season in Palestine. And once it is recognized that one of the meanings of *days* is *season of the year*, it becomes evident that this signification of the word is not infrequent in the Hebrew Bible.

Sag Harbor, N.Y. Francis Sparling NORTH

[1]) The English phrase *for a season* is used here in the sense of *for a season of the year*. In the King James Version *a season* apparently means *for some time*, because this is the only place where it translates the Hebrew *days* in such a way.

BAR KOCHBA, BEN KOSBA: DER STERNSOHN, DER PRÄCHTIGE

Auf die Person Simeons, des Führers im zweiten jüdischen Aufstand unter Hadrian werfen die Texte aus Murabba'at einiges Licht [1]). Aber die Bedeutung seines Beinamens ist noch nicht geklärt. Er lautet hier nicht Bar Kochba, sondern Ben Kosba. Der erste Name, „Sternsohn" wird ein Ehrentitel sein, den der Träger, bereits von Akiba, erhielt, als er in der Öffentlichkeit eine Rolle spielte und man an seine Person messianische Hoffnungen knüpfte mit Bezug auf Num xxiv 17: „Ein Stern geht auf aus Jakob". Der eigentliche ursprüngliche Beiname war wohl Ben Kosba, der gelegentlich in der Titulatur „Simeon, Fürst Israels" auch fehlen kann (z.B. *DJD* II nr. 24 E 7, pl. XXXVI p. 131). Dass damit der Träger aber von Anfang an als Lügner qualifiziert werden sollte, ist wenig wahrscheinlich, das ist vielmehr spätere abträgliche Ausdeutung [2]). Das Verhältnis der beiden Beinamen zu einander wird gerade umgekehrt sein: erst Ben Kosba, dann Bar Kochba.

Aber was bedeutet dann Kosba in Wirklichkeit? „Lügensohn" wird man ein Kind kaum von vornherein heissen. Dass das Wort in Murabba'at mit Samek und nicht, wie *kzb* „lügen" mit Zain geschrieben wird, ist dabei ohne Bedeutung. Denn mit der Unterscheidung der Zischlaute nimmt man es nicht so genau. In demselben Text nr. 24 schreibt man auch *nsy'* „Fürst" und *'sh* „tun" mit Samek statt mit Sin. Ebenso wechselt Aleph und He als Schlussbuchstabe des (aramäischen) Status emphaticus [3]), sodass dieser Wechsel auch bei Kosba nicht auffallen kann. Die Erklärungen, die der Herausgeber der Ben-Kosba-Texte, J. T. Milik, [4]) in Vorschlag bringen konnte, befriedigten ihn selbst nicht ganz. Denn einen so wenig schmeichel-

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[1]) In Betracht kommen hier *DJD* II nr. 24 und nr. 43.

[2]) Dazu (mit Anführung der rabbinischen Stellen) J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* II 312; vgl. auch M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim* etc. I 618 a.

[3]) *DJD* II p. 138 (nr. 26), 3.

[4]) Bereits *RB* LX, 1953, 277-282 und kürzer wieder *DJD* II p. 126. Milik hält die Lesung *Kosba* für entsprechend. Dem steht wohl nicht entgegen, dass in einem inzwischen von Y. Yadin aufgefundenen griechischen Brief *Chōsiba* umschrieben sein soll (*BA* XXIV 48). Der babyl. Talmud (L. Goldschmidt, Grosse Ausgabe IV 256; VII 400. 423) bietet zwar auch בן כזיבא (בר), aber im jerus. Talmud fehlt öfter das Yod im Namen (*Ta'an.* 68d, Ausgabe Krotoschin 1866); trotzdem umschreibt allerdings M. Schwab in seiner französ. Übersetzung vol. VI p. 188 f. auch hier Coziba wie III 201; IV 180 (Ma'as. Sch. 52d; Sabb. 16).

haften Spitznamen wie „Lügner" gebraucht man namentlich für eine Respektsperson kaum in einer geschäftlichen Vertragsurkunde und noch weniger als Unterschrift in einem amtlichen Schreiben für sich selbst, wie es nach nr. 43, l. 8 wohl der Fall sein könnte oder müsste. Ein Zusammenhang mit palästinisch-arabischem *kusb* oder jud.-aram. *kubsa* („Trester, Ölrückstände") ist wenig wahrscheinlich und ergibt keinen annehmbaren Sinn, und „die Männer von (einem Ort bei Hebron?) Kozeba" *'anšē kozebā'* 1 Chron iv 22 sind selbst einigermassen rätselhaft und tragen zur Klärung nichts bei. Richtig wird sein, dass *ben* wie sonst oft, nicht das genealogische Verhältnis ausdrückt, sondern den Träger einer Eigenschaft bezeichnet und ein attributives Adjektiv umschreibt wie etwa *ben šaemaen* „fett" Jes v 1. Die Zugehörigkeit zu einem geographischen Ort wird regelmässig nicht durch *bn*, sondern durch *'īš* bezeichnet.

Sachlich und sprachlich näher liegt der Vergleich mit *kozbi* Num xxv 15,18, dem Namen der buhlenden Midianiterin, die von Pinehas erschlagen wird. Der Name bedeutet die „*Üppige*", „*Prächtige*" und hat seine Parallele an akkadischen Frauennamen wie *Kunzubtu* (mit Nasalierung für *kuzzubtu*) und *kuzabatum* [1]) die sich von *kuzbu* „(üppige) Fülle", „Pracht" herleiten und wahrscheinlich zunächst auf körperliche Wohlgestalt anspielen. Dasselbe Wort findet sich in ähnlicher Bedeutung in den theophoren Frauennamen *Aja-kuzub-mātim* und *Ninlil-kuzub-niši* [2]) sowie in dem hypokoristischen Namen *Kuzub-niši* [3]) „(die Göttin) Aja (Ninlil oder eine unbestimmte Gottheit) ist die (Segens)fülle des Landes (Volkes)". Das akkadische Synonymum *baštu(m)* „(Körper)kraft" bildet in gleicher Weise einen Bestandteil von zusammengesetzten Frauennamen in Mari wie *Addu-bašti*, *Šarrum-bašti*, *Ea-bašti* „(der Gott) Addu, Šarrum, Ea ist (meine) Kraft" [4]), wozu wieder das hypokoristische *baštum* „(irgendein Gott ist meine) Kraft" [5]) zu stellen ist. Man denkt sofort dabei auch an biblische Namensbildungen wie *Elischeba* „Mein Gott ist (Segens)fülle" oder „Vollkommenheit" und besonders an *Bat-Scheba* „Tochter der Fülle", was sich zunächst ja auch wohl auf die körperliche Gestalt beziehen wird.

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[1]) H. Holma, *Die assyrisch-babylonischen Personennamen der Form quttulu*, Helsinki 1914, 64. J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung* (*MVAG* 44) 1939, 249.

[2]) Stamm, ebenda 227f.

[3]) A. T. Clay, *Personal Names of the Cassite Period* 1912, 102.

[4]) *Revue d'Assyriologie* 50 (1956) pl. I Kol II 19; pl. III Kol V 16 VI 6, dazu p. 61. 66. 70.

[5]) *Ebenda* p. 68 III 3.

Weitere akkadische Synonyma der *quttul*-Form kommen nicht nur als weibliche, sondern auch als männliche Personennamen vor, wie z.B. der hypokoristische Name *ḫubuṣ(u)* [1]) und der volle *Nabū-kuzub-ilē* [2]) „Fülle (des Gottes N.N.)" bzw. „Nabu ist die Pracht der Götter".

Man wird nicht einwenden können, das sei alles zu weit hergeholt. Die *Kozbi* von Num xxv spielt ja in der israelitischen Geschichte ihre Rolle, und für Namen gab es schon damals keine unübersteiglichen geographischen und politischen Grenzen. Nach BAUMGARTNER [3]) gibt es im Hebräischen neben vielen gemeinsemitischen Stämmen etwa hundert akkadische Fremdwörter und auch in der rabbinischen und talmudischen Literatur sind solche keineswegs selten. Umgekehrt zeigt das aramäische Ostrakon aus Kalach [4]), wie israelitische Personennamen nicht bloss und auch nicht erst durch die babylonischen Exulanten von Westen nach Osten kamen.

Es wäre also kaum auffallend und jedenfalls nicht unmöglich, dass Simeon, der Fürst Israels, der Führer des hoffnungsvoll begonnenen zweiten Aufstandes mit dem Beinamen Ben Kosba als der Prächtige bezeichnet werden sollte, so wie man einige Jahrhunderte früher in Syrien Antiochos IV Epiphanes zubenannte. Zu dieser Erklärung des Namens würden auch einigermassen die legendären Erzählungen passen, die dem Führer im Aufstand eine ganz ausserordentliche Kraft zuschreiben [5]).

Bonn F. NÖTSCHER

THE ERA OF THE HABAKKUK COMMENTARY

The eminent scholars who have set themselves to the elucidation of the problem of the Qumran sect in its historical setting have tended to decide on their solution and then accomodate the details. I propose here to reverse the process and to attempt to determine

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[1]) *Revue d'Assyriologie* 49 (1955) p. 18 (25) VI 25; HOLMA, *Personennamen* p. 50; hier und bei STAMM 249 weitere Hinweise. Der ugaritische Name *kzgb* (*PRU* II pl. XIII Nr. 69, 17) wird nichts damit zu tun haben.

[2]) UNGNAD, *Neubabyl. Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden* I (1935), S. 571 Nr. 661 (*VAS* Nr. 27, 3). Der *amēl ku-zu-bi-ia* (*ki*) mag ein Mann aus Kuzubia sein (Ortsdeterminativ !): *The Alalakh Tablets* ed. WISEMAN nr. 37, 4. 7, P. 54. 155.

[3]) *Anthropos* 35/36 (1940/41) 610f. H. ZIMMERN, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylon. Kultureinfluss*² 1917 hatte noch viel mehr gezählt.

[4]) Zuletzt darüber W. F. ALBRIGHT, *BASOR* 149 (1958), 33-36.

[5]) *p. Ta'an* 68; *Encyclop. Jud.* III 1080.

from internal evidences, very summarily, merely to what period the documents refer, leaving aside at present the solution of the precise problem. I will confine myself to the evidence provided by the Habakkuk Commentary which so far as it goes is tolerably complete, and unlike most of the other documents uses on the whole clear language, although concealing the identity of the principal characters by the use of sobriquets—no doubt fully intelligible at the time, however difficult of comprehension to us.

(i) The Commentary postulates a period which it considers the End of Days, which had already begun. The End of Days is necessarily a relatively restricted period comprised within an ordinary life-span or generation (as explicitly indicated in ii. 7 and vii. 2 [1])) before and including the final Deliverance, which was to introduce a period of perpetual felicity.

(ii) A feature of the End of Days in accordance with Biblical prophecy (Numbers, chapter xxiv) is the suffering of the Jews at the hands of a relentless military people, the Kittim (ibidem, verse 24) who had now occupied or were about to occupy Judaea. The term Kittim was applied to the invader with reference to Numbers xxiv. 24, in the conviction that this was not an ordinary enemy, but the Ultimate Enemy of the Jewish people, whose overwhelming would characterise and usher in the End of Days.

(iii) In view of what has been said thus far, this people, the Kittim, can be identified only with the Greeks (before 165 B.C.), less probably the Parthians (in 40 B.C.) or else the Romans (at various periods, from about 63 B.C. onwards).

(iv) The Qumran sect remained in being as a sect as is universally agreed until the War of 66/73 (whether or no its monastic centre was captured precisely in the year 68 as many scholars maintain need not be discussed here). Up to this period its specific literature, including the Habakkuk commentary, was still current and valid. At this time therefore the sectaries still imagined that the Kittim were the Ultimate Enemy, whose invasion of Judaea marked the End of Days. But after the Hasmonaean triumph it became evident that the defeat of the Greeks had not ushered in the End of Days and the establishment of the ideal and abiding Hebrew commonwealth of prophetic vision: after 37 B.C. it was evident that the withdrawal of the Parthians

[1]) ii. 7: 'Who did not believe when they heard from the Priest all that is to come on the Last Generation'; vii. 2: 'And God spoke to Habakkuk to write all that is to come on the Last Generation'.

had left the way open to the worst and most powerful of all oppressors. Hence, whatever the term may or may not have signified earlier, in the eyes of the sectaries established at Qumran in the first century the Kittim could not be the Greeks or the Parthians, and must be the Romans: and the historical references in the Habakkuk commentary relating to the Kittim and the End of Days must be to persons and events subsequent to the invasion of Syria by Pompey in 63 B.C. [1])

(v) The Teacher of Righteousness taught at the End of Days, at the time of the Kittim: therefore the Teacher also belongs to the Roman period (after 63 B.C.).

(vi) The Qumran sect retained its separate existence and vitality as expressed in its literature until the beginning (at least) of the War against the Romans of 66/73. At this time they therefore imagined that they were in the midst of the End of Days, for the End of Days cannot already have been enacted. The events and personalities associated with the End of Days must hence necessarily belong to approximately this period or generation.

(vii) In view of all this it is clear that the central episodes in the history of the Qumran sect, referred to in the Habakkuk Commentary, took place not many years before the destruction of the monastic centre in which they lived, during the War of 66/73: and the principal characters mentioned in this work (such as the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest) flourished within this generation.

(viii) The Qumran literature was the literature of the Sectaries who were in occupation of the site at the time of the Roman invasion of A.D. 66/73. Yet this element first occupied the site in or very shortly before A.D. 6: to assume their identity with the occupants who abandoned the site in 31 B.C. is wholly unreasonable in the absence of confirmatory evidence. There is therefore every reason to imagine that the historical experience of the Qumran sect, as a sect, did not antedate the Christian era.

(ix) The Habakkuk Commentary is apparently incomplete, or rather unfinished, not covering the last chapter of the Biblical work, although this lent itself especially to apocalyptic interpretation.

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[1]) The Qumran literature cannot be compared of course in this respect with the Book of Daniel, which, apparently composed with reference to the Greek oppression, remained current in and after the period of Roman oppression: for the cryptic style of this work made possible reinterpretation or progressive interpretation, in a manner which the precise details of the Habakkuk Commentary (e.g. the clash between the Teacher and the Priest on the Day of Atonement) positively do not.

Obviously on the other hand the subject-matter of the Commentary, as of the remainder of the sectarian literature, was still valid at the time of the capture of Qumran during the War of 66/73. Hence it was still in the process of composition at this time: and the parts already composed must refer to the period of or leading up to the War. The central characters therefore belong to this generation [1]).

(x) The conclusion, that the background of the Habakkuk Commentary refers to the events of the period of Roman domination, culminating in the War of 66/73, can be reasonably disputed only on one of the following assumptions: —

a) That the End of Days extended (or was believed to extend) over a period of several generations—if the sect is pre-Maccabaean, as long as 250 years!

b) That the Teacher of Righteousness who flourished long before was to rise from the dead at the End of Days, still in the future (this providing a parallel to the basic story of Christianity).

c) That the Sect continued in vigorous existence in or near Qumran well after the War of 66/73.

d) That the Sect came to an end with the earthquake and abandonment of the Qumran monastery in 31 B C, when the sectarian library was placed for safety in the near-by caves, the denizens after A.D. 6 having no connexion with their predecessors: the most cogent arguments for fixing the historical background in the generation culminating in A.D. 66/73 being thus applicable to the period before 31 B.C.

The first of these possibilities (*a*) is ruled out not only by inherent improbability but also by the fact that as mentioned the End of Days is specifically identified in the Habakkuk Commentary with a single generation; the second (*b*) is based on what is at the best an equivocal interpretation of the Hebrew text; the third (*c*) contradicts historical and archaeological evidences, but if it is entertained would imply that the solution is to be sought in the period subsequent to the War of 66/73; the last (*d*) is the only way in which a Maccabaean dating for the principal events is reconcilable with the evidences; but it

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[1]) This argument would be invalidated if as is remotely possible the last chapter of Habakkuk did not yet form part of the Biblical book. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the apparent references to the War of 66 73 (e.g. the Sack of Jerusalem and the worship of the Roman standards in the Temple court) are precisely in the work which may reasonably be assumed to have been in the process of composition at this time.

has never been put forward even by the champions of these views because of its inherent improbability, and need not therefore be taken into serious consideration.

Oxford Cecil ROTH

ZWEI BEMERKUNGEN ZU JESAJA

Jes. iii 15. Es ist bekannt, dass die Sprache des Jesaja reich an Wortspielen und verborgenen Hinweisungen war. Auf eine solche wollen wir aufmerksam machen, da sie — unseres Wissens — nicht bemerkt worden ist. Der Vers iii, 15. lautet: מלכם תדכאו עמי ופני עניים תטחנו „Warum zermalmet ihr mein Volk und zermahlet das Gesicht der Armen?" Die Texte vom Gestade des Toten Meeres geben keine Variante.

Das תטחנו in der zweiten Hälfte des Verses ist wohl verständlich aus dem kraftvollen und anschaulichen Stil des Jesaja. Dennoch — glaube ich — ist es kein Zufall, dass der Prophet das Zeitwort טחן wählt; er wollte damit auf etwas anspielen. Das נשא פנים hat die Bedeutung 'eine Ausnahme machen' / Lev. xix 15; Deut. x 17, usw. / [1]). Das נשא טחן hinwiederum bedeutet 'eine Mühle treiben, mahlen' / Thr. v 13 / . Der Prophet will sagen: Anstatt, dass ihr eine Ausnahme mit dem Armen machen wolltet / פני עניים תשאו /, zermalmet ihr auch sein Gesicht, als ob ihr es in der Mühle zermahltet / פני עניים תטחנו /. Mit Absicht gebraucht er dieses Zeitwort. Seine Zuhörer haben es sicherlich sofort verstanden, dass er ihnen dies statt פני עניים תשאו ins Gesicht schleuderte.

Jes. xxi 12. אמר שמר אתא בקר וגם לילה „Der Wächter sprach: Der Morgen kam und auch die Nacht."

Die Texte vom Gestade des Toten Meeres geben auch hier keine Variante. Die Interpretation des Verses ist strittig: er kann bedeuten, dass die Nacht kommen wird, und auch, dass sie schon da ist [2]). Manche dachten an eine Textberichtigung: וגמל לילה: „Kommt der Morgen, ist vollendet die Nacht." [3])

Vielleicht ist unsere Annahme nicht unrichtig, dass גם das qal Perfekt des Zeitwortes גמם ist. Der Stamm kommt in der Bibel nicht

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[1]) Siehe noch: Hod. xiv. 19. A. M. HABERMANN: מגילות מדבר יהודה, Tel Aviv, 1959, p. 130.

[2]) *The Interpreter's Bible.* V. New York, 1939, p. 288; *The Seventy-day Adventist Bible Commentary.* IV. Washington, 1955. p. 188.

[3]) Otto PROCKSCH: *Jesaia.* I. Leipzig, 1930. p. 270.

vor, um so häufiger aber in der Mischna in der Bedeutung von 'schlagen, brechen'. Z.B. אילן שנגמם / Schebiit I. 8. /; חטיו החצונות שנפגמו או שנגממו / Bechorot VI. 4./.

Die fragliche Stelle des Jesaja lautet somit: „Es kam der Morgen und vollendet ist die Nacht."

Hierdurch haben wir mit Belassung des Textes eine Vergangenheitsbedeutung erhalten und überdies ein Zeitwort gewonnen, das bisher in der Bibel nicht aufgezeigt worden ist.

Budapest Alexander SCHEIBER

1 SAM. XV 32b — A CASE OF CONFLATED READINGS?

The word מעדנת in the MT of 1 Sam. xv 32a: וילך אגג אליו מעדנת —has caused difficulties to modern interpreters [1]) and ancient translators alike, because of its uncertain derivation. Disregarding attempts to solve the problem by drastic emendation the explanations put forward may be divided into two mutually exclusive categories:

a. Aq.—ἀπὸ τρυφερίας, Sym.—ἁβρός and Targ.—מפנקא take the word to indicate a rather optimistic attitude on behalf of Agag, which is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that he faces death from the hands of Samuel the prophet and judge.

b. G's rendering—τρέμων, on the other hand, brings out Agag's apprehension which, in the opinion of most interpreters, is more in line with the general tenor of the passage under review. Basing himself on G LAGARDE proposed to read in MT מעדנית, an adverb derived from the root מעד—to stumble, to totter [2]). KIMHI in his commentary ad loc. records another similar suggestion which connects מעדנת with מעדנות כימה—'the cluster of the pleiades' (RV —Job xxxviii 31), deriving both words by metathesis from the stem ענד—to bind [3]). Accordingly Agag appeared before Samuel—'בקשורים'—in fetters and iron chains.

The Vulg. avoided the issue by simply combining both these interpretations: pinguissimus et tremens, the second verb though being probably a secondary intrusion [4]).

It appears that these two interpretations of מעדנת in 1 Sam. xv 32a

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[1]) Cf. H. P. SMITH, *Samuel*, 1912, pp. 141-142; S. R. DRIVER, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel*², 1913, pp. 129-130.

[2]) *Prophetae Chaldaicae*, 1872, p. LI.

[3]) Cf. N. H. TUR-SINAI, *The Book of Job*², 1954, p. 322 (Hebrew).

[4]) Cf. DRIVER, *ib.*

which were conflated in the Vulg. are matched by the text of MT in the second part of the verse: ויאמר אגג אכן סר מר המות—'And Agag said, Surely the bitterness of death is past' (RV). In its present form this passage seems to carry the same optimistic notion which one school of translators and interpreters also lent to the word מעדנת, and which is mirrored in the Vulg.: siccine separat amara mors.

The Targ. too doubtless read the סר of MT though equating it apparently with שר [1]): בבעו ר בוני מריר מותא. But in contrast with MT and Vulg. in the Targ. a feeling of Agag's imminent death prevails. The same may be said of Pesh. and G whose translation—πικρὸς ὁ θάνατος does not render the Hebrew סר at all, hereby accentuating the pessimistic note inherent in the translation of מעדנת by τρέμων. Some medieaval Jewish commentators follow suit. Thus Rashi, who explains סר by aid of סורה (Ruth iv 1); 'Alas death's bitterness comes and approaches' [2]).

The absence of an equivalent for סר from G's translation has induced some scholars to explain the word סר as a faulty dittography of מר, caused by the similarity of the letters מ and ס [3]). Originally this may well have been the case. However, it appears that the retention of both words in MT, Vulg. and Targ. is due to a conflation of two variants each of which complements one possible interpretation of מעדנת in v. 32a. We suggest the following reconstruction of these readings:

וילך אגג מעדנת (בקשורים, tremens, τρέμων) / (מפנקא, pinguissimus, ἁβρός) ויאמר אגג אכן מר / סר המות

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TEXTUAL NOTES ON DEUTERO-ISAIAH

The Massoretic text of Isaiah xliii 28 is:

ואחלל שׂרי קדש ואתנה לחרם יעקב וישראל לגדופים

(And I profaned the princes of the sanctuary, and I delivered Jacob to utter destruction, *R.S.V.*). The phrase ואחלל שׂרי קדש is however obscure. The Septuagint reads ἐμίαναν for ואחלל, rendering 'the princes defiled my sanctuaries'; and on the basis of this BH³ proposes ויחללו שׂריך קדשי. The expression שׂרי קדשי appears indeed in 1 Chronicles

[1]) Cf. also Midr. Lam. Rab. 43 (ed. Buber, p. 55); Pesiq. of Rab Kahana (ed. Buber, p. 26).

[2]) See further M. H. Segal, *The Books of Samuel*, 1956, p. 126 (Hebrew).

[3]) Cf. Smith, *ib.*; Driver, *ib.*; Segal, *ib.*

xxiv 5, but the instances in which קדש is used in the Old Testament for 'sanctuary' are both rare and late (e.g., 2 Chron. xxix 5) while it does not occur elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah. It is probable, however, that the Septuagint is correct in presupposing an original ויחללו and that the entire phrase was ויחללו שׂריך שמי (and thy princes profaned my name). The ד of the existing קדש could have arisen from a confused dittography of an original (שׂריך)ך while the ק would seem to have arisen from a similar confusion. Verse 27 speaks of 'thy first father' and 'thy mediators' as erring and the thought is now continued in 'thy princes'. Elsewhere in the prophecy (xlviii 11) we read (with LXX) כי איך יחל שמי (for why should my name be profaned) and the princes are now accused of doing precisely this.

The Massoretic text of xlv 9 is again difficult:

הוי רב את־יֹצרו חרשׂ את־חרשׂי אדמה
היאמר חמר ליֹצרו מה תעשה ופעלך אין ידים לו

(Woe to him who strives with his maker, an earthen vessel with the potter! Does the clay say to him who fashions it, What are you making? or Your work has no handles?, *R.S.V.*). We notice that 9b begins with ה *interrogative* and Paul Volz was therefore probably right in reading הירב את־יצרו חרשׂ (will the potsherd strive with the potter) [1]). For the second part of the line he proposes את־חרשׂו חרשׂ אדמה (the sherd of the earth with its craftsman) but we should expect some variation of the metaphor employed in the first stich [2]). The Septuagint here reads 'Will the ploughman plough all day', and although this rendering may be influenced by xxviii 24, where such a phrase occurs, it is significant that it represents the root חרש here in the sense of 'ploughing'. It is therefore possible that we might read את־חֹרֵשׁ אדמה (the land with the ploughman). Alternatively it may be that in reading את חורשי האדמה the Dead Sea Scroll points to את־חרשׂיה אדמה (the land with its ploughers) as the original word division.

The reading ופעלך אין ידים לו in the latter part of the next line is no less clear. The Peshitto presupposes an original ולא פעל ידיך אני but on the analogy of לאב and ולאשה in the next line we should expect the phrase to begin with . . . ול. In place therefore of the present text there may originally have been ולפעלו אין מידיך (and to his handi-

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[1]) *Jesaia II*, 1932, p. 66.

[2]) Cf. here G. R. Driver who remarked that אדמה is not used in the Old Testament in this sense of potter's clay but rather as land or ground, *J.T.S.*, xxxvi, 1935, p. 399.

craft it is not of thy hands). It would thus seem that the לו at the end of the present text became detached from an original ולפעלו while the מ and ד of מידיך became likewise displaced.

The first two words of verse 11b would again appear to be corrupt. The line runs הָאֹתִיּוֹת שאלוני על־בני ועל־פעל ידי תצוני. It is clear that האתיות שאלוני must be construed with על־בני but as the text stands this is scarcely possible. On the analogy of תצוני however we may emend to הָאֹתוֹת תשאלוני (Do ye ask me signs concerning my sons . . .). In the next verse the prophet elaborates the creative activity of God and accordingly proceeds to give these 'signs'.

xlvi 1 is similarly a verse which in its present form resists an intelligible rendering. The Massoretic text is:

כרע בל קרס נבו היו עצביהם
לחיה ולבהמה נשאתיכם עמוסות משא לעיפה

In common with most passages in Deutero-Isaiah pertaining to idols (xl 20; xli 7; xliv 9 ff.) this passage has apparently suffered from the hand of the glossator. Hence the simplest solution seems to be that of regarding משא לעיפה as a gloss and reading:

כרע בל קרס נבו
היו עצביהם לחיה לבהמה נשאתיהם עמוסות

(Bel bows down, Nebo stoops; their idols are on cattle, their burdens loaded on dumb animals).

liii 8-9a is perhaps the most perplexing passage in Deutero-Isaiah:

מעצר וממשפט לקח ואת־דורו מי ישוחח
כי נגזר מארץ חיים מפשע עמי נגע למו
ויתן את־רשעים קברו ואת־עשיר במתיו

מעצר is usually accepted as genuine and is translated by such phrases as 'by oppression' or 'from imprisonment' [1]). משפט is a common term in the prophecy and is likely to be authentic here but it is difficult to see how עצר may be construed with it [2]). There is nothing in the context to suggest that the Servant was imprisoned and the suffering he endured has already been mentioned in the previous verse. Thematically we would expect some term similar to משפט. צדקה immediately suggests itself as it often appears with משפט (e.g., Pss. xxxiii 5; xxxvi 6; xxxvii 6) but it would presuppose a somewhat

[1]) So *R.S.V.* and J. Muilenburg, *Interpreter's Bible*, 5, 1956, p. 626.

[2]) H. W. Robinson, however, suggested that for וממשפט we should read משפטו and translated 'Through oppression his right was taken away', *The Cross in the Old Testament*, 1955, pp. 63-64.

radical change of text. עֵצָה 'counsel' or 'deliberation' would however involve little alteration and give an intelligible reading, namely, 'without counsel and without judgment was he taken'.

דּוֹרוֹ in the same stich is again difficult. Many attempts have been made to justify the text as it stands. Thus 'generation', 'line' and 'fate' have been suggested [1]), while connecting the word with the Akkadian *durum* and the Arabic *daurun* G. R. DRIVER argues in favour of 'state' or 'condition' [2]). The earlier verses, however, emphasise the sufferings which the Servant endured and therefore some such word as 'languishing' or 'affliction' may be suitable here. Hence the original term may have been דְּוָיוֹ (from דַּוָּי-sickness, languishing) enabling us to render 'his languishing'.

The words מפשע עמי נגע למו at the end of the next line similarly defy the efforts of the translator. מפשע עמי (for the transgression of my people) would imply that Yahweh was the speaker, but as it is 'we' who are the speakers hitherto in the context it is usual to emend to מפשעינו (for our transgressions) as in verse 5. Yet it is possible to see מִפְּשָׁעִים (by transgressors) underlying the present text. The following words are however more difficult still. The Septuagint here reads ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον and it is therefore probable that we should read נֻגַּע לְמָוֶת. The entire phrase would then run מפשעים נגע למות (by transgressors was he stricken to death).

Verse 9a is likewise obscure. As the line stands it reads 'And he made (one appointed) his grave with the wicked and with the rich in his death (?)'. The Dead Sea Scroll reads ויתנו for ויתן and for the את before עשיר has a corrected, scarcely legible, reading. We would expect, in accord with רשעים, the plural form of עשיר but even so it is not clear why 'the rich' should parallel 'the wicked'. It may thus be that we should read את־עָרִיצִים (with tyrants) for את עשיר. Both רשעים and עריצים are used synonymously in Isaiah xiii 11 and provide the parallelism required here. The continuation of the verse implies moreover that, although innocent, the Servant died the death of one guilty of 'violence', but while violence is not necessarily a characteristic of the rich it is normally associated with the tyrant. במתיו again seems a doubtful reading. 'In his deaths' scarcely suits the context, for we are concerned with the burial rather than the

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[1]) See e.g., MUILENBURG, *ibid.* H. W. ROBINSON again reads 'his dwelling', *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[2]) *Loc. cit.*, p. 403.

death of the Servant. Ibn Ezra regarded the term as referring to the Servant's burial mound and the Dead Sea Scroll would seem to support this interpretation. But apart from the uncertain reading במותם in Ezekiel xliii 7 we have no evidence that the Old Testament associates במה with burial mound. Yet the reading במתו interpreted as 'his burial mound' would provide a parallelism with קברו 'his death'.

Bangor C. F. Whitley

REVIEWS

Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft. Dritte, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage in Gemeinschaft mit H. Frh. von Camphausen, E. Dinckler, G. Gloege und K. E. Løgstrup herausgegeben von K. Galling. Mohr, Tübingen, Erster Band (A-C), 1957; Zweiter Bd (D-G), 1958; Dritter Bd (H-Konzilie), 1959; Vierter Bd (Kopenhagen-O), 1960.

The 3rd edition of *RGG*, a lexicon which since its first appearance in 1909 has found a firm home in the library of everyone working on the science of religion, comes out volume by volume, quickly and regularly. Galling and his co-workers have succeeded in making the 3rd edition into a completely new work. Various subjects, which in the 2nd edition of 1929-1932 were scarcely or not at all handled, are now included, e.g. subjects in the field of Church history in the eastern countries, missions, the oecumenical movements, canon law, church music; archaeology; furthermore branches of science that have in recent years been much advanced such as pedagogy, sociology and psychology.

The 3rd edition contains fewer biographical articles but pays more attention to surveys in which the rôle of modern researchers is mentioned. Many illustrations, charts and maps enrich this standard work.

This edition reflects in many respects the revival of ecclesiastical viewpoints of which the Christian faith "im evangelischer Verständnis" is the ordering principle. This new characteristic of *RGG* turns this work into a more obvious child of its time. Already the 2nd edition differed from the first but the 3nd bears a much more ecclesiastical nature. It may be that the 4th edition will put more stress on the science of religion, which if things are done properly comprises both the theological and the "religionswissenschaftliche" points of view without either being mutually exclusive. This would then restore the aim of the editors of the first edition. Those who study the history of religion will gladly use the 1st edition beside the 3rd, although they will be grateful for the phenomenological arrangement of the 3rd edition which gives a faithful picture of the absorbing interests of the mid 20th century.

The new *RGG* is also an important appearance for the Old Testament scholar. The treatment of peculiarly O.T. subjects was entrusted to excellent specialists, and the bibliography at the end of each article is composed with great care and attention to the latest publications. In this bibliographical part one is occasionally refered to literature mentioned in the 2nd edition. This seems a pity as not everyone will have both editions on his bookshelves. Often the O.T. subjects are part of longer articles so that familiar material is placed in relation with the general history of religion, and also with the New Testament. This proves to be very instructive and

useful. With the more abstract subjects a survey of theological opinions through the ages is given which even a specialist will gladly make use of.

If I were to sum up here which of the articles are in my opinion excellent and which need supplementation, I would perforce exhibit my own interests and knowledge—or rather its limitations—instead of giving a fair judgment on this great lexicon. The limited form in which the contributors had to mould the facts and their own comments makes discussion about various aspects unfruitful. But it must be said that in particular the introduction to the Biblical books is not only excellently covered, but also offers original contributions. The times in which this 3rd edition has appeared are not really favourable for a fixed judgement about the present knowledge of the Biblical text because in new finds and renewed study many important ideas and concepts have arisen. The studies of SPERBER, MEYER, MURTONEN, the co-operators in Bible projects in Spain and in Israel, and others could not be worked up. Mutatis mutandis the same can be said of those subjects that deal with the problems of dating and evaluating ideas concerning cultus, kingship and ethical aspects, whether genuinely Israelite or not. Every lexicon is faced with these difficulties.

The completion of this great work is awaited with the keenest interest as the 5th volume will contain, among other important themes for the O.T. scholar, articles about Ugarit—*s.v.* Canaanite religion has already given something on Ras Shamra—, about Prophetism and about the Creation.

Leiden P. A. H. DE BOER

Louis LIGIER, *Péché d' Adam et péché du monde. Bible, Kippur, Eucharistie. Ancien Testament* (Théologie. Etudes publiées sous la direction de la Faculté de Théologie S. J. de Lyon-Fourvière, vol. 43), Aubier, Paris, 1960, 320 Pages.

Première partie d'un travail de théologie biblique, ce livre est d'un contenu plus riche encore que le titre ne l'annonce. Il aborde non seulement le problème fondamental du péché, sa nature, son origine, et de l'expiation mais encore de multiples questions telles que l'éthique israélite, la position religieuse de la royauté et, accessoirement, le prophétisme, la „connaissance de Dieu" etc. . . . Les thèses de l'auteur sont exposées avec rigueur et talent et souvent très originales. Si elles appellent des réserves, c'est peut-être surtout le genre appelé „théologie biblique" qui est en cause. On en connaît les périls: dégager des données scripturaires un certain nombre de concepts ou de motifs illustratifs qu'on isole de leur contexte historique et littéraire pour les réordonner selon un schème satisfaisant plus ou moins à nos exigences de pensée quand ce n'est pas à celles d'une dogmatique reçue. Il faut savoir gré à L. LIGIER de s'en être souvent gardé, d'avoir tenu compte du développement historique, de l'approfondissement des notions traitées par les générations successives d'auteurs bibliques, d'avoir respecté l'unité et la spécificité de leur pensée en évitant, par exemple, de séparer le domaine de l'éthique de celui du culte. On se demandera cependant si ce travail de synthèse théologique a été sur tous les points précédé

d'une analyse suffisamment poussée, tâche sans doute irréalisable car les questions traitées dans ce livre sont parmi les plus complexe et les plus controversées de l'Ancien Testament.

L'universalité du péché est d'abord mise en lumière dans les dénonciations de Jérémie et d'Ezéchiel. On aurait pu discuter les racines historiques de cet universalisme (voir A. S. KAPELRUD, *Central Ideas in Amos*, *Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Akademi*, 1956, n⁰ 4). Défini comme infidélité à l'Alliance pour Israël, comme orgueil et auto-déification de l'homme chez les Païens et aussi en Israël, le péché a pour essence l'incrédulité, le refus d'écouter, la méconnaissance de Dieu, aussi bien chez le peuple élu que chez les Gentils qui doivent être attentifs aux leçons de l'histoire. LIGIER souligne fortement le caractère collectif du péché et s'attache à décrire les aspects de cette solidarité du groupe dans le péché: aspect „horizontal" (pour employer la terminologie de H. W. ROBINSON), entre contemporains, et aspect „vertical", entre les générations. Un thème illustratif comme celui de la „beauté" du prince de Tyr (Ez. xxviii 17) a peut être été surestimé à la P. 36: remarquons que s'il s'applique ici au souverain comme personnalité représentative, il appartient dans le contexte proche au tableau satirique de la collectivité elle-même, la ville de Tyr (Ez. xxvii 3 et comparer Ez. xvi 14, Thr. ii 15) et manifeste la fluidité de ces représentations; aussi bien dans la satire d'Ezéchiel contre Tyr passe-t-on sans cesse du registre „collectivité" au registre „personnalité représentative" (le *nāgīd*), peut-être même au registre supérieur d'une entité semi-divine incarnant la cité et son destin (le *melek ṣōr*). La solidarité dans la péché a pour contre partie la solidarité dans le châtiment et la solidarité dans l'expiation qu'illustre une analyse du rituel de Kippur où le Grand Prêtre Oint incarne la collectivité.

L'universalité et la permanence du péché une fois constatées, l'auteur examine diverses formules explicatives données par les prophètes et préparant le théologoumène du péché originel. On sent ici que la démarche de LIGIER est celle d'un théologien plus que d'un historien. Osée parle d'une sorte d'entraînement brutal, Jérémie d'un „endurcissement du coeur", Ezéchiel insiste sur la bâtardise d'Israël. Ces thèmes sont orchestrés aux chapitres lvii-lix d'Isaïe où la consolation et le salut apparaissent dans l'annonce d'une nouvelle création ce qui suppose la corruption foncière de la création actuelle. Parallèlement, le psaume li est expliqué comme „un moment important dans la révélation du péché et de son mystère", en particulier le fameux verset 7 attentivement analysé: il s'agit selon l'auteur d'une confession royale qui dans son implication individuelle concernerait le roi Joiakin et sa mère Neḥushta (comparer Jér. xxii 20-30) et dans son implication communautaire le pécheur et sa mère Israël. Comme Isaïe, le psaume li développe l'idée d'une nouvelle création. Le parallèle fort ingénieusement établi est illustré par l'utilisation conjointe du texte prophétique et du texte lyrique dans la liturgie du Grand Pardon.

On est ainsi acheminé vers le „péché originel". On sait combien il est difficile d'expliquer le silence des Prophètes sur le péché d'Adam [1]); tout

[1]) Quand l'auteur écrit (p. 152 note 1) „il ne manque pourtant pas de silences

en écartant l'interprétation adamique d'Osée vi 7, LIGIER croit déceler une réminiscence de Genèse ii-iii dans l'oracle de l'Emmanuel et dans Deut. xxx 15-19, ce qui est contestable et aurait demandé sans doute une analyse plus poussée. L'étude de Genèse ii-iii est précédée d'une esquisse d'anthropologie biblique ayant pour centre le psaume viii: les prédicats royaux de l'*adam* sont bien mis en lumière et aident à comprendre la signification du péché adamique puisque l'Homme par excellence c'est le roi (la documentation exclusivement biblique utilisée aurait pu se trouver enrichie par la comparaison de données extérieures abondamment exploitées au cours des dernières décades par S. MOWINCKEL, A. BENTZEN, I. ENGNELL, G. WIDENGREN). En quoi consiste le péché d'Eden? Réponse de LIGIER: en une appropriation illégitime par le premier homme, qui est aussi l'homme-type, d'une prérogative divine: la „connaissance du bien et du mal" qui est définie comme l'acquisition d'une autonomie morale impliquant la méfiance devant Dieu, ce qui résume les modalités du péché examinées plus haut: incrédulité, désobéissance, orgueil. La solution de L. LIGIER est des plus classiques, sa discussion des hypothèses est parfaitement documentée. On regrettera peut-être qu'il n'ait considéré qu'incidemment (p. 225, note 60) celle d'I. ENGNELL: „connaissance du bien et du mal" = capacité de procréer, qui me semble susceptible de mieux rendre compte de la réalité du pouvoir acquis indûment par Adam (il est douteux que Genèse iii 22 puisse s'entendre ironiquement). Parlant de la sanction du péché par la mort, l'auteur commence à montrer une certaine tendance à solliciter les textes ou plutôt à en surévaluer le contenu lorsqu'il rapproche le *mūt tāmūt* de Genèse ii 17 de la parole adressée par Elie à Ochozias à 2 Reg. i 4, 6, 16 pour lui annoncer le châtiment de son incrédulité. Ce souci de „donner une ouverture" au récit de la Genèse pour en faire autre chose qu'une simple étiologie de la condition humaine a peut-être conduit trop loin L. LIGIER. Le chapitre intitulé „parabole royale", le plus original de l'ouvrage, en est aussi probablement le plus contestable. En voici la thèse grossièrement résumée: il existe une relation typologique entre Adam et le Roi, Eve et le peuple d'Israël, le Serpent et les Gentils, relation justifiée de manière plus ingénieuse que convaincante par la présence de la formule „os de mes os et chair de ma chair" à Genèse ii 23 et Jud. ix 2, l'emploi de *haśkīl* à Genèse iii 6 et dans la phraséologie de la lyrique royale, un jeu de mot (!) sur le nom du roi ammonite Naḥash-serpent. La relation est poursuivie entre le „protévangile" de Genèse iii et l'oracle dynastique de 2 Sam. vii: David, assumant l'humilité de sa condition humaine [1]), prépare la rédemption messianique qu'assurera sa postérité. LIGIER émet autour de ce motif central bien des hypothèses séduisantes: ainsi un

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analogues dans l'Ecriture. Osée ne fait ainsi aucune allusion au veau d'or . . .", il passe un peu vite sur les efforts de la critique littéraire et de la critique des traditions pour élucider Exode xxxii (Voir en dernier lieu S. LEHMING, *VT*, X, p. 16-50).

[1]) La danse de David devant l'arche (2 Sam. vi) peut-elle être regardée comme un témoignage de la „simplicité" de David (p. 256)? N'est-ce pas plutôt l'indice d'une concession de David à la religiosité „cananéenne" des fidèles de l'Arche de Silo?

éclairage nouveau est proposé pour la rivalité de Caïn et d'Abel, type de la rivalité de Saül laboureur et de David berger. Mais son interprétation du double récit des origines de la royauté en Israël est déconcertante: évitant de ramener à différents moments de l'histoire la constitution d'un récit „royaliste" et d'un récit „anti-royaliste" ce qui peut être acceptable (voir en dernier lieu A. WEISER dans *ZThK*, LVII, p. 141-161), LIGIER cherche une conciliation d'ordre dialectique: l'institution royale a été un péché en même temps qu'une promesse de rédemption, le parallèle avec Genèse iii est ainsi complété mais cette solution ne peut que laisser perplexe l'historien et l'exégète.

Les derniers chapitres envisagent les apports de Job et du Siracide. On souscrira au jugement de l'auteur sur le personnage de Job: „ce patriarche du désert montre un visage de roi" (p. 291), qu'aurait pu illustrer une analyse du chapitre xxix où les métaphores royales fourmillent et qui évoque curieusement le psaume lxxii. Enfin le Siracide introduit au chapitre xlix la „conversion messianique du thème d'Adam", approfondissement de l'un des motifs auxquels s'est attaché L. LIGIER. On peut dès maintenant discerner l'aboutissement de sa recherche: l'Ancien Testament lui a fourni les bases, c'est le Nouveau Testament qui couronnera l'édifice et apportera sa conclusion à cet ouvrage peut-être trop habilement construit mais qui révèle une fine intelligence de ce que nous dit la Bible à travers ses images.

La présentation du livre est bonne. On regrettera l'absence d'un index, espérons que le tome II y pourvoira. Il est fâcheux que le verbe מאס ait été a deux reprises transcrit *ma'am*.

Paris André CAQUOT

G. RINALDI, *I Profeti Minori*, fasc. II, *Osea-Gioele-Abdia Giona*, Marietti Roma-Torino. 213 p. et 11 Tav. dont 1 carte, 1500 lires.

L'important commentaire italien intitulé La Sacra Bibbia que dirige Mgr Salvatore GAROFALO poursuit sa publication. P. G. RINALDI qui a maintenant la charge de l'ancien Testament donne ici le second fascicule des Petits Prophètes après en avoir donné en 1953 une Introduction générale et le commentaire d'Amos. Rappelons qu'ont déjà paru, outre une substantielle Introduzione generale à la Bible due au regretté G. PERELLA, les commentaires de Josué, Samuel, Rois, Isaïe, Jérémie, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobie, Baruch et Macchabées.

Le présent volume concerne donc quatre Prophètes. Pour chacun successivement est donnée une introduction, brève mais dense, suivie d'une bibliographie vaste avec références précises aux auteurs de toute confession: puis viennent les traductions pourvues d'un double registre de notes, notes de critique textuelle, et notes explicatives. Nous disons traductions au pluriel car deux sont données, la traduction italienne sur la page de gauche, la traduction latine de la Vulgate d'après l'édition des RR PP Bénédictins, l'une et l'autre pourvues de notes textuelles distinctes. Le tout est encadré d'une *Premessa* contenant quelques additions nécessaires à l'Intro-

duction aux Prophètes de 1953, et de 11 Planches photographiques donnant stèles et objets cultuels susceptibles de mieux faire comprendre certains textes d'Osée, l'orthostrate d'Assur avec reproduction d'une sauterelle (pour Joel), l'entrée de Pétra par le Sik (pour Abdias) et une carte de la région de Ninive (pour Jonas). Ces photographies sont très réussies et méritent qu'on se détache du texte pour les consulter.

Le livre d'Osée, on le sait, est un des plus difficiles qu'il y ait à commenter, d'autant que la transmission du texte paraît avoir particulièrement souffert. Comme tous les commentateurs, G. R. propose de nombreuses corrections en laissant à celles-ci le caractère approximatif qui convient. On peut à peine considérer comme corrections textuelles le „il suo dono", „e faro della" de ii, 17, et le „ti" du v. 20 où G. R. suit le grec de préférence au TM. C'est au chapitre iv que commencent les difficultés. G.R. lit *'immeka* au lieu de *'ammeka* en iv, 4, cette fois-ci contre le TM et les versions, mais non sans de fortes raisons de critique interne. Les corrections proposées pour les vv. 17-19 sont plus considérables, mais vraisemblables, surtout le *'ahôv 'âhavu*, répondant bien au *hazṇéh hiznu* qui le précède. J'hésiterais davantage à abandonner le *çaw* de v, 11 pour *ša'w* car il évoque le célèbre *çaw laçaw* d'Is. xxviii, 10 et semble repris et commenté au v, 14: Ephraïm abandonne le *mišpât* de Yahvé pour aller après la „prescription" d'Assur. En vi, 5, l'auteur lit *'avânîm* au lieu de *nevi'îm*, „pierres" au lieu de prophètes. Alors qu'il laisse de côté avec prudence beaucoup des conjectures de Procksch dans la *Biblia Hebraica*, ici il le suit, comme pour le verbe suivant *haragtî* corrigé en *hôreytî*. Mais la LXX soutient le TM. Le *ḥçb* semble bien dans la suite des images de „nuage" et de „rosée" qui précèdent car le Ps. xxix, 7 applique la racine à la voix de Yahvé qui *ḥôçeb* des flammes de feu. Il se peut que le prophète qui, en ix, 8, va comparer les *nevi'îm* à un piège joue sur le sens de *ḥâçab*, à la fois associé à l'orage fécondant, et „creusement" d'une fosse mortelle; l'allusion à l'inscription des décrets divins dans la pierre paraît moins en situation. Mais on en peut certainement discuter. En vii, 5, G.R. lit *appehèm* au lieu de *'opehèm*. Il a pour lui le Targum et le Syriaque. On peut se demander s'il n'y avait pas là une prononciation dialectale qui permettait au prophète un rapprochement verbal avec le „cuisinier" du „four" qui précède. Pour le difficile *zâreqa*, qui suit au v. 9, G.R. fait un recours heureux aux langues voisines, signe que la langue d'Osée comme on le sait n'appartient pas à ce dialecte judéen dont relève la majeure partie des textes bibliques. Voir aussi ce qu'il dit au v. 14 pour *yitgôdadu*. Avec prudence G.R. laisse viii, 1 incomplet. Par contre nous n'oserions pas transformer le *maśśa'* en *mešaḥ* au v. 10; le mot évoque la fonction de *nâśî'* que l'auteur retrouvera même en xiii, 1. En xiii, 14 l'auteur lit *'ayyen* avec le grec au lieu de *'èhy*; il se peut que ce dernier ait été influencé par les Ières personnes du stique parallèle. Les corrections proposées sont donc toujours prudentes et fondées. Je crois toutefois qu'en xiv, 3 il faut garder le TM et traduire „nous ferons sacrifice *šelâmîm* de taureaux (de) nos lèvres"; les cantiques exprimeront la conversion du coeur et non plus des immolations de taureau de type cananéen. Ce serait déjà la ligne de l'oblation pure de Malachie et de la faveur que donne les Chroniques au chant sacré. Mais on peut discuter là encore.

L'auteur traite des questions célèbres dans des „Notes" qui s'insèrent sous forme d'excursus dans le commentaire et allègent celui-ci. La première traite du symbolisme matrimonial. Ce symbolisme plonge dans le passé cananéen et ses pratiques orgiastiques, mais „Osée est comme un filtre où les anciens sentiments et anciens termes se purifient et se précisent. Ces termes et ces conceptions s'implantent dans l'alliance et la foi, d'où une évolution qu'achève le prophète: „la religion jahviste est un mariage légitime" (p. 22). De ce fait le symbolisme prend un nouvel essor qui aboutira au Cantique et au Nouveau Testament. Le Note II (p. 25) est consacrée au „bédouinisme d'Osée". Israël s'étant imprégné de la religion de Canaan, polythéiste et naturiste, „Osée en vient à l'idée d'une solution radicale qui a été appelée à tort désespérée car, si elle est héroïque et révolutionnaire, elle est cohérente avec le caractère d'un homme qui voit cette solution et n'hésite pas à admettre l'absolue nécessité de l'appliquer. Osée ne considère pas la civilisation sédentaire comme mauvaise en soi, immorale ou irréligieuse . . . mais il pense certainement qu'un retour d'Israël au jahvisme intégral n'est possible ou du moins qu'il sera facilité par le retour d'Israël à la vie semi-nomade dans le désert. Il n'en a pas indiqué le mode . . ." Cette religion cananéenne, ce „baalisme" fait l'objet de la note III (p. 32 à propos de ii, 15, „je la punirai pour les jours des Baals"), fort érudite, où sont résumés les grands traits du culte de Baal d'après les textes de Ras Shamra. "Dans le jahvisme le culte était conçu non comme une emprise sur Jahvé, mais comme une action de grâce pour les biens reçus ou comme humble demande d'une chose dont on a besoin. La lutte contre le baalisme est maintes fois lutte contre des pratiques ou des objets particuliers . . . Le problème d'éventuelles assimilations d'idées et de pratiques baalistes de la part du jahvisme authentique est fort difficile . . . Le soit-soit, si souvent affirmé entre le baalisme et le jahvisme va à quelque chose de profond qui prescinde de bien des points particuliers pour viser l'essentiel: ou la moralité ou l'immoralité." Forte importante, la note IV sur la „nouvelle alliance et le messianisme dans Osée' (p. 41). Cette alliance sera fondée sur la notion d'un Dieu sauveur, elle implique un changement, elle sera précédée d'une phase douloureuse. La nouveauté consiste dans les trois termes qui en expriment les modalités: justice-jugement, amour-compassion, fidélité-éternité. Peut-être dira-t-on à G.R. que déjà l'ancienne alliance comportait jugement et justice et que les qualités nouvelles résident dans cette *hesed* et cette *'emet*, voire cette connaissance de Dieu, à l'absence desquelles le prophète attache en iv, 1-2 la ruine du peuple. En tout cas l'auteur a raison de rattacher à cette théologie d'Osée sur la nouvelle alliance la finale du ch. xiv, 9 où la permanence de la vitalité d'Israel à l'avenir est évoquée par une action fructifiante de Dieu même.

C'est dans le note V que G.R. résume l'ensemble de ses conclusions de détail sur les trois premiers chapitres. On sait combien restent débattus le caractère du mariage du prophète, la condition de la (ou des) femme(s), les rapports exacts entre les deux narrations. Il semble qu'on ne puisse douter du caractère historique des récits des ch. i et iii; il s'agit de faits qui se sont réellement passés et n'ont rien d'incroyable. Mais ces mêmes

récits dégagent le sens de ces évènements qui deviennent des signes, et dans la signification reconnue à ces faits il faut faire place à la psychologie du Prophète. La femme est femme de prostitution, donc une prostituée, (peut-être cultuelle mais ce n'est pas sûr) et cela convient au symbole, la situation d'Israël vis à vis de son Dieu étant tout à fait analogue; les fils sont fils de prostitution car fils d'une prostituée; leur naissance fut pour Osée objet de réflexions aussi douloureuses que profondes et il se peut qu'il ait reconnu pour siens des fils qui ne l'étaient pas. Le symbolisme des relations entre Dieu-Israel et Osée-Gomer exclut qu'il y ait deux femmes, c'est la même qui est infidèle, puis pardonnée. Notre commentateur n'exclut pas complètement l'hypothèse (représentée en particulier par GORDIS) selon laquelle les ch. i et iii représentent deux recensions du même évènement, mais préfère admettre deux évènements successifs. Il ne pense pas que le prophète, auteur de ces chapitres et des morceaux qui les compose, les ait organisés lui-même dans leur forme actuelle. On retiendra les conclusions de G.R. sur „Osée et le culte" (Note VI, p. 57); le prophète considère comme une disgrâce l'impossibilité d'offrir à Dieu victimes et libations (ix, 4) et les „paroles" dont il est question en xiv, 3 sont „choses externes, actes de culte", mais l'essentiel de la religion selon Osée n'est pas là.

La Note VII est d'un autre caractère; elle est fort importante pour l'analyse du livre, car elle concerne la place du „royaume de Juda dans Osée" (p. 64). Il est possible que plusieurs mentions de Juda soient le fait d'une rédaction postérieure quand cette prophétie du Nord, visant spécialement Samarie, a été recueillie dans le Sud. C'est même vraisemblable dans certains contextes (i, 7 et 12 b; ii, 2 et iii, 5). Parfois, il semble que le nom de Juda ait été substitué à celui de Jacob ou Israël; mais il ne faudrait pas étendre cette possibilité à tous les passages où il est question de Juda. Dans plusieurs contextes (v.g. v, 8-12) la mention de Juda est tout à fait en place, et il est peu concevable que ce prophète se soit désintéressé complètement du royaume du Sud.

Les notes VIII et IX ont une toute autre ampleur. La première (p. 73) est une véritable étude de théologie biblique sur „quelques concepts religieux dans Osée". Peut-être trouvera-t-on que le "diritto" est conçu comme trop spirituel et pas assez juridique, mais on admettre que la *çedaqah* est une norme (pas nécessairement définie, dirons nous) efficace d'opération; la *'emet* est „fedelta" mais aussi „rettitudine, onesta, probita"; la connaissance de Dieu est plus longuement étudiée et G.R. souligne que c'est fondamentalement un „rapport" de personne à personne. Ce rapport s'élève à un amour, une *hesed* que le prophète n'invente pas mais dont il développe l'aspect divin. La note IX enfin n'est pas théologique mais historique et traditionnelle: „tradizioni patriarcali e mosaiche, antica letteratura israelitica e storia in Osea" (p. 86). Il y a là un parallèle intéressant avec les traditions du Pentateuque et le code de l'alliance. Il faut tenir compte, de plus, que par le prophète „tout fait devient parole de Dieu". A propos d'histoire notons que l'allusion à l'Egypte de vii, 11 pourrait se référer à 2 Reg. xvii, 4 et que Yareb n'est probablement pas un nom propre mais une allusion aux „procès", aux démêlés du roi d'Assyrie avec Israël.

Joel n'a ni l'ampleur ni l'importance historique d'Osée; il nous retiendra moins longtemps. L'exiguité du livre rend la tâche de l'exégète plus difficile car il ne dispose pas de la même base de travail. Les problèmes du livre de Joel et de son auteur restent discutés. G.R. voit en Joel un auteur qui fut peut-être prêtre et il ne lui répugnerait pas qu'il ait été „prophète cultuel". Son livre se compose de morceaux divers que l'on peut grouper en deux parties, l'une plus liturgique, l'autre plus apocalyptique, toutes deux centrées sur le Jour de Yahvé. Avec raison à notre avis G.R. n'est pas favorable à une dualité d'auteurs car, avec Bourke, on peut discerner des liens organiques entre les deux parties: la seconde partie du livre reprend le thème du jour de Yahvé en lui donnant un développement prophétique. Ajoutons que si, avec d'autres, on voit dans le jour de Yahvé la grande fête annuelle en l'honneur du Dieu national, cette structure du livre de Joel apparait de première importance pour faire saisir comment les prophètes reprennent les anciennes données sur la divinité fécondante, mais les transforment en fonction des perspectives eschatologiques. C'est surtout après l'exil que se manifeste cette transformation et, de fait, c'est la date que retient G.R. en éliminant certaines positions extrêmes qui reporteraient la composition du livret au temps de Ptolémée Soter (il faut sans doute lire Ptolémée I et non Ptolémée XI p. 130, vu ce qui est dit aux paragraphes précédents). Le tableau précis et clair des parallèles entre les textes de Joel et ceux des Prophètes qu'il semble utiliser, spécialement Ezéchiel, justifient cette conclusion. G.R. rejette une interprétation purement allégorique du livre et, après un examen du sens à donner l'aspect apocalyptique de l'invasion des sauterelles, il dégage la doctrine du livre: naturellement l'annonce de l'effusion de l'Esprit en est un élément capital. Comme pour les autres commentaires une bibliographie récente et bien classée termine l'introduction.

Après avoir présenté le livret d'Abdias, G.R. en dégage le double élément historique: violences faites par Edom à Juda, violences faites à Edom par d'autres ennemis. Il rassemble les faits connus de l'histoire de ce peuple, malheureusement insuffisants, il donne un tableau synoptique des textes parallèles entre Abdias et Jérémie xlix et constate qu'il n'est pas facile d'en tirer des conclusions nettes. Le distingue commentateur ne retient pas l'hypothèse de Bič qui détache le livret de l'histoire pour en faire un oracle récité à la fête de l'intronisation de Yahvé. Mais il y a au v. 8-9 une référence explicite au „jour de Yahvé" qui permettrait peut-être une explication semblable à celle de Joel: la seconde partie qui donne son sens eschatologique au tout serait des Vème -IVème s. Ici encore le commentaire se garde de reconstruction trop audacieuse (sauf peut-être le Kalah du v. 20) et respecte les aspérités du texte massorétique, utilisant toutefois le texte de Jérémie quand il paraît meilleur.

Le commentaire de Jonas clot le fascicule. Rinaldi est en accord assez général avec les diverses études de A. Feuillet. Malgré les heurts de narration et les variétés de vocabulaires (emploi des noms divins) l'unité du livre paraît assurée (sauf pour le Psaume). Les rapports littéraires avec la littérature historique et prophétique permettent de situer ce livret dans le développement de la Révélation d'Israël et de circonscrire ses problèmes

et sa doctrine. Le caractère étrange de beaucoup des faits narrés montre que l'auteur n'a pas voulu écrire „une succession vive de faits réels", mais préciser pour ses contemporains du Vème siècle la portée des anciens oracles. G.R. a des suggestions intéressantes sur la racine du mot „yonah", mais il pense qu'à la base du livre est un trait disparu de la vie du Jonas fils de Amittai de 2 Reg. xiv, 25. On trouvera de très belles pages (198ss) sur l'art avec lequel le livret est composé et sur la doctrine très universaliste du Prophète. Il me semble que G.R. aurait pu insister davantage sur le rôle prophétique d'Israël vis à vis des nations et je me demande si les 120.000 êtres humains qui ne savent pas distinguer la droite de leur gauche sont à considérer comme „bambini e stati assimilati" (p. 312): en Is. xxx 21 ceux qui se détournent à droite et à gauche (cf. Deut. xxviii 14) sont ceux qui n'ont pas été instruits par Dieu, ceux qui vont recevoir l'instruction divine. L'expression me semble viser ceux qui errent suivant leur propre voie (Is. liii 6) n'ayant pas reçu la lumière de la Torah.

Tels sont quelques brefs aperçus sur ce commentaire très étudié et très équilibré qui ne dépare pas la collection dont il fait partie, mais en augmente encore la valeur.

Paris — Henri Cazelles

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research. vols. XXXIV-XXXV. Ed. W. F. Albright. New Haven 1960. vi, 97 pp. 59 Plates.

This volume contains "An archaeolcgical study of Gibeah (Tell el-Fûl)" by Lawrence A. Sinclair, and the report on the "Excavation of the Conway High Place (Petra) and soundings at Khirbet Ader" by Ray L. Cleveland. Both sites were originally excavated under the direction of W. F. Albright some 26 years ago.

In his preface Albright says that the records of these excavations were entirely placed at the disposal of the authors. Both Mr. Sinclair and Mr. Cleveland suffer under the considerable disadvantage of not having attended these excavations, albeit that their work has been done under close supervision of the editor.

Archaeologists will be grateful to the authors for accomplishing the task of editing this material which, although unpublished, was often used or referred to in other studies. The material is presented in a very readable and compact form.

One supposes that the writers have presented us with the results of the excavations as concluded by the excavators whereas the study of pottery and comparisons or revised datings is the original work of the authors. Though Albright in his preface refers to "the introduction of methods of Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Miss Kathleen Kenyon" there is no sign that any of these new methods have affected the publication of these excavations. Moreover there still seems to be a basic misunderstanding of these methods. "Analysing the profiles of vertical cuts" (Albright in the preface) is not the main principle of this method. What is basic is the analysis of every deposit to which the section study is one aid. This analysis

of the deposits includes a study of its origin and its material and a proper division of the objects found in an excavated area according to the context in which they were found. Stratigraphy is not based on typology of objects but solely on the analysis of deposits.

A further misunderstanding is to call it "the Wheeler-Kenyon method", although there is no doubt that Sir MORTIMER introduced this method in various countries of the East and that Miss KENYON was the first, and is up till now almost the only excavator on sites of a large scale in Palestine who applies this method. The method itself was developed in England, parts of Western Europe and in North America in the first half of this century by archaeologists, often prehistorians, working in close contact and cooperation. For a long time excavators in Palestine have been out of touch with this development.

But surely, however, we have a right to expect that modern publications, even concerning Palestinian excavations executed before the Second World War should present the material according to modern standards. Modern editors of older work must be prepared to set aside dubiously recorded finds and confine themselves only to those things which can honestly be attributed as valid evidence.

Thus, for example, indications of findspots such as "in debris east of the fortress" (p. 16) or "at the bottom of room B" (p. 16) which one often finds in Palestinian reports can no longer be accepted as indications of stratigraphy. Debris "E. of the fortress" can be debris that existed before the fortress was built, that accumulated during the life time of the building or resulted from the destruction or partial destruction of it. One needs a proper analysis to make sure what the nature of the debris is. "At the bottom of Room B" here clearly means under the lowest floor level, but then the finds from this spot will certainly have nothing to do with those found in the room proper. If modern criteria of study had been applied here, it would have been clear to the writer that the "fossil-type" jar, which is claimed as extremely important for dating early Israelite settlements cannot be accepted in the case of Tell el-Fûl except with the greatest reserve and caution. None of the findspots mentioned are of unquestionable provenance. (Pl. 20,13 from room 10 is labelled Hellenistic) If we accept that it is of an early date, its limits in time are still very vague, and it is impossible to draw any far reaching conclusions from it. And since, as the author points out, it has been found in pre-Israelite levels at Megiddo, it seems to lose its "fossil-type" character.

The discussion of pottery types and their dates in this study is the balast which in the end fails to save the thesis from being blown clean away. And what are we to make of the reconstructed plan of Saul's fortress on Pl. 35 where less than a quarter of it is actual? Where is the proof that led the excavator to reconstruct it just so and in no other way? And what is the sense of publishing tidy drawings of the inside faces of Room A with no section to show floor levels or foundations?

The same lack of knowledge of what is going on in archaeological method today is shown in the study of the material from the excavation of the Conway High Place. Let it be stressed here that the reviewer does not

at all blame the excavators for any default in their methods at the time of the excavation, much though one may reasonably regret that much evidence is inevitably lost. It is the lack of understanding of the present stage of development in archaeology which makes itself so painfully felt in these publications.

Thus the description of the results of the excavation of the Conway High Place takes a sudden dramatic turn in the last footnote (p. 63). After accepting the thesis that the High Place is a sacred area surrounded by a stone ambulatory—a processional way—CLEVELAND notes that in a subsequent excavation by HORSFIELD (*QDAP*. vol. VII. p. 7) "the circle . . . constituted, at least in one phase in the development of the town wall, a strong angle tower". CLEVELAND neither accepts or refutes this evidence. While studying the report the reviewer came across some improbabilities in the reconstruction of the use of the site, e.g. the absence of any way of getting onto the processional route but note 12 struck the final blow to the 'processional way' theory. The following suggested reconstruction is presented based entirely on the facts mentioned in this report:

1. The rock-cut passage at the south-east of the sacred rock gave access to it, but did not, it seems, lead to a processional circle. (cf. plan)

2. Instead of two rock-cut ditches running west and east of the sacred rock, it seems that the rock is enclosed on three sides by one ditch, which runs under the stone wall at the north side. This rock-cut ditch cannot have served as a passage, since it starts at the south side with a sheer drop of 60 cms. Since the fill of the ditch was not examined, we do not know whether the steps south-west of the rock in the ditch had a function before the 'balustrade-wall' was built.

3. The 'balustrade wall' supposedly belonging to an unexcavated circular passage (of which no traces were found) outside the rock-cut ditch, looks rather like a retaining or supporting wall, built especially where the stone tower runs alongside and across the earlier rock-cut ditch. No other explanation seems to fit the existing facts reasonably. This retaining wall clearly gave way just east of the northern part of the sacred rock. (see general plan)

4. There is reason to doubt whether the "lower and upper processional ways" ever existed as such. The existing courses of the city wall are, according to the plan on Pl. 1 properly bonded into the structure of the "lower passage" (as indicated by the thick line between the upper and lower passage). Pl. 8 B' seems not to show a pavement but rather a fragment of a wall. Accordingly Pl. 15 B' shows that the upper passage was just another course of stones of the wall. Also the two steps east of the rock on the tower seem pointless unless they once served to give access to the top of the tower. As, according to the plan the 'lower passage' was already incorporated in the town wall, and thus must have been much higher than the present 'pavement', the 'processional way' can logically never have existed there; the more so, as it would have brought a procession onto a higher level than the sacred rock. The same holds good for the 'upper pavement'.

5. The steps and the passage S.W. of the rock lead only to the shrine

which was built outside and against the tower. It may well be, that once the rock was incorporated in the defence system of the place, the shrine replaced the old sanctuary. This would mean that it was a place sacred to an old fashioned group or minority who could not prevent the watch tower being built. If however the procession around the holy place had been an integral part of the cult, then this shrine would have been completely deprived of this ceremony in its new position as the two sections of the town wall make it impossible to walk round it. It is very unlikely, on the given evidence that the shrine and the rock served simultaneously as sanctuaries.

6. The rock-cut passage S.E. of the rock and the rock-cut ditch which encloses the rock on three sides are the only indications of a sacred place in an earlier period. After the construction of the tower we find a small shrine which has its own passage leading up to it. There is no ambulatory around either of these of which we can be certain.

7. The cooking pots, having been buried after the rock was no longer a central feature, may indicate that people had not entirely forgotten its ancient significance.

Reviewing publications of this standard is a tiresome and dispiriting task. The archaeologist who reviews such works must either swallow his principles or reveal himself critical and uncompromising. Mr. SINCLAIR and Mr. CLEVELAND are of the coming generation of American archaeologists in Palestine; Dr. ALBRIGHT one of its former giants. Lip service to the 'Wheeler-Kenyon' method is not enough nor unspecified remarks on 'improved methods and techniques' from Israel. (Preface) What is needed in the field of Palestinian archaeology are excavators who while dealing in many ways with totally different situations and problems could still feel perfectly at home on a pre-historic excavation in Europe or North America. May we suggest that students of Palestinian archaeology, before tackling material for publication and before beginning to excavate themselves, should follow a course in prehistoric archaeology, either in an institute of archaeology in America, London, Holland, Germany or Denmark, and join some digs there, so that they can see the accepted modern methods in action? Palestinian archaeology on the whole would greatly profit from this, even where earlier excavation reports are in the process of being published.

Leiden H. J. FRANKEN

Corpus Codicum Hebraicorum Medii Aevi. Redigendum Curavit Rafael EDELMANN. Pars II: *The Pre-Masoretic Bible*. Codex Reuchlinianus, No. 3 of the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe (formerly Durlach No. 55), with a General Introduction: Masoretic Hebrew, by Alexander SPERBER. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard 1956. L, 774 S. Fol. — Codices Palatini I: The Parma Pentateuch (Ms. Parma No. 1849, formerly de Rossi No. 668). II: The Parma Bible (Ms. Parma No. 2808, formerly de Rossi No. 2). Part I: The Pentateuch - Joshua - Judges - Books of Samuel. Published by Alexander

SPERBER. Ebenda: 1959, S. 1-99 und S. 1-124. Fol. — Codices Palatini II: The Parma Bible. Part II: Jeremiah - Ezekiel - Isaiah - Minor Prophets - Psalms - Proverbs - Five Rolls - Daniel - Ezra - Nehemiah - Job - Chronicles. Published by Alexander SPERBER. Ebenda: 1959. S. 125-318. Fol. — Alexander SPERBER, *A Grammar of Masoretic Hebrew, a General Introduction to the Pre-Masoretic Bible.* Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard 1959. 211 S. gr. 8⁰.

Es ist ohne Zweifel eines der Hauptverdienste von P. KAHLE, die Forschung auf Grund eigener, nun schon rund zwei Menschenalter währender Untersuchungen nachdrücklich darauf hingewiesen zu haben, dass eine ernst zu nehmende und modernen wissenschaftlichen Anforderungen genügende Hebraistik nur getrieben werden kann, wenn Vokalisations- und Akzentsysteme, wie sie uns unterschiedlich in den verschiedenen Kodizes und Handschriftenfragmenten entgegentreten, in ihrem historischen Zusammenhange gesehen werden. Ganz in dieser Linie liegt es, wenn Alexander SPERBER, P. KAHLES einstiger Schüler, der seit mehreren Jahren durch eine Reihe beachtenswerter Untersuchungen zur hebräischen Grammatik hervorgetreten ist [1]), im Jahre 1945 den Plan fasste, in den europäischen Bibliotheken nach Bibelhandschriften zu suchen, die in bezug auf Vokalisation, Akzentsystem und Masora noch nicht der Normierung unterliegen, durch die unser traditioneller Text des Alten Testaments gekennzeichnet ist. Ohne Kosten und Mühe zu scheuen, hat er in den Jahren 1947 bis 1954 wiederholt die Bibliotheken Europas bereist und hierbei weit mehr als 1000 Handschriften durchgesehen. Der Ertrag seiner Studien besteht in vier Kodizes, die er nunmehr unter dem Titel „The Pre-Masoretic Bible" in der von Rafael EDELMANN herausgegebenen Reihe *Corpus Codicum Hebraicorum Medii Aevi* der Öffentlichkeit vorlegt. Die vier, im Faksimile-Druck gebotenen Kodizes sind: 1. der Codex Reuchlinianus (Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe Nr. 3; früher Durlach Nr. 55), 2. der „Parma-Pentateuch" (Ms. Parma Nr. 1849; früher de Rossi Nr. 668), 3. die „Parma-Bibel" (Ms. Parma Nr. 2808; ehemals de Rossi Nr. 2) und 4. die „Londoner Bibel" (Britisches Museum Add. 21161). Hiervon liegen dem Rezensenten bislang die drei erstgenannten Handschriften vor; der vierte Kodex ist noch nicht erschienen.

Innerhalb dieser Texte, die SPERBER zur Grundlage für seine *Grammar of Masoretic Hebrew* nimmt, liegt formal und sachlich offensichtlich der Nachdruck auf dem Codex Reuchlinianus. Dieser berühmte Kodex vom Jahre 1106 im Folio-Format, der die „Acht Propheten", also den zweiten Teil des rabbinischen Kanons, enthält und nach jedem Verse das hierzu gehörige Targum bietet, ist öfter besprochen worden [2]). Die Literatur

[1]) Es seien hier vor allem genannt: „Hebrew based upon Greek and Latin Transliterations" (*HUCA* xii/xiii 1937-38, S. 103-269); „Hebrew based upon Biblical Passages in Parallel Transmission" (*ebd.* xiv 1939, S. 153-249); „Hebrew Phonology" (*ebd.* xvi 1941, S. 415-482); „Problems of the Masora" (*ebd.* xvii 1943, S. 293-394); „Hebrew Grammar, a New Approach" (*JBL* lxxii 1943, S. 137-262); „Biblical Hebrew" (*PAAJR* xviii, 1948-49, S. 303-382).

[2]) Ohne Punktation ist der Text des Targums veröffentlicht in: *Prophetae Chaldaice e fide codicis reuchliniani edidit* P. DE LAGARDE, Lipsiae 1872.

findet man bei P. KAHLE, *Masoreten des Westens* II, 1930, S. 55*, der ihn zusammen mit einer Anzahl von Kairoer Genisa-Texten, der „Londoner Bibel" und einigen anderen Kodizes in die Ben-Naftali-Tradition einordnet und zugleich deren Eigenart in bezug auf Vokalisation und Akzentsystem bespricht [1]). Die erstmalig vorliegende Gesamtausgabe stellt eine technische Meisterleistung dar; jedes einzelne der 382 Blätter lädt mit seiner bequemen Lesbarkeit nicht nur zu intensivem Studium ein, sondern bietet auch einen ästhetisch ausgesprochen befriedigenden Anblick. Dem Reuchlinianus ist eine „General Introduction" mit dem Titel „Masoretic Hebrew" vorangestellt (S. XI-L). Sie liegt ausserdem in handlichem Format als erweiterte und revidierte Abhandlung unter dem Titel *A Grammar of Masoretic Hebrew, a General Introduction to the Pre-Masoretic Bible* vor und wird im folgenden gesondert zu besprechen sein.

Der „Parma-Pentateuch", ein Kodex im Oktav-Format, stammt aus dem 13. oder 14. Jahrhundert und enthält den Text in zwei Kolumnen [2]). Mit ihm ist der erste Teil der „Parma-Bibel" zusammengebunden, der nach der Überschrift vom Pentateuch bis zu den Samuelisbüchern reicht, aber genauer noch 1. Könige i 1-15 umfasst. Der zweite Teil setzt mit den beiden letzten Wörtern von 1. Könige i 15 ein und bringt dann die restlichen Bücher des Kanons. Die „Parma-Bibel", ein Kodex im Quart-Format mit drei Kolumnen je Seite, stammt aus dem 13. Jahrhundert [3]). Sie enthält insofern eine Besonderheit, als sie die „Späteren Propheten" in der Reihenfolge Jeremia — Ezechiel — Jesaja — Dodekapropheton und die „Schriften" in der Anordnung Psalmen — Proverbien — Megillot — Daniel — Esra — Nehemia — Hiob — Chronikbücher überliefert. Durch die Aufteilung des Kodex auf zwei Bände ist ein Versehen unterlaufen; denn es fehlen nicht nur, was verschmerzt werden könnte, die ersten Verse aus den Königsbüchern am Ende von Teil I im Titel, sondern in Teil II sind darüber hinaus die Königsbücher in der Überschrift überhaupt ausgelassen, so dass hier als erstes Buch irrtümlich Jeremia angeführt wird. Das technische Versehen kann jedoch leicht korrigiert werden, indem man der noch ungebundenen Auflage ein neues Titelblatt voranstellt. Auch für diese beiden Kodizes, von denen die „Parma-Bibel" mancherlei Altersschäden aufweist, gilt, dass sie in mustergültiger Weise ediert sind.

Die auf den vier Kodizes fussende *Grammar of Masoretic Hebrew* beginnt mit einem Vorwort, das die Vorgeschichte der Edition sowie den Zweck der vorliegenden Studie behandelt (S. 17-20). Hieran schliesst sich eine Einleitung, die unter dem Titel „Hebrew Grammar Medieval in Conception" (S. 21-33) eine historisch-kritische Darstellung der grammatikalischen Forschung und Darstellung bietet und gleichzeitig die Forderung nach

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[1]) Hierbei handelt es sich um eine Gemeinschaftsarbeit mit R. EDELMANN; ergänzend ist hinzufügen: J. HEMPEL, „Fragmente einer dem Cod. Reuchlinianus (Durlach 55) verwandten Handschrift des hebr. Pentateuch aus Niedersachsen" (*NGGW* [phil.-hist. Kl. III], N.F. Bd. 1, 1937, S. 227-237).

[2]) Vgl. J. B. DE ROSSI, *Variae Lectiones Veteris Testamenti* I, Parmae 1784, S. CXVIII; MSS. Codices Hebraici Biblioth. J. B. de Rossi, Parmae 1803, S. 125 f.

[3]) *Variae Lectiones* I, S. XCVII; MSS. Codices Hebraici I, S. 2.

einer „völligen Umorientierung" aufstellt. Das erste Kapitel „Biblical Vocabulary and Hebrew ‚Sprachschatz'" (S. 34-45) ist grammatikalisch-lexikographischen Problemen gewidmet. Das zweite Kapitel, „The Pronunciation of Hebrew" (S. 46-88), stellt, soweit ich sehe, den Schwerpunkt der Abhandlung dar, insofern als hier masoretische Aussprache-probleme behandelt werden, die sich aus den vier Kodizes („The Four Basic Manuscripts"; S. 67-74) ergeben, ausserdem aber die hier gemachten Beobachtungen in einen grösseren historischen Zusammenhang gestellt werden. Das dritte Kapitel behandelt die Frage der Sprachmischung im Pentateuch — „Israelitish and Judaean Hebrew" (S. 89-141) — sowie seine innere Uneinheitlichkeit, wobei Verf. betont, dass alle literarische Analyse, womöglich eine solche, die mit Hilfe einer wie auch immer gearteten Übersetzung (!!) vorgenommen wird (S. 94), in der Luft hängt [1]), wenn nicht vorher die linguistischen Fragen geklärt sind („„Linguistic Phaenomena Decisive"; S. 105-109). Dieser erste Teil der Grammatik stellt eine Erweiterung und Verbesserung des in der „General Introduction" zum Codex Reuchlinianus Gebotenen dar. Neu hinzugekommen ist zunächst als viertes Kapitel eine Studie mit dem Titel „The Dead Sea Scrolls". Hier behandelt Verfasser linguistische und textliche Probleme, wie sie sich aus den grossen biblischen und ausserbiblischen Texten der Höhle I von Qumran ergeben. Dieses Kapitel ist naturgemäss sehr stark dem Fluss der Forschung unterworfen, zumal da die Fragmente der gleichen Höhle und vor allem die textgeschichtlich so wichtigen Texte aus Höhle IV noch nicht ausgewertet sind. Das Schlusskapitel — „The Masoretic Text" (S. 186-211) — ist der Frage nach der Endgestaltung des masoretischen Textes („The Final Shaping of MT"; S. 186 ff.) und nach seinen Quellen („The Sources"; S. 188 ff.) gewidmet, wobei die aus der Analyse der 1 Q-Texte (insbesondere 1QIs[a]) gewonnenen Erkenntnisse eine wesentliche Rolle spielen. Wünschenswert wäre in Anbetracht des Dargebotenen bei einer eventuellen Neuauflage ein Namen-, Sach- und Stellenregister.

Sperber bietet in dieser „masoretischen Grammatik", die er für Hebraisten schreibt, die den philologischen Problemen einer wissenschaftlichen Grammatik wirkliches Verständnis entgegenbringen und weder mit den üblichen Fragestellungen noch mit deren Lösung einverstanden sind (S. 17), eine ungeheure Fülle von Beobachtungen und Anregungen. Da er zugleich stets auf frühere Arbeiten Bezug nimmt, müsste in der vorliegenden Rezension der gesamte, bisher geleistete wissenschaftliche Ertrag einer kritischen Beleuchtung unterzogen werden. Das dies im vorgesehenen Rahmen unmöglich ist, sei es gestattet, einige Hauptpunkte aus der Einleitung und den beiden ersten Kapiteln herauszugreifen, die unmittelbar zu den vier Kodizes in Beziehung stehen.

In der Einleitung geht Verf. davon aus, dass die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft in bezug auf Phonologie und Morphologie im Grunde noch in den gleichen Bahnen läuft, in die sie vor rund einem Jahrtausend durch Saʿadya, den ersten grossen Hebraisten, gelenkt worden ist, und

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[1]) Verf. bezieht sich hierbei auf P. Volz und W. Rudolph, *Der Elohist als Erzähler*, 1933, S. 21.

dies trotz aller Weiterentwicklung im Laufe der Jahrhunderte! Nunmehr hält allerdings SPERBER die Zeit für endgültig gekommen, um die Hebraistik — wobei er in erster Linie Phonologie und Morphologie im Auge hat — grundsätzlich auf eine neue Basis zu stellen. Als Hauptgrund hierfür gilt, dass das tiberische Vokalisations- und Akzentsystem nach den Entdeckungen in den letzten 60 Jahren nicht mehr als normativ angesehen werden kann, sondern dass es als eine historisch relative und damit zeitgebundene Grösse erkannt ist. Weil dem so ist, kann aber auch die Aussprachetradition, wie sie beispielsweise in der Sekunda des Origines vorliegt, nicht einfach mit dem tiberischen System „synchronisiert" werden. Schliesslich stellt der masoretische Bibeltext weder eine „gleichförmige Einheit" (uniform unity) noch eine „Ganzheit" (complete entity) dar. Daher kann es für eine moderne hebräische Grammatik nicht in Frage kommen, etwa die traditionellen „Lautregeln" zu verbessern oder durch aussertiberische Beispiele zu erhärten, sondern es ist notwendig, sie einer durchgreifenden Kritik zu unterziehen.

Mag diese Feststellung unseren Schulmeistern in aller Welt behagen oder nicht — richtig ist sie auf jeden Fall. Wenn SPERBER hierbei von einer „völligen Umorientierung" (complete re-orientation) spricht, so darf freilich nicht übersehen werden, dass eine derartige Neuorientierung im Bereiche der Hebraistik — im übrigen weithin durch P. KAHLE angeregt! — seit einiger Zeit auch andernorts vor sich geht. Es sei, um nur wenige Beispiele zu nennen, etwa an die masoretischen Studien von A. DIEZ MACHO [1]) und F. PÉREZ CASTRO [2]) oder an die Vorarbeiten zu einer vormasoretischen Grammatik von A. MURTONEN [3]) erinnert. Auch die seit etwa einem Jahrzehnt laufenden Untersuchungen des Rezensenten zur historischen Grammatik des Hebräischen gehen, soweit es sich um nachbiblische Aussprachetraditionen handelt, in der gleichen Richtung [4]). Ausserdem darf kritisch angemerkt werden, dass in der Forschung keineswegs überall die Meinung besteht, dass das Alte Testament — philologisch-lexikographisch gesehen — eine „gleichförmige Einheit" und eine „vollständige Ganzheit" darstelle. Selbst ein verhältnismässig konservativer Lexikograph wie L. KOEHLER macht aus diesem Sachverhalt kein Hehl; das zeigt sein Vorwort zu KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, [1]1953; [2]1958, S. V-X, zur Genüge, und in bezug auf die traditionelle Verabsolutierung der Lautregeln sei etwa auf BEER-MEYER, *Hebräische Grammatik* I, [2]1952, S. 53, verwiesen: „[Es] ergibt sich, dass

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[1]) A. DIEZ MACHO, „Tres nuovos manuscritos bíblicos 'palestinenses'" (*Estudios Bíblicos* 12, 1954, S. 247-256).

[2]) F. PÉREZ CASTRO, „Corregido y correcto" (*Sefarad* 15, 1955, S. 3-30).

[3]) A. MURTONEN, *Materials for a Non-Masoretic Hebrew Grammar* I. Liturgical Texts and Psalm Fragments Provided with the So-Called Palestinian Punctuation ... with a contribution by G. J. ORMANN, Helsinki 1958; derselbe, *Materials for a Non-Masoretic Hebrew Grammar* II. An Etymological Vocabulary to the Samaritan Pentateuch (Studia Orientalia edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica 25, Helsinki 1960).

[4]) Vgl. z.B. „Probleme der hebräischen Grammatik" (*ZAW* 63, 1951, S. 221-235).

keines der masoretischen Systeme als das Ergebnis einer sprachgeschichtlichen Entwicklung anzusehen ist, sondern dass jedes System, auch das tiberische, aus heterogenen Elementen besteht . . ., so wird man von einer Lautlehre nur mit Vorbehalt reden dürfen und sich vor allem vor einem allzu einfachen Entwicklungsschema wie auch vor einer Verabsolutierung der beobachteten Regeln hüten müssen".

Im ersten Kapitel „Biblical Vocabulary and Hebrew ‚Sprachschatz'" behandelt Verf. kurz die Frage, wieweit aus den unterschiedlichen Nominalbildungen von gleicher Wurzel oder auch deren differierender Vokalisation lexikalisch Bedeutungsunterschiede abgeleitet werden dürfen. Er kommt hierbei zu dem Ergebnis: „The various attempts . . . to establish a common *characteristicon* in the implied meaning of each nominal formation, according to their prefixes, suffixes, different vocalization and the like, each formation implicitly reflecting a certain shade of meaning, are thus all basically erroneous" (S. 35). Verf. begründet diese These an Hand einer grösseren Anzahl morphologischer Varianten, die er unter dem Thema „Different Formations with Identical Meaning" (S. 35-45) zusammenfasst. Aus dem instruktiven Material seien einige Beispiele angeführt: גֵּזֶל-*גֵּזֶל „Raub" (Ez. xviii 18; xxii 29); עוֹלָל-עוֹלֵל „Kind" (Jer. xliv 7; ix 20); יְרֻשָּׁה-יְרֻשָּׁה „Besitz" (Dt. ii 5; Nu. xxiv 18); מִבְחָר-מִבְחוֹר „Auserlesenes" (Jes. xxxvii 24; 2 R. xix 23); תַּרְבִּית-מַרְבִּית „Zins" (Lv. xxv 37.36); מַנְעוּל-מִנְעָל „Riegel" (Dt. xxxiii 25; Cant. v 5); מַסְלוּל-מְסִלָּה „Bahn" (1 S. vi 12; Jes. xxxv 8); אֲכִילָה-אֹכֶל „Speise, Essen" (Dt. ii 6; 1 R. xix 8); מָאוֹר-אוֹר „Licht" (Prv. xvi 15; xv 30); מַאֲפֵל-אֲפֵלָה „Finsternis" (Dt. xxviii 29; Jos. xxiv 7) und תַּגְמוּל-גְּמוּל „Wohltat" (Ps. ciii 2; cxvi 12). Zwar sind die vom Verf. gebotenen Belege nicht gleichwertig — so sind מִבְחָר und מִבְחוֹר lediglich Aussprachevarianten —, gleichwohl wird daran deutlich, dass die einzelnen Nominalklassen oft nur unterschiedliche Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten für ein und denselben Begriff darstellen, eine Erscheinung, die auch in anderen semitischen Idiomen keineswegs selten ist. Im Bereiche der Hebraistik aber, wo man sehr leicht geneigt ist, formale Unterschiede begriffsgeschichtlich überzubewerten, bedeutet Sperbers kategorische Feststellung ohne Zweifel ein Warnzeichen, sei es nun, dass man die einzelnen Nominalbildungen lexikographisch für sich erfasst, oder sei es, dass sie — wie es dem Verf. vorschwebt (S. 88) — jeweils dem betreffenden „Nominalstamm" („nominal stem") untergeordnet werden.

Im zweiten Kapitel geht Verf. zunächst unter dem Thema „Masoretic and Pre-Masoretic Bible" auf die Frage ein, was man überhaupt unter einem „masoretischen" beziehungsweise „vormasoretischen" Text zu verstehen habe. Den Ausgangspunkt für die Beantwortung dieser Frage bildet die Feststellung Jakob ben Chayims in seiner Einleitung zur Zweiten Rabbinerbibel, Venedig 1524/25, wonach kein Bibeltext „korrekt" sei ohne die Masora, die die Rechtschreibung, die Vokalisation und die Akzent-

verteilung regele. Von hier aus geht er über zu P. KAHLES bekannter Kritik an BEN CHAYIMS Bibeltext, der 400 Jahre lang das wissenschaftliche Feld beherrschte, und unterzieht vor allem die Edition des Leningrader Kodex B 19 A in der *Biblia Hebraica*[3] einer scharfen Kritik, die in der Feststellung gipfelt, dass auch B 19 A nicht *den* masoretischen Bibeltext darstelle und dass er im Grunde ebenso gut oder ebenso mangelhaft sei wie etwa derjenige BEN CHAYIMS oder der des Codex Petropolitanus vom Jahre 916: „*There never existed The Masoretic Text, and consequently never will be; any Masoretic Bible is just as good or as faulty as the other* [1])" (S. 51). Wenn allerdings in diesem Zusammenhang P. KAHLES Auffassung über den Wert des Codex Leningradensis als „basically erroneous" (S. 48 in der Überschrift) bezeichnet wird, so wird man dem schwerlich beipflichten können. Selbst wenn man zugibt, dass die Masora parva im Petropolitanus[2]), in der Zweiten Rabbinerbibel und in B 19 A in ihren charakteristischen Zügen übereinstimmt — was bei der vorherrschenden Ben-Ascher-Tradition nicht wundernimmt—, so bleibt doch zunächst KAHLES Grundanliegen bestehen, nämlich dass es methodisch und sachlich nicht gerechtfertigt erscheint, eine Textrezension aus dem Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts einfach weiterzuführen — welcher Philologe könnte ein solches Verfahren gutheissen [3])? Zum anderen ist P. KAHLE keineswegs der erste gewesen, der den Ben-Chayim-Text angezweifelt hat. Lange vor ihm stellte Fr. DELITZSCH fest, dass der hebräische Text der Complutensischen Polyglotte demjenigen der Bombergiana von 1524/25 überlegen sei [4]). Die Frage nach dem Verhältnis von B 19 A zu BEN CHAYIMS Text entscheidet sich ja nicht nur an den masoretischen Noten, sondern vor allem auch an der Textausgestaltung; wenn beispielsweise B 19 A das Qameṣ als Strich mit untergesetztem Punkt (̣) wiedergibt, so ist dies eben ein Zeichen grösserer Ursprünglichkeit als die Kombination zweier Striche (̱) im textus receptus.

Darüber hinaus erscheint es mir bedenklich, in der Polemik allein von den Prolegomena zur *Biblia Hebraica*[3] (S. VII f.) auszugehen, die ja dem Forschungsstande der dreissiger Jahre entsprechen; zumindest hätten *The Cairo Geniza*, [1]1947, S. 54-78, und etwa „The Hebrew Ben Asher Bible Manuscripts", *VT* 1, 1951, S. 161-167, herangezogen werden können. Tatsächlich stehen SPERBER und P. KAHLE viel weniger weit auseinander, als es zunächst scheint. Wenn nämlich SPERBER mit Bezug auf seine 1943 erschienene Abhandlung „The Problems of the Masora" sagt, „that Ben Asher's work did *not* consist in *preserving* the traditional form of the Bible . . ., but rather in establishing a Bible according to his preconceived grammatical theories" (S. 51), so braucht man hierzu nur P. KAHLES neuestes Werk, *Der hebräische Bibeltext seit Franz Delitzsch*,

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[1]) Vom Verf. kursiv gedruckt.

[2]) Vgl. zu diesem Kodex neuerdings P. KAHLE, *The Cairo Geniza*[2], 1959, S. 63f.

[3]) Ebd. S. 129-131; vgl. auch SPERBERS eigene Kritik an Jakob BEN CHAYIMS Text, *HUCA* xvii S. 370: „Jacob ben Chayim does not follow any manuscript or authority in every detail, but uses his own judgment". Somit aber ergibt sich eine Ausgabe, die er mit Recht als „eclectically established" bezeichnet.

[4]) Vgl. besonders Fr. DELITZSCH, *Complutensische Varianten zu dem alttestamentlichen Text* (Leipziger Reformationsprogramm 1878).

1961, S. 67 f. zu vergleichen, um festzustellen, dass er — wenn auch auf methodisch eigenem Wege — zu einem gleichen Ergebnis kommt: „Wir müssen also damit rechnen, dass die tiberischen Masoreten eine neue Methode der Andeutung der Betonung . . . durchgeführt haben, die für die hebräische Grammatik . . . von grundlegender Bedeutung geworden ist. Das will aber besagen, dass die Aussprache des Hebräischen, wie wir sie auf Grund der tiberischen Punktation kennen, überhaupt erst eine Schöpfung der tiberischen Masoreten gewesen ist." Diese prinzipielle Gemeinsamkeit wird auch durch die differierenden Auffassungen über die ursprüngliche Funktion der Akzente — so spricht P. KAHLE beispielsweise von ihnen als einer „Art Interpunktion" (*a.a.O.*), während nach SPERBER diese Funktion ausgesprochen sekundär ist (S. 83) — nicht aufgehoben.

Im Anschluss an die Auseinandersetzung mit P. KAHLE beantwortet Verf. nunmehr die Frage, was man unter einem „masoretischen" beziehungsweise „vormasoretischen" Text zu verstehen habe (S. 51 f.). Er definiert den Begriff „masoretisch" dahingehend, dass ein Bibeltext weder durch die beigegebenen masoretischen Noten, noch als reiner Konsonantentext, sondern allein durch die Aussprachetradition als „masoretisch" oder „vormasoretisch" bestimmt wird: „. . . so as to see, whether we can discuss here a historical evolution corresponding to an emergence of the Masoretic pronunciation from a preceeding pre-Masoretic way of speech" (S. 52). Mit dieser Definition erheben sich freilich sofort zwei Probleme: Zunächst kann man nach dem gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung schwerlich den Konsonantentext einfach aus der Diskussion ausklammern; denn seit dem Bekanntwerden der Bibeltexte aus Höhle IV von Qumran wissen wir, dass es beispielsweise für die Tora einen vormasoretischen Text gibt, der dem um 100 n. Chr. normierten „masoretischen" Text vorangegangen ist, ebenso wie der Samaritanus — und dies berührt das S. 94-104 zum samaritanischen Pentateuch Gesagte — eine vorsamaritanische Tradition und die Septuaginta eine eigene hebräische Vorlage aufzuweisen haben, wobei die Überschneidungen der einzelnen Texttypen hier nur am Rande erwähnt seien [1]). Wie wenig Verf. selbst in dieser Hinsicht konsequent ist, zeigt das letzte Kapitel, das ja in erster Linie den masoretischen Konsonantentext und seine Geschichte behandelt. Will man aber die Aussprache allein zum Massstab für den masoretischen Charakter eines Textes machen, dann dürfte die Bezeichnung der vier Handschriften als „Pre-Masoretic Bible" wohl nicht adäquat sein, handelt es sich doch hierbei um tiberische Texte (vgl. S. 82) und damit um „masoretische" Kodizes! Dem Werte der veröffentlichten Kodizes trägt diese Feststellung natürlich nicht das Geringste ab; sie zeigt nur, dass die Begriffe „masoretisch" und „vormasoretisch" noch nicht voll geklärt sind.

Die nächsten Abschnitte „Biblical and Post-Biblical Hebrew" (S. 52-60) und „Hebrew Vocalization" (S. 60-88) sind dem Problem der unterschied-

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[1]) Vgl. das Sammelreferat: „Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumran" (*RB* lxiii 1956, S. 49-67); ferner F. M. CROSS jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (The Haskell Lectures 1956-1957), 1958, S. 120-145 und die daselbst angegebene Literatur. R. MEYER, „Qumran [3]: Bedeutung für das Alte Testament" (*RGG*³ V, Sp. 742 ff.).

lichen Aussprachetraditionen gewidmet, wobei naturgemäss der Nachdruck auf der Punktation der vier edierten, in sich wiederum entwicklungsmässig abgestuften Handschriften liegt. Verf. sagt mit Recht, dass es nicht nur verschiedene Punktationssysteme gibt, sondern dass oft ein einziges Zeichen mehrere Funktionen und auch Bedeutungen haben kann [1]). Gleichwohl lässt sich im Hebräischen zu einer Zeit, da es schon seit Jahrhunderten als Volkssprache ausgestorben ist, eine Aussprachеentwicklung beobachten, die zudem dadurch kompliziert wird, dass Umweltfaktoren, vor allem natürlich die jeweilige Muttersprache der das Hebräische tradierenden Juden, auf die Sprachgestaltung einwirken: „Both Hebrew pronunciation and Hebrew vocalization thus underwent various phases of development until they reached their present day stage . . . Though only a Schriftsprache Hebrew was open to outside influences in its pronunciation as any living tongue, because it continued to be in actual use as the language of study and prayer" (S. 63 f.).

Innerhalb der Punktation des Reuchlinianus und der ihm verwandten Handschriften ist die Dageš-Setzung von besonderem Interesse. In bezug hierauf schreibt P. Kahle in: Bauer-Leander, *Historische Grammatik* I, 1922, § 8b′: „Am vollkommensten ist die Dageš- und Raphesetzung ausgebildet in einer Gruppe von besonders wertvollen und alten Hss., zu denen der Reuchlinianische Prophetenkodex . . . und einige andere gehören. Man kann . . . im allgemeinen als Regel aufstellen, dass — abgesehen von den Laryngalen und ר — jeder Konsonant, der eine Silbe beginnt, ein Dageš erhält, wenn ihm eine geschlossene Silbe oder ein trennender Akzent vorangeht". Gleichzeitig weist er darauf hin, dass z.B. Menaḥem ben Saruq (um 960 in Spanien) derartig punktierte Bibeltexte als selbstverständlich voraussetzt und dass bereits H. Grimme bei den Juden Jemens eine Aussprache festgestellt hat, die dieser Punktation entspricht.

Verf. untersucht nun den Dageš-Gebrauch im einzelnen und legt eine Reihe von typischen Beispielen aus dem Reuchlinianus vor, wobei er sich auf die Hauptlinien beschränkt. Zunächst geht er von der Annahme aus, dass unser heutiges Dageš mit seinen verschiedenen Funktionen als Dageš lene und Dageš forte eine ziemlich verwickelte Vorgeschichte hat und dass es teilweise auf den „diakritischen Punkt" (differentiating dot) zurückgeht (S. 65 f.). Danach wird der diakritische Punkt ursprünglich nicht nur dort gesetzt, wo wir ihn heute anzuwenden pflegen, sondern überall, wo ein Buchstabe doppelten Lautwert besitzt. Verf. führt diesbezüglich die Buchstaben Bet, Kaf, Pe und Taw sowie Śin Šin an; im ersten Falle setzt man den Punkt in Buchstabenmitte: בּ, כּ, פּ, תּ, in letzterem innen links für *ś*: שׂ, innen rechts für *š*: שׁ (S. 52-58; 65 f.). Wo in den Kodizes Śin und Šin ein Dageš oder Rafe tragen, werden sie über den Buchstaben gesetzt: שׂ, שׁ; שׂ, שׁ. Ausgehend vom späteren Sprachgebrauch, lässt er den diakritischen Punkt nur für BKPT gelten und betrachtet die Zusammenordnung mit Gimel und Dalet zu BGDKPT als Ergebnis scholastischer Spekulation

[1]) Vgl. etwa S. 66: „In order to indicate the consonantal value of the semiconsonantal letters, dots or dashes were used, which served also otherwise (and mainly) as vowel signs . . .".

(S. 81 f.). Da jedoch Sa'adya die doppelte Aussprache auch für diese beiden Buchstaben als gegeben voraussetzt — ebenso wie für Reš in Babylonien — [1]), wäre freilich zu fragen, ob nicht doch BGDKPT primär zusammengehören.

Im Gegensatz zu diesem diakritischen Punkt sagt das Dageš seiner ursprünglichen Funktion nach nichts aus über die Qualität oder Quantität eines Konsonanten, gleichgültig ob es sich um BGDKPT oder einen der einfachen starken Mitlaute handelt, sondern es dient dazu, die *Kürze* eines Vokals in vorhergehender offener oder geschlossener Silbe anzuzeigen (S. 67). Diesen Sachverhalt erschliesst Verf. aus dem nicht immer ganz eindeutigen Material, und es scheint mir, dass er damit ein wesentliches Merkmal des Dageš erkannt hat; denn im Reuchlinianus begegnen — im Gegensatz zu der jüngeren Stufe in den Handschriften 2-4 — noch Qameṣ und Pataḥ undifferenziert für langes und kurzes *a* und Ṣere nebst Segol für langes und kurzes *e*, ähnlich, wie wir dies aus der sogenannten palästinischen Punktation kennen [2]). Mit anderen Worten, die Vokalzeichen sagen hier noch nichts aus über die Vokalquantität, und erst das Dageš lässt erkennen, wo ein kurzer Selbstlaut vorliegt [3]). Einschränkend muss allerdings gesagt werden, dass auch im Reuchlinianus — trotz seiner Altertümlichkeit — im Dageš-Zeichen selbst schon beide Funktionen, sowohl die des diakritischen Zeichens als auch die des ursprünglichen Dageš, zusammengefallen sind, was nicht wundernimmt, wenn man sich vergegenwärtigt, dass bereits in der altertümlichen einfachen Punktation Babyloniens das Dageš als kleines supralineares ג bei BGDKPT (und ר) die Funktion eines diakritischen Zeichens übernommen hat. Verf. ist des weiteren der Meinung, dass das Dageš die masoretische Druckverschiebung auf die Ultima voraussetzt (S. 86); zumindest wird man sagen können, dass bei der Festlegung der Aussprache nach Einführung der Ultimabetonung dem Dageš eine entscheidende Bedeutung zukam.

Zur Verdeutlichung des Gesagten seien einige Beispiele aus einer vom Verf. gebotenen Übersicht gegeben, aus der zugleich hervorgeht, dass BGDKPT im Rahmen der starken Konsonanten vielfach eine Sonderstellung einnehmen (S. 67-72); die Formen unseres Ben-Ascher-Textes sind, wenn abweichend, nach *BH*³ in Klammern beigefügt. In der Pi'el-Form קִדְּשׁוּ „heiligt!" (Jer. vi 4) schliesst Šwa die kurze offene Silbe wie

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[1]) Vgl. P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*², S. 183.

[2]) Allerdings sagt der undifferenzierte Gebrauch beider Zeichen im Reuchlinianus noch nichts darüber aus, dass zumindest in dieser Hinsicht die Punktation des Kodex älter sei als die einfache babylonische Punktation, die ein Zeichen für *ā* aufweist (so Verf. S. 61). Auch erscheint es mir fraglich, ob man im babylonischen System selbst zwei Stufen unterscheiden kann, wobei die jüngere je ein Zeichen für *ā* und *a/e* enthält und damit zugleich die Druckverlagerung auf die Ultima voraussetzt (S. 81). Schwerlich wird man der Lösung dieses Problems ohne Heranziehung der ostsyrischen Vokalisationsmethode näherkommen; vgl. zuletzt P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*², S. 65 f.

[3]) Eine systematische Aufteilung in Zeichen für lange und kurze Vokale (Ṣere und Ḥolem immer lang) ist literarisch zuerst bei Josef Qimḥi (2. Hälfte des 12. Jh.s) belegt; vgl. P. Kahle in: Bauer-Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache* I, § 3f; Beer-Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* I², § 11, 4.6.

in לְטַמְּאוֹ (לְטַמְּאוֹ *leṭamme'ō*) „es zu verunreinigen" (Jer. vii 30); aber während ד zum Šwa noch ein Dageš erhält, bekommt מ in gleicher Position ein Rafe. Nach kurzer geschlossener Silbe wird einfacher starker Konsonant stets mit Dageš versehen: לִשְׁמֹר (לִשְׁמֹר) „zu bewahren" (1 S. vii 1), dagegen ist die Setzung von Dageš bei BGDKPT uneinheitlich, wobei die Auslassung überwiegt: לִפְגֹּעַ (לִפְגֹּעַ) „zu erschlagen" (1 S. xxii 17); בְּגְבוּל (בִּגְבוּל) „im Gebiete" (1 S. vii 13). Diese letzte Form zeigt zugleich, dass die traditionelle Regel, wonach Dageš (lene) in den BGDKPT nach trennendem Akzent steht, für die Punktation des Reuchlinianus nicht beziehungsweise noch nicht gilt, insofern als hier beispielsweise Ṭifḥa vorausgeht. Doch soll auf die Akzente und ihre Funktion, deren herkömmliche Bewertung Verf. ebenfalls einer scharfen Kritik unterzieht (S. 68), in diesem Zusammenhange nicht näher eingegangen werden.

Aufschlussreich sind auch Bildungen, in denen Šureq als kurzer *u*-Laut durch Dageš angedeutet und damit die betreffende Silbe geschlossen wird (S. 73). Steht Šureq als Vokal am Anfang, so gilt das soeben Gesagte: וּבְנַפְשִׁי (וּבְנַפְשִׁי) „und nach meinem Willen" (1 S. ii 35), וּצְדָקָה (וּצְדָקָה) „und Gerechtigkeit" (Jer. ix 23); in Wortmitte dagegen findet sich in der Regel Dageš auch in BGDKPT: אוּמְלָלָה (אֻמְלָלָה) „sie ist verwelkt" (Joel i 12), חוּלְדָה (חֻלְדָה) „Hulda" (2 R. xxii 14).

Entscheidend für die spätere Entwicklung der Dageš-Regeln ist nach der Meinung des Verf.s, die meines Erachtens ein hohes Mass an Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat, vor allem, dass mit der Aufgliederung der Vokalzeichen in Symbole für kurze und lange Selbstlaute das Dageš seinen ursprünglichen Charakter verloren hat, wie dies bereits in den Handschriften 2-4 der Fall ist (S. 68).

Konsonantisches Alef wird in den vorliegenden Handschriften durch einen Innenpunkt angedeutet: א, während finales He in gleicher Funktion einen Punkt unten erhält: הִ, der in unseren Grammatiken als Mappiq (ה) begegnet. Verf. vermutet hierin zwar im traditionellen Sinn ein Dageš (S. 76), doch dürfte es in der Linie seiner eigenen Ausführungen liegen, wenn man dieses Zeichen eher in der Linie des diakritischen Punktes sähe, der die konsonantische Aussprache regeln sollte. Hierfür könnte sprechen, dass in der babylonischen Tradition ein kleines supralineares He als diakritisches Zeichen in gleicher Weise verwendet wird: ה̇, ebenso wie etwa in der palästinischen Punktation ein kleines Śin oder Samek begegnet, um die Aussprache שׁ = *ś* beziehungsweise שׂ = *s* sicherzustellen [1]). Der gleiche Punkt, vom Verf. als „konsonantisches Ḥireq" (consonantal

[1]) Als Beispiel für den Gebrauch von He als diakritischem Zeichen sei aus der babylonischen Punktation וּמלוּאה̇, tiberisch וּמְלוּאָה, (Ps. xxiv 1) angeführt; vgl. P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Ostens*, 1913, S. 131 ff.; R. Meyer, *Hebräisches Textbuch*, 1960, S. 74 (Ms. Heb. d. 37, fol. 50a, Oxford, Bodleian Library).

ḥireḳ; S. 87) bezeichnet, dient als Punkt unten zur Kennzeichnung des konsonantischen Jod: יְ = *y* in finaler Stellung [1]).

Zur Andeutung des konsonantischen Wertes von Ḥet und ʿAyin in allen Positionen sowie von Waw finale wird das Šwa-Zeichen verwendet: חְ, עְ und וְ. Im Reuchlinianus lässt sich nun beobachten, wie gelegentlich für dieses „konsonantische Šwa" (consonantal shewa; S. 87) ein Pataḥ oder Segol eintritt oder danebengesetzt wird: יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (Jos. V 9). Im traditionellen Text ist das Šwa im Wortauslaut nach der bekannten tiberischen Regel geschwunden und das „konsonantische Pataḥ" (consonantal pataḥ; S. 87), das natürlich primär nichts mit dem gleichnamigen Vokalzeichen zu tun hat, ist in die Überlieferung als „Pataḥ furtivum" eingegangen, das man nunmehr als Hilfsvokal auffasst.

Im übrigen hat das Nebeneinander von Pataḥ und Šwa, beziehungsweise Segol und Šwa in gleicher Funktion, nämlich den Konsonantenwert schwacher Mitlaute anzudeuten, in der Folge zur Entstehung der sogenannten Ḥaṭef-Laute geführt, wie Verf. vermutet. Auch hierfür kann er aus dem Reuchlinianus bemerkenswerte Beispiele anführen; so etwa מָשְׁחָנוּ (מָשַׁחְנוּ) „wir salbten" (2 S. xix 11), wo zugleich Dageš das vorhergehende Qameṣ als kurz ausweist: *māšaḥnū*, oder יָדָעְתִּי (יָדַעְתִּי) „ich weiss" (1 S. xxix 9), das *yādaʿtī* zu sprechen ist. Sperbers Deutung der Ḥaṭef-Laute scheint mit durchaus einleuchtend zu sein; sie bedeutet eine wesentliche Aufhellung des traditionellen und zugegebenermassen verwirrten Šwa- und Ḥaṭef-Gebrauchs; zugleich wird damit deutlich, wie wenig derartige Zeichen der Masoreten dazu geeignet sind, dass man mit ihrer Hilfe die Entwicklung des Hebräischen historisch-genetisch im alten Stile aufzuzeigen versucht [2]).

Als ein letztes interessantes Beispiel aus Sperbers Grammatik sei die Verbindung des Šwa mit Qameṣ zum sogenannten Qameṣ ḥaṭuf (ֲ) angeführt. Über die bekannten Regeln hinaus begegnet diese Kombination in den vorliegenden Handschriften bei starken Konsonanten in geschlossener Silbe; so etwa bei לְשֶׁפְטֵנוּ im Reuchlinianus für לְשָׁפְטֵנוּ „uns zu richten" (1 Sam. viii 5) in B 19 A und im textus receptus. Das Zeichen ֲ bedeutet

[1]) Mit Recht sagt Verf. S. 82, dass Formen wie זַיִת primär nicht als *zayiṯ*, sondern als *zayṯ* ausgesprochen wurden, während זַיִת *zēṯ* von Haus aus keine constructus-Form zu angeblichem status absolutus darstellt, sondern beide Bildungen dialektgeographisch bedingt sind. Allerdings müsste bei der Behandlung dieses Problems mit in Betracht gezogen werden, dass das Nebeneinander von monophthongischen und diphthongischen Bildungen sich bereits in der 1. Hälfte des 1. vorchristlichen Jahrtausends nachweisen lässt; vgl. etwa R. Meyer, „Die Bedeutung der linearen Vokalisation für die hebräische Sprachgeschichte" (*Festschrift für Albrecht Alt*: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Leipzig 3, 1953/54, S. 67-76).

[2]) Verf. verdeutlicht S. 87f. diesen Sachverhalt treffend an der Fehlinterpretation des Ḥaṭef-Zeichens durch Gesenius-Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik* I, [29]1918, § 8, f.

demnach, wie Verf. mit Recht betont, kurzes *o* in geschlossener Silbe. Wir haben also im Reuchlinianus einerseits das unsystematische Nebeneinander von Pataḥ und Qameṣ als *a*, zum anderen kennt der gleiche Kodex Qameṣ als *o*, das anscheinend durch Šwa als solches festgelegt wird. Ausserdem kann Qameṣ mit Ḥolem — wie Verf. meint, irrtümlich (S. 65) — vertauscht werden. Damit wird das Problem des Qameṣ überhaupt berührt. Dieses Zeichen ist, wie auch Verf. feststellt (S. 65), als *o*-Symbol älter als der Reuchlinianus. Darüber hinaus muss jedoch gesagt werden, dass es ein relativ junges Kombinationszeichen darstellt, das nach dem Ausweis der alten Ben-Ascher-Handschriften und auch des Reuchlinianus aus Pataḥ und Ḥolem zu ̇ (̇ ist jünger) zusammengefügt ist [1]). Diese Kombination aber kann nur so erklärt werden, dass eine bestimmte rabbanitische Schule — wahrscheinlich Ben-Ascher — unter dem Einflusse eines regionalen *o*-Vokalismus Silben, die andernorts mit langem *ā* gesprochen wurden, durch Beifügung eines Ḥolem zum Pataḥ als *o*-haltig kennzeichnete. Gleichzeitig aber blieb durch diese lose Kombination noch immer die Möglichkeit offen, Qameṣ als *a* zu sprechen. So haben die Babylonier das tiberische Qameṣ als *ā* übernommen, und in gleicher Weise lebt es bei den Sefardim weiter; im Reuchlinianus hinwiederum findet es sich als *a* neben Pataḥ, während dort, wo es als *o* zu lesen ist, ihm ein *Šwa* gleichsam als diakritisches Zeichen beigefügt wird, das an den babylonischen supralinearen Doppelpunkt für *o* erinnert.

Die Beispiele, die hier aus dem Hauptteil von Sperbers „masoretischer Grammatik" angeführt sind, dürften zur Genüge zeigen, dass Verf. mit seiner Studie einen ausserordentlich wertvollen Beitrag zur Erforschung der hebräischen Aussprachetraditionen sowie der verschiedenen Punktationssysteme vorgelegt hat. Es bedeutet keine Minderung des Gesagten, wenn man feststellt, dass auch für seine verschiedenen Thesen das *dies diem docet* gilt und dass manches noch eingehender Diskussion bedarf. Besonders dankbar aber muss ihm sowie dem Herausgeber der Reihe und nicht zuletzt dem Verlage die Forschung deshalb sein, weil die „masoretische Grammatik" verbunden ist mit der mustergültigen Herausgabe von Texten, die bisher — da weithin unbekannt — mit ihrer eigenartigen Punktation in der Hebraistik keine Rolle spielten. Es wäre nun nur zu wünschen, dass daneben auch recht bald die bedeutenden Ben-Ascher-Kodizes — um lediglich das palästinische Material zu nennen — in gleicher Weise im Original allgemein zugänglich würden. Denn aus Sperbers Edition und aus seiner Grammatik ergibt sich wieder einmal mit aller Deutlichkeit, dass eine wissenschaftliche Hebraistik nur an Hand der Originale methodisch gerechtfertigt ist. Wenn allein diese Erkenntnis Allgemeingut würde, dann wäre das wohl der schönste Lohn für all den Aufwand an Kosten und Mühe, der hinter der Veröffentlichung des Reuchlinianus und der übrigen Kodices steht.

Jena Rudolf Meyer

[1]) Für sehr wenig wahrscheinlich halte ich Sperbers Annahme, dass Qameṣ = *o* aus Qameṣ ḥaṭuf: = *o* entstanden sei (S. 62); vgl. meinen Aufsatz: „Das Problem der Dialektmischung in den hebräischen Texten von Chirbet Qumran" (*VT* vii S. 139-148 [bes. S. 142 ff.]).

M. DU BUIT, *Géographie de la Terre Sainte*. Les Editions du Cerf, Paris. 1958. 237 pp., 18 cartes.

Das vorliegende Buch ist ebenso wie DE VAUX' *Institutions de l'Ancien Testament* ein Ergänzungsband zur „Bible de Jérusalem", zwar nicht ausdrücklich als solcher gekennzeichnet, aber in Format und Ausstattung dem grossen Bibelwerk angepasst. Dem Charakter des Ganzen entsprechend beschränkt sich das Buch auf die reine Darbietung des Stoffes und verzichtet ganz auf das, was man einen „wissenschaftlichen Apparat" zu nennen pflegt, d.h. auf alle Bezugnahme auf die wissenschaftliche Diskussion und auf alle Auseinandersetzung mit ihr. Anmerkungen unter dem Text fehlen so gut wie ganz. Das besagt nun keineswegs, dass das Buch nicht eine wissenschaftliche Leistung sei. Ganz im Gegenteil. Der Verfasser, *Professeur a l'École Biblique de Jérusalem*, ist mit dem Stoff, den er zu behandeln hat, aufs gründlichste vertraut, und er versteht es ausgezeichnet, ihn im Rahmen der ihm gegebenen Möglichkeiten darzustellen. Dass er in vielen Punkten dem grossen Werk von F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine I/II* (1932/38), folgt, ist begreiflich; und dass ABEL auf dem Gebiet der biblischen Geographie ein zuverlässiger und guter Führer ist, wird niemand bestreiten.

Das Buch ist in drei Teile eingeteilt. Ein erster Teil behandelt die „Géographie physique" (pp. 17-84), ein zweiter Teil die „Géographie historique" (pp. 87-178), und ein alphabetisch geordneter „Index onomastique" (pp. 179-231) schliesst das Ganze ab; in einem besonderen Umschlag sind beigegeben 18 Kartenskizzen in Schwarz-Weiss zu den verschiedenen Gegenständen der physikalischen und historischen Geographie.

Besonders gut gelungen scheint mir der erste Teil über die physikalische Geographie. Der Verfasser vermag ein sehr anschauliches und lebendiges Bild zu zeichnen von den natürlichen Gegebenheiten des Landes und von den Voraussetzungen des Lebens im Lande. Ausgezeichnet sind die zwar kurz gefassten, aber in ihrer Kürze auf das Wesentliche konzentrierten Ausführungen über Klima und Bodenbeschaffenheit, über Flora und Fauna. Die Landschaftsbeschreibungen in Kap. VI („Les cantons de la Palestine") überschneiden sich teilweise mit der allgemeinen Darstellung des Landescharakters in Kap. I („Le grand relief, le réseau hydrographique, les limites"). Originell und interessant ist vor allem das Kapitel über „La démographie, le charactère sociologique des diverses zones" (Kap. V), in dem die Einwirkungen der verschiedenen „Urlandschaften", Gebirge, Steppe, Wüste, auf die Ausbildung menschlicher Gemeinschaftsformen erörtert werden und insbesondere die Wichtigkeit der Steppenlandschaften einschliesslich der Flussoasen für die Anfänge der menschlichen Geschichte und Kultur hervorgehoben wird. Schon dieser ganze erste Teil leidet freilich etwas unter der erzwungenen Kürze, die den Verfasser seine Darlegungen nicht so systematisch und konkret ausführen liess, wie es erwünscht gewesen wäre. Die Detailbeschreibung der palästinischen Landschaften auf S. 59 ff. ist sehr fesselnd für einen, der das Land gut kennt; es scheint mir aber zweifelhaft, ob sie, da sie zu wenig konkrete Ortsnamen und Ortsbezeichnungen nennt, für jedermann ganz verständlich ist.

Noch mehr gilt dasselbe für den zweiten Teil über die historische Geographie. Hier konnte der Verfasser die Fülle seiner Kenntnisse kaum ganz angemessen unterbringen. Dieser Teil beginnt mit einer recht guten Übersicht über die Möglichkeiten einer „identification des sites" (pp. 87-91). Hierauf folgt ein der Intention nach sehr willkommener Abschnitt über „les chemins" (pp. 93-121), der leider deswegen nicht recht befriedigt, weil er nicht konsequent genug an seinem Gegenstand orientiert ist und zu wenig den geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen und Wandlungen Rechnung trägt. Aus der literarischen Überlieferung des Alten Testaments, aus einer Übersicht über die Römerstrassen und aus einer Berücksichtigung der landschaftlichen Gegebenheiten wird mancherlei Material zu dem wichtigen Thema der Verkehrswege im Lande zusammengetragen; dabei wird wohl zu viel erzählender Stoff aus dem Alten Testament geboten und zu wenig darauf geachtet, was er wirklich für das Thema der „Wege" hergibt. Unter dem Titel „les populations" (pp. 123-146) wird die israelitische Stämmegeographie und die Geographie der Nachbarvölker behandelt. Die Stämmegeographie lässt sich kaum behandeln ohne eine Analyse der alttestamentlichen Quellen, die der Verfasser nicht bieten konnte; so konnte er nur ungezählte Einzelheiten zusammenstellen, die nicht recht ein deutliches Gesamtbild ergeben und den nicht sachkundigen Leser wohl eher verwirren als aufklären werden, zumal auch hier der kaum entbehrliche geschichtliche Aspekt sehr in den Hintergrund gerückt ist. Zum Schluss werden die staatlichen Gestaltungen mit ihren Aussengrenzen und ihren internen Einteilungen behandelt (pp. 147-178), vom davidisch-salomonischen Reich bis zur römischen Herrschaft. Auch hier ist naturgemäss die Verwertung alttestamentlicher Quellen manchmal problematisch; im ganzen aber wird eine gute, wenn auch oft nur recht summarische Überschau geboten.

Der „Index onomastique" (pp. 179-231) ist nicht auf erschöpfende Vollständigkeit hin angelegt, sondern lässt in weiser Beschränkung solche Ortsnamen aus, über die gar nichts Wesentliches gesagt werden kann. Unter den einzelnen Stichworten werden die biblischen Stellen (gegebenenfalls im Rahmen einer kurzen historischen Übersicht) sowie gelegentliche Hinweise auf ausserbiblische Vorkommen zusammengestellt, und es wird, so weit möglich, ein Identifikationsvorschlag (mit Verweis auf die beigegebenen Karten) gemacht. Das alles ist dem Orientierungszweck des Buches sehr angemessen. Bei diesem „Index" drängt sich ganz besonders das leidige Transskriptionsproblem auf, das den Leser schon durch das ganze Buch begleitet hat. Wer auf diesem Gebiet einige Erfahrungen hat, weiss, wie schwierig es ist, auch nur einigermassen konsequent zu verfahren. Der Verfasser hat es mit alttestamentlich-hebräischen Namen, mit griechischen Namen (besonders aus den „deuterokanonischen" Schriften des Alten Testaments und aus dem Neuen Testament) und mit modernen arabischen und israelischen Namen (für die Identifikationen) zu tun. Man wird billigerweise keine übertriebenen Forderungen an Genauigkeit und Konsequenz der Transskriptionsweise stellen; aber man fragt sich doch, ob der Verfasser, der im allgemeinen der an der englischen Sprache orientierten Umschriftart folgt, die Inkonsequenz und Ungenauigkeit

(z.B. in der Wiedergabe des semitischen *'ajin*) nicht allzu weit treibt. Allzu kurz und daher missverständlich sind auch die häufigen Bemerkungen, dass Eusebius bezw. Hieronymus irgend einen biblischen Ort an einer durch einen modernen Ortsnamen bezeichneten Stelle ansetze; es wird dabei nicht deutlich, dass auch die Angaben der Eusebius bezw. Hieronymus meist erst einer Interpretation bedürfen, die dann gegebenenfalls an eine bestimmte, durch eine moderne Benennung zu bezeichnende Stelle führen kann.

Ein besonderes Problem, zumal in einem Buch über „Geographie", bilden meist die unentbehrlichen Karten. Die Herstellung guter Karten ist gewiss sehr mühsam und auch sehr teuer. So behilft man sich meist mit Schwarz-Weiss-Skizzen. Das ist begreiflich genug, und das ist auch im vorliegenden Falle geschehen. Da solche Skizzen notwendig etwas grob zu sein pflegen, muss man in der Regel verschiedene Skizzen zu den gleichen Gegenden bieten, einmal für das Bodenrelief, dann für die Wege, dann für die politischen Grenzen u. drgl., und ausserdem noch das Ganze eines Landes in eine Reihe von Sektionen teilen. Dass das befriedigend wäre, kann man gewiss nicht sagen. Leider entsprechen zudem noch im vorliegenden Falle die beigegebenen Karten nicht recht dem Standard des in seinem Inhalt so reichen und in seiner Darstellung so anziehenden Buches.

Bonn M. Noth

Heinrich Schneider, *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia übersetzt und erklärt.* XV + 268 S. mit zwei Kartenskizzen. Peter Hanstein Verlag Bonn 1959. (= Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments, herausgegeben von Friedrich Nötscher, begründet von Franz Feldmann und Heinrich Herkenne, IV. Band, 2. Abteilung).

Dieser Kommentar über Esra/Nehemia ist seit mehr als 50 Jahren der erste deutsche wissenschaftliche Kommentar über diese Bücher von katholischer Seite. Mit ihm erhält das ganze Kommentarwerk der „Bonner Bibel" seinen Abschluss, der dringend zu wünschen war, zumal nachdem Goettsberger die Erklärung der Chronikbücher, die ja sachlich von Esra/Nehemia nicht zu trennen sind, bereits 1939 herausgebracht hatte. Das Vorwort schildert, welcher Unstern über diesem Abschlussband schwebte, bis ihn Sch. übernahm und nun glücklich zuende führen konnte. Und um es gleich zu sagen: er stellt sich gleichwertig neben Goettsberger's trefflichen Chronik-Kommentar.

Nach den Richtlinien der Bonner Bibel sind die textkritischen Dinge auf ein Mindestmass zu beschränken. In diesem Rahmen hat der Verfasser alles getan, um mit den schwierigen Textstellen fertig zu werden. Vielfach lässt er den massoretischen Text stehen, gibt dann aber bei der Erklärung an, dass und warum er zweifelhaft ist, und stellt andere Auffassungen zur Wahl, oder er ändert stillschweigend, wo es sich um eine anerkannte Emendation handelt, und zeigt das durch Kursivdruck im Text an (in Esr viii 2 S. 138 ist bei *ben* die Kursive vergessen). An drei Stellen gibt er

eigene Konjekturen: in Esr iv 7 schlägt er für בשלם die Lesung בְּשֵׁם יְרוּשָׁלֵם vor, was „in der Angelegenheit Jerusalems" bedeuten soll; dem steht freilich entgegen, dass שֵׁם diese Bedeutung sonst nie hat. In Esr iv 24 liest er für das auf alle Fälle unmögliche באדין: כְּאַדַּיִן „wie damals", was näher am Text bleibt als das von mir vorgeschlagene und in gleicher Richtung gehende כִּדְנָה. In dem unverständlichen Esr x 44 b lässt er ויש und וישימו den Platz tauschen und übersetzt: „man tat (= schied) von ihnen die Frauen, auch wenn Kinder vorhanden waren". Die Lösung ist verblüffend einfach, nur der fehlende Artikel vor נשים macht bedenklich.

Die Übersetzung bemüht sich um ein lesbares Deutsch; gelegentlich ist durch Unachtsamkeit etwas ausgefallen: in Esr vii 22 fehlt „Öl bis zu 100 Bat", in Neh ix 20 „und Wasser gabest Du ihnen für ihren Durst", und Neh ix 29 b ist ganz weggeblieben. Die Texterklärung ist up to date; die Literatur ist in vollem Umfang beigezogen: sie wird nicht nur in den Literaturverzeichnissen in der Einleitung registriert, sondern auch in der Erklärung ausgewertet (z.B. Neh i 1). Von der neuesten Literatur, die seit meinem Kommentar (1949), auf dessen Literaturangaben Sch. auf S. 4 ausdrücklich hinweist, erschienen ist, fehlt, soviel ich sehe, nichts Wesentliches; ich vermisse nur TULAND *JBL* 1958, 157-161: „Hanani-Hananiah" bei der Besprechung von Neh vii 2, die allerdings *sachlich* auf den Inhalt des Aufsatzes Bezug zu nehmen scheint, und den Hinweis auf die Bearbeitung von Esr/Neh durch F. MICHAÉLI im 1. Band der Bible de la Pléiade 1956.

Die literarkritischen Fragen werden nach den Richtlinien des Kommentarwerkes nicht bei der Texterklärung, sondern in der Einleitung abgehandelt, die bei der Schwierigkeit der Materie fast 1/3 des ganzen Kommentars einnimmt, so dass der eigentliche Kommentar nur den doppelten Umfang der Einleitung besitzt.

In Esr i-vi werden als Sonderquellen des Chronisten herausgestellt: das Cyrusedikt i 2-4, die Liste der Tempelgeräte i 9-11, die Heimkehrerliste ii 1 ff. und die aramäische Chronik von Jerusalem iv 8-vi 18. Da ich der Meinung bin, dass die Erlaubnis zur Heimkehr und die Erlaubnis zum Tempelbau zwei verschiedene Verwaltungsakte waren, kann ich das gute Zutrauen, dass in i 2-4 „das Cyrusdekret nach Inhalt und Form ziemlich getreu wiedergegeben" sei (53), nicht teilen, so gewiss der Chronist letztlich geschichtlich im Recht ist. Bei der Heimkehrerliste lässt Sch. (37. 54) offen, ob Esr ii aus Neh vii herübergenommen sei oder umgekehrt. Ich halte diese Skepsis für unbegründet, da alles für die erstere Annahme spricht. Dass die Liste „eine abschliessende Gesamtdarstellung der Erstheimkehrerzüge" gibt (37), ist sicher richtig, aber ich vermag nicht einzusehen, warum diese Züge erst unter Darius begonnen haben sollen (37. 64f.), und dass vollends die Zahlen der Liste wegen ihrer angeblichen Übergrösse auch die im Lande Verbliebenen mit einschliessen, scheint mir mit dem Text nicht vereinbar zu sein. Was die „aramäische Chronik von Jerusalem" betrifft, so verficht Sch. die Ansicht, dass sie trotz des chronologischen Hysteronproteron in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt

erhalten sei, weil der Verfasser eben nicht nach historischen, sondern nach thematischen und psychologischen Gesichtspunkten gearbeitet habe (55), doch gibt er zu, dass eine abschliessende Entscheidung nicht möglich sei. Auch hier scheint mir die Skepsis zu weit getrieben zu sein.

In der Esra-Denkschrift (Esr vii-x) werden die eingelegten Listen und das Esra Gebet wie auch der Erlass des Artaxerxes mit Recht als authentisch angesehen. Dagegen zögert Sch., Neh viii derselben Esra-Denkschrift zuzuweisen, weil der Versammlungsort der Volksgemeinde in Neh viii der Platz vor dem Wassertor sei, während sie in Esr x 9 auf dem Tempelplatz zusammenkomme (38 f.). Aber die Überlegung, dass Esra bei der Gesetzesverlesung von Neh viii durch die Wahl des neutralen Ortes den kultisch Unreinen die Teilnahme habe ermöglichen wollen, macht die Bahn frei für die herkömmliche Auffassung, dass auch Neh. viii zur Esra-Denkschrift gehört. Neh ix schreibt Schn. in vollem Umfang dem „Hauptbearbeiter" d.h. dem Chronisten zu. Gewiss kann das Kapitel nicht Fortsetzung von Neh viii sein, aber die Erwägung, dass es wegen ix 2 a: „der Same Israels schied sich von allen Fremdstämmigen" den Abschluss der Mischehenaktion von Esr ix/x und damit (wenigstens teilweise) einen Bestandteil der Esra-Denkschrift bilden könnte, wird in der Einleitung (39) überhaupt nicht angestellt, offenbar weil Sch., wie die Erklärung im Kommentar zeigt, ix 2 a für eine vorübergehende Massnahme hält, die mit jener grundsätzlichen Aktion nichts zu tun habe.

Was die Nehemia-Denkschrift anlangt, so billigt Sch. die Auffassung, dass die Mauerbauliste Neh iii von Nehemia selbst in seinen Bericht eingesetzt sei, wenn er sie auch nicht für völlig gesichert hält. Für Neh x hält er unter Abweisung von Jepsens gegenteiliger Meinung daran fest, dass kein Grund bestehe, diese Urkunde aus der Zeit Nehemias wegzurücken (41), nur könne der Zeitpunkt dieser Neuverpflichtung „nicht mehr eindeutig bestimmt werden" (229), so dass vor allem nicht mehr gesagt werden könne, ob sie vor oder nach Neh xiii falle. Ich bitte es nicht als Starrköpfigkeit aufzufassen, wenn ich demgegenüber darauf beharre, dass „man nicht gut annehmen kann, die Gemeinde habe später ausgerechnet die Punkte übertreten, auf deren Einhaltung sie vorher eigens festgelegt worden war" (mein Kommentar 173), und dass deshalb Neh x als die Auswirkung von Neh xiii anzusehen ist. Dass die Listen von Neh xii und teilweise auch von Neh xi nichts mit der Nehemia-Denkschrift zu tun haben, ist auch Schneider's Meinung. Soweit Neh xi mit 1 Chr ix parallel geht, zieht er die Annahme vor, beide Texte seien „je eigene Bearbeitungen der Liste des Tempelarchivs" (43). Demgegenüber berufe ich mich auf den Nachweis in meinem Chronik-Kommentar, dass 1 Chr ix nur voll verständlich ist, wenn man darin eine Übernahme aus Neh xi sieht.

Das jetzt vorliegende Esr/Neh-Buch datiert Sch. zwischen 300 und 250 vor Christus. Dass er soweit heruntergeht, hat seinen Hauptgrund darin, dass er dem „abschliessenden Hauptgestalter" möglichst viel, womöglich das ganze Werk zuschreiben will (der Auffassung von Granild und Galling, die zwei Redaktoren bezw. zwei Chronisten annehmen, steht er zurückhaltend gegenüber). Denn wer höher hinaufgeht, „muss einen

beachtlichen Teil, besonders Neh xii, als späteren Zuwachs beurteilen und damit die Einheit des Buches preisgeben" (63). Allein dass ein alttestamentliches Buch nachträglich Zusätze bekommt, ist so gewöhnlich und speziell bei den Chronikbüchern so einleuchtend, dass man nicht einsieht, warum es hier nicht auch so sein soll, so dass nichts im Wege steht, Esr/Neh und damit das ganze chronistische Werk rund ein Jahrhundert höher zu datieren. Denn dass Esr viii 36, weil dort von Satrapen in der Mehrzahl die Rede sei, und Esr vi 22, wo Darius König von Assur heisst, eine recht späte Abfassungszeit verrate (58), ist nicht stichhaltig. Wenn nämlich von Satrapen die Rede ist, zeigt sich darin nur das Wissen um die Tatsache, dass dieser Titel nicht nur dem „Obersatrapen", sondern zum Teil auch den Leitern der persischen Provinzialbehörden zukam, und dass der Perserkönig König von Assur genannt wird, ist nicht so ungewöhnlich (vergl. Morgenstern in *HUCA* XXVII, 133).

Über die vielverhandelte Frage, ob Nehemia entgegen dem jetzigen Text vor Esra nach Jerusalem kam, verbreitet sich Sch. sehr ausführlich (67-75). Er kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass sich nichts Endgültiges sagen lasse, dass aber für die Priorität Nehemias eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit bestehe. Wenn er aber z.B. gegen die auch von mir vertretene Auffassung, dass Esra zwischen dem ersten und zweiten Aufenthalt Nehemias in Jerusalem war, einwendet (72), man könne sich nicht denken, dass kurz nachdem Esra mit so reichen Mitteln (Esr viii 26) nach Jerusalem kam, die Leviten so in Not waren, dass sie vor dem Hunger aufs Land flüchten mussten (Neh xiii 10), so ist festzustellen, dass die Leviten deshalb streikten, weil sie ihre ordnungsmässigen Deputate nicht bekamen und die Priesterschaft offenbar nicht daran dachte, ihnen den fehlenden Zehnten aus anderen Mitteln vorzustrecken. Und wenn es Sch. (72) befremdlich findet, dass Esras Massnahmen gegen die Mischehen über das hinausgehen, was Nehemia bei seiner Rückkehr nach Jerusalem in derselben Sache unternommen hat, so erklärt sich das befriedigend daraus, dass Nehemia behutsamer vorging, eben weil Esra seine scharfen Massnahmen im Endeffekt nicht hatte durchsetzen können.

In der Frage, warum im Kanon Esr/Neh v o r der Chr steht, die man herkömmlicherweise dahin beantwortet, dass die Chronik später in den Kanon kam, weil man über den von ihr behandelten Zeitraum schon die Bücher Sm/Rg besass, gibt Sch. (32 f.), da diese Annahme nirgends positiv belegt ist, zu überlegen, ob nicht tatsächlich Esr Neh vor dem Chronikbuch entstanden sei. Er verweist auf den analogen Fall bei Josephus, der auch den „Jüdischen Krieg" Jahre vor den *Antiquitates* schrieb, obwohl die in ihnen behandelte Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes z e i t l i c h vor dem jüdischen Krieg liegt. Man wird diese These ernsthaft durchdenken müssen, wenn ich auch glaube, dass sich die Waagschale zugunsten der traditionellen Auffassung senken wird.

Der letzte § der Einleitung gibt die Theologie der Bücher Esr Neh. Man liest ihn weithin mit Zustimmung, nur scheint mir bei dem Abschnitt über die Heilserwartung mehr in den Text hineingelesen zu sein, als er hergibt.

Diese Besprechung konnte nicht jede Einzelheit herausheben, worin

der Verfasser die weitere Forschung anregt und befruchtet. Wenn der Rezensent in so manchen Stücken eine andere Auffassung vertritt als der neueste wohl überlegende und sorgsam abwägende Kommentator, so ist das wieder einmal ein Zeichen dafür, wie schwierig die Exegese dieser beiden Bücher ist, und dass wir von einer communis opinio, wie sie sich bei anderen Büchern des Alten Testaments im Laufe der Zeit herausgebildet hat, noch weit entfernt sind.

Zwei hübsche Versehen sollen nicht übergangen werden: auf S. 78 wird das Jaffator zum „Javator" und auf S. 225 die Tempelsteuer zu einer „Stempelsteuer".

Münster/Westfalen Wilhelm RUDOLPH

MITTEILUNG

Der vierte internationale Kongress für das Studium des Alten Testaments soll in der Zeit vom Sonntag, d. 26. August bis Freitag, d. 31. August 1962 in Bonn, Deutschland, stattfinden.

Anmeldungen für den Kongress sowie alle sonstigen Korrespondenzen sind zu richten an Dr. Rudolf SMEND, Evangelisch-theologisches Seminar, Universität, Bonn, Germany.

Rundschreiben mit weiteren Informationen über den Kongress werden zu gegebener Zeit versandt werden an alle diejenigen, die sich gemeldet oder angefragt haben.

BOOK LIST [1])

Hebrew Union College Annual, Vol. XXXII, Cincinnati 1961, dedicated to Julian MORGENSTERN on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Contributions by GLUECK, SANDMEL, LEWY, BLANK, LINDBLOM, MAY, MOWINCKEL, MUILENBURG, GUTMANN, COHEN, EISSFELDT, TSEVAT, COPPENS, LIEBREICH, ORLINSKY, GOODENOUGH, BAMBERGER, MORGENSTERN, FINKELSTEIN. Dedication by LIEBERMAN. With a portrait. 350 pp. + 25pp. Hebrew.

Festschrift für Hubert Junker. Lex tua veritas. xv + 320 pp. Trier 1961. Kart. DM 28.—, Leinen DM 32.—. Contributions by AUER, CAZELLES, COPPENS, DEISSLER, DIEZ-MACHO, EICHRODT, EISING, GROSS, HAAG, HAMP, MAYER, MURPHY, NÖTSCHER, VAN DER PLOEG, REHM, SCHARBERT, SCHILDENBERGER, SCHNEIDER, DE VAUX, ZIEGLER, MUSSNER, VÖGTLE. With a portrait and a bibliography.

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[1]) The mention of books in this list neither implies nor precludes subsequent review at length.

F.-M. Abel† et J. Starcky, *Les livres des Maccabées*, 3e éd. revue. Paris 1961. 330 pp., 2 plans.

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J. Carmignac et P. Guilbert, *La règle de la communauté, la règle de la guerre, les hymnes*, traduits et annotés. Paris 1961. 284 pp.

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A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, translated by G. Vermes. Oxford 1961. xvi + 428 pp. 45/.—

J. H. Eaton, *Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, introduction and commentary. 159 pp. London 1961. 12/6.

Th. H. Gaster, *Thespis*. New and revised edition. Anchor Books, Garden City, N.Y. 1961. 515 pp. $ 1.45.

B. Gerhardson, *Memory and Manuscript*. Oral tradition and written transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity. Uppsala 1961. 379 pp. Swed. Crowns 30.—.

H. L. Ginsberg, *Koheleth*. In Hebrew. Tel Aviv-Jerusalem 1961. 144 pp.

M. Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, Untersuchungen zur jüdischen Freiheitsbewegung in der Zeit von Herodes I. bis 70 n. Chr. (Institutum judaicum, Tübingen: Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums I). Leiden/Köln 1961. xiv + 406 pp. Dutch fl. 42.—.

E. Jones, *Proverbs and Ecclesiastes*, introduction and commentary. 349 pp. London 1961. 18/.—.

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S. Yeivin and D. Ferembach, *First preliminary report on the excavations at tel "Gat"* (tell Sheykh 'Ahmed el-'Areyny). Seasons 1956-1958. Jerusalem, Isr. 1961. 20 pp. maps and XII plates.

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